This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

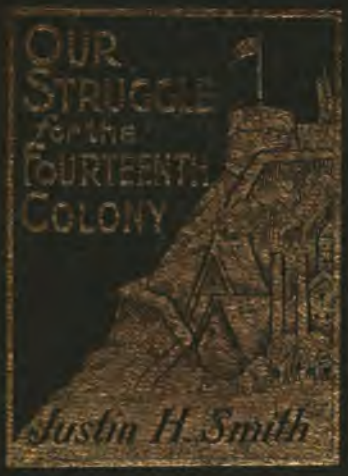
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`


OUR
STRUGGLE
for the
FOURTEENTH
COLONY
Justin H. Smith

HARVARD COLLEGE
LIBRARY

THE GIFT OF
MISS SALLY FAIRCHILD
OF BOSTON

S.T.
14. Jan. 1917

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

The Troubadours at Home. Their Lives and Personalities, their Songs and their World. Two volumes, 8vo, with nearly 200 illustrations, $6.00, postpaid.

This is an attempt, based upon a careful study of substantially all the scholarly literature of the subject, to re-create the fascinating mediæval civilization of Provence, and place the troubadours in it as living persons,—fighting, loving, singing, and suffering.

Academy, London: "Truly a fascinating book."

Tribune, New York: "Not only convincing, but delightful. We cannot praise him too warmly. . . . There is not a single space of dulness between these covers."

Quarterly Review, London: "If one wishes to understand Provence . . . his best preparation —by a strange contrast—will be through the wide and erudite labours of an American enthusiast. In his two beautiful volumes, Mr. Justin H. Smith has elucidated his vast subject-matter with a fulness, a thoroughness, and a vivifying sympathy which render his labour of love a truly valuable production."

Arnold's March from Cambridge to Quebec. A Critical Study. 8vo, xx + 498 pp., with 18 maps and plans, and *Arnold's Journal*, never before printed. $2.00, postpaid.

Times, New York: "Certainly the best account of Arnold's March yet produced."

Spectator, London: "It is a monograph of singular interest, and is original work of an invaluable type."

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science: "The author may rest assured that his work will never have to be performed again."

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

NEW YORK LONDON

ANNOUNCEMENT

As the author is engaged upon a history of the war between the United States and Mexico, considered in all its aspects, he would feel greatly obliged for any information about manuscripts or out-of-the-way published material bearing upon the subject. He may be addressed at 270 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.

OUR STRUGGLE FOR THE FOURTEENTH COLONY

CANADA AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

BY

JUSTIN H. SMITH

Professor of Modern History in Dartmouth College; author of "The Troubadours at Home," "Arnold's March from Cambridge to Quebec," "The Historie Booke," etc.

315 Illustrations and 23 Maps

VOLUME I

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
NEW YORK & LONDON
The Knickerbocker Press
1907

GENERAL RICHARD MONTGOMERY

PREFACE

THIS work aims to give an account of the intense effort of the thirteen United Colonies, at the time we were becoming the United States, to secure the adhesion of the one other conspicuous member of the British colonial group in North America; and the form of words chosen for a title seems to suggest these ideas better than any other of equal length that occurred to the author.

New Brunswick had not been organized at the time of our Revolution; Nova Scotia, St. John's Island, and Newfoundland were not involved in the "struggle," and the region between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes, though under British law a part of Canada at that period, has never been recognized as such by the Americans. The field, therefore, is what has often been known as Upper and Lower Canada; but the former, mainly a wilderness, had almost no share in the events.

In a sense, the "struggle" ended in June, 1776; but as the later operations were hinged upon those prior to that date and aimed constantly at a renewal of the effort, it seems very proper to include them.

An attempt has been made to secure completeness and accuracy of information, and also—since, in the early years of the Revolution, feeling had more influence than calculation—to help the student of the events realize for himself the situations and the states of mind which they involved.

When the author published, a few years since, a work avowedly designed to reconstruct the world of the troubadours and place the troubadours in it as living characters,

a prominent critic complained that pains had been taken to be "interesting"; and this fact suggests that in the present case the same charge may perhaps be brought. If so, the same reply may be made as before: certain phases of the subject are essentially of such a nature that no account of them can be lifelike—that is to say, true—if it is not interesting. But the intention has been to keep the requirements of critical investigation steadily in mind, and accept literary elements only for their sound historical worth.

Every place in the United States, Canada, and Great Britain where valuable documents have seemed likely to exist, has been searched. The copying, when not done by the author, has been the work of experienced persons, believed to be competent. Everything has been verified, —in many of the more important cases, twice or thrice. All the localities of any significance in the story have been visited by the author, and have been studied until he felt sure that he understood the condition of things at the period. Great pains have been taken to discover those minor data, also, which the official reports commonly take for granted, but without which the reality and life of the past cannot be felt.

As substantially all the documents drawn upon by previous writers on the subject, together with very many more, have been available, it has been possible to base the work —as the footnotes indicate—upon first-hand authorities.

The manuscript sources are in fact considerably more numerous than would be inferred. The general rule has been to refer to some printed version of a document, if a substantially correct one exists, since but few readers could easily consult the original even if informed where it is. For example, the originals of Schuyler's, Montgomery's, and Wooster's reports in 1775–76—or official contemporary copies—were used; but, except in special cases, the

references, after due collation, have been made to Force's *American Archives* or other reprints. The approximate number of manuscripts used is 1425.

The List of Sources at the back of this volume shows what published material has been drawn upon. The intention has been to examine all the printed matter of any importance bearing on the subject, and something has been obtained from about 750 books and pamphlets. These have contributed little, however, except documents, biographical, topographical, and other ancillary information, and occasional suggestions. In many cases the assistance has been too indefinite for citation in the footnotes, and a few of the books are named in the List only to show that they have been faithfully examined.

It would no doubt have been desirable to print in full the unpublished documents made use of; but they would have added a great and unwieldy bulk, and, in the case of many, the author has no authority so to print them. To compensate in part for this lack, as well as to give the reader a constant sense of his nearness to the sources, a very large number of quotations, giving the pith of the documents, have been introduced. Owing to the frequency of short extracts, single instead of the usual double marks have been employed by the printers. Statements that read like quotations, though not enclosed in marks, give only the substance of what was said.

Consistency in the spelling, capitalization, and punctuation of the quotations could not be attained. In case the manuscript was used, the writer's peculiarities have been followed, but in many instances only a printed and emended copy has been found. When, for the reason explained above, it seemed best to refer to the printed version even though the original was at hand, the former had to be reproduced, else any one looking up the reference would suppose the author had committed errors.

To carry so large a number of irregularities with perfect accuracy through the many processes of copying and printing is much more difficult than one would imagine, and this is particularly true when the substance, not the form, is the writer's principal concern. Very great care has been used to secure an exact reproduction; but it would not be wise to guarantee perfection. This fact seems to the author of but slight moment, however. A real historical value lies, no doubt, in presenting enough of the documents in their true archaic form to give the reader a sense of contact with the period; but this is not materially diminished, if—as may have befallen—a few peculiarities out of a great number have been accidentally normalized.

The footnotes cover substantially all the statements of the text except some matters of common knowledge and the points (mainly topographical) ascertained personally by the author or reported orally to him by local authorities. The utmost care has been taken to present these many citations to the reader without inaccuracy. To some extent the author has had assistance from others' eyes in this phase of the work, but he believes they have been competent and attentive.

As the text was written in all cases with the documents in view, the easiest method of making references would have been to connect each, by a superior figure, with the statement it supports; but nine thousand such figures inserted in the text would have seemed to nearly all readers intolerable. To give references for certain statements and not for others might have appeared to throw discredit upon the latter, and could have answered the queries of only a percentage of the readers. To omit references entirely has not seemed best, since many will be glad to ascertain, at the slight expense of glancing at the foot of the page, on what basis the narrative rests,

and some will desire—at which points could not be foreseen—to look into certain matters for themselves.

The best plan the author could devise was to group the references, as a rule, by paragraphs, arranging them in the order of the statements, or—in the case of an episode covered by many authorities, where this plan would have required the repetition, paragraph after paragraph, of a cumbrous mass of citations—to present them once for all and discuss in the Remarks at the end of the volume such points as require special support. Hints have been introduced in the footnotes where they seemed necessary, and it is thought that an attentive reader need seldom have difficulty in finding the reference he desires. A statement once proved is not proved again, of course; and when, as occasionally happens, a document is used a second time in a paragraph, a second reference is not usually given. If used in the succeeding paragraph, it is again cited.

The illustrations are presented in the belief that they are a valuable complement of the text. A large part of them are from the author's collection of photographs taken by himself. The sources of all are given in connection with the Table of Contents. As the illustrations are included in the general index, any one may readily be found.

A portion of the ground included in the present work has already been covered by the author. Foreseeing that he would not have space here to discuss and correct the very numerous errors, great and small, regarding the Kennebec expedition, which—owing to the lack of any thorough study of the subject—had come to be accepted as facts, and foreseeing also that, unless such corrections were made, many statements here set down would appear to be errors, he has recently published *Arnold's March from Cambridge to Quebec*. There is no duplication, however. *Arnold's March* is not a history. It is called

on the title-page "A Critical Study," and represents a skeleton which the present work aims to bring forward clothed with its proper flesh and blood, while, at the same time, it offers many facts as well as many discussions for which there is no room here. To it the student is referred for whatever concerns the elucidation of that very complicated and often misunderstood enterprise.

As the author has suggested above, in the gathering, handling, copying, and printing of so much material, it cannot be supposed that no slips have occurred. Even in the process of final verification, continued—as it had to be—hour after hour, day after day, and week after week for months, the eye and the mind would inevitably flag at instants, and in one of those instants an error, if it happened along, could steal by. Notification of any mistakes that may be discovered will be gratefully received.

The author wishes sincerely that it were possible to name all who have aided him in his long quest for facts. As the number is too great for such recognition, he begs them to accept this general but grateful and cordial acknowledgment. In the List of Sources are mentioned the most important public and semi-public collections of documents used, to the curators of which he is peculiarly indebted. These collections are also mentioned in the footnotes, whenever a document belonging to them is cited. Particular mention, however, must be made of the gentlemen in charge at the Public Record Office, London; the Canadian Archives Office, Ottawa; the Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania Historical Societies; the Library of Congress; the New York Public Library, Lenox Branch, and the libraries of Harvard University and Dartmouth College.

J. H. S.

CONTENTS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

The Illustrations are included in the Index also.

SOURCES OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS: 1, attached to the title of an illustration, signifies that the original is in the Continental Congress Papers, Library of Congress; 2, Washington Papers, Library of Congress; 3, Emmet Coll., N. Y. Pub. Lib. (Lenox Branch); 4, S. Adams Papers, N. Y. Pub. Lib. (Lenox Branch); 5, Wheelock MSS., Dartmouth College; 6, Dreer Coll., Hist. Soc. of Penna.; 7, American Antiquarian Soc., Worcester, Mass.; 8, Winsor, Narr. and Crit. Hist. of America; 9, photographed by the author; in other cases the source is stated below. Full-page illustrations are starred.

Frontispiece. General Richard Montgomery. (Portrait owned by Miss Julia Barton Hunt.)

INTRODUCTION

PAGE

The Boston Committee of Correspondence. Meeting in February, 1774. Joseph Warren. Samuel Adams. Their views. The question of Canada. Adams's wide influence. Purpose of the Committee. Scope of the present work..... 1

Illustrations. P. 2, Faneuil Hall in 1775 (New Eng. Mag., XXI., p. 524); 5,*Joseph Warren (pastel belonging to the heirs of C. F. Adams)[8]; 9, * Samuel Adams (photograph from a painting by Copley, Boston Museum of Fine Arts).

CHAPTER I. ROOTS OF BITTERNESS

Early history of Canada. Cartier. Champlain. Canada a royal province. Frontenac. Montcalm. Unrest there. Indian troubles. Wars with the English colonies. Commercial, ecclesiastical, and political dissensions. The Conquest. The British régime. The *habitants*. The noblesse. The Church. Governor Carleton. The military class. The British civilians. Mutual relations of these social elements. Thomas Walker. Discord between the British military and civil elements illustrated by the outrage against Walker. Irritating circumstances..... 12

PAGE

Illustrations. P. 15, * Jacques Cartier (Winsor, Cartier and Frontenac, p. 45); 19, Champlain's Plan of Tadousac (ib., p. 79); 25, Champlain's Picture of his Fight with the Iroquois (ib., p. 97); 30, Champlain's House at Quebec (Champlain, Œuvres, III., p. 155); 33, Frontenac, signature; 36, Marquis de Montcalm; 37, Ruins of Louisburg (New Eng. Mag., VIII., p. 738); 41, * General James Wolfe (see Century Mag., LV., p. 329).

CHAPTER II. GERMS OF REVOLT

The real fulminate. A conditional promise of popular government. Difficulties in the way of it. Agitation to secure it. Attempts to gain the co-operation of the French Canadians. Attitude of the British government. Carleton's motives. The Quebec Act. British-Canadian objections to the new status of the Church. Reply. French-Canadian objection to the same. The new system of civil law. British-Canadian opposition to that. Apparent sentiment of Canada when Carleton returned there. Real sentiment. The prospect. 46

Illustrations. P. 48, S. Adams, signature *; 53, * General Guy Carleton (Political Mag., 1762); 56, Lord North, signature*; 58, Wedderburn (Century Mag., LVIII., p. 893); 60, Guy Carleton, signature; 63, * Earl of Dartmouth (from a copy belonging to Dartmouth College, probably by Lawrence, of a portrait by Reynolds in the Foundling Hospital, London); 67, Dartmouth, signature.*

CHAPTER III. THE REVOLUTION ENTERS CANADA

The Quebec Act stimulates the desire of the Americans to win Canada. View that the Act contained nothing to alarm the Americans. Reply. The discussion in Parliament. The value of Canada as a check upon the Colonies understood and borne in mind by the British. The main question: American feeling. Alexander Hamilton's opinion. Echoes of the discussions in Parliament. Opinions transmitted from Great Britain. American views. Official action. The protests against the Quebec Act essentially sincere. Gleams of hope. Projects in Massachusetts. A plan to open communication with Canada adopted. Adams's letter. John Brown. His journey. Montreal. Life of the Canadians. The political

PAGE

situation in Canada. Influences favorable to the Colonies. The Address of Congress. Difficulties in the way of joining with the Americans. The reply to Adams's letter. The results of Brown's mission..... 70

Illustrations. P. 72, Isaac Barré, signature; 75, * Earl of Chatham (from a painting by Richard Brompton); 81, Chatham, signature; 84, *Pitts to S. Adams, Oct. 10, 1774[4]; 86, Vose's House (photograph); 89, * Gerry to S. Adams, Dec. 19, 1774[4]; 91, * Brown to S. Adams, Feb. 15, 1775[4]; 95, Endorsement on S. Adams's letter of Feb. 21, 1775[4]; 100, * Brown's Report[9] (Mass. Arch., Vol. 193, p. 41).

CHAPTER IV. TICONDEROGA

The British government throws down the gauntlet. The Lexington alarm. Boston besieged. Cannon needed by the Americans. Cannon exist at Lake Champlain. British plans to secure the posts there. The Green Mountain Boys and their designs against the posts. Benedict Arnold. Massachusetts authorizes him to seize Ticonderoga. A Connecticut expedition is organized for the same purpose. Its movements. Arnold meets it. The problem of command. The solution of it. The force is increased. It moves on and takes Fort Ticonderoga by surprise. The road to Canada now open..... 107

Illustrations. P. 108, Lexington Green [8] (Mass. Mag., 1794); 116, Catamount Tavern (photograph); 119, Arnold's House (photograph); 124, Door of the Mission House, Stockbridge[9]; 126, Pittsfield in 1807 (lithograph); 128, First Meeting-House, Pittsfield (New Eng. Mag., IX., p. 392); 130, Allen, signature; 132, Hand's Cove[9]; 135, * East Front of Ticonderoga, 1903

CHAPTER V. TWO RAIDS INTO CANADA

The capture of Ticonderoga no mean performance. Crown Point. The capture of Crown Point and Fort George. Major Skene. His commission. Skenesborough. The capture of that place. Arnold and Allen. Arnold and Easton. Arnold and the Green Mountain Boys. The strategic design of Allen's party. Arnold's attitude toward it. Arnold's position at Ticonderoga. A scheme to eliminate him. The situation suddenly changes. Arnold's expe-

PAGE

dition to St. Johns. Allen's attempt to occupy St. Johns. His defeat, discredit, and retirement. Determination to resist any British attack. Preparations to transport the cannon to Cambridge and hold the ground. A complicated situation..... 141

Illustrations. P. 142, * Delaplace to Schuyler, Dec. 1, 1775[1]; 149, Fort St. Frédéric, 1903[9]; 151, One of the Barracks at Crown Point, 1903[9]; 155, Moat, Crown Point (photo. by Mr. C. G. Ross); 158, Fort George about 1750 (an old engraving); 161, *Twin Mts., Lake George (photograph); 163, Philip Skene, signature.[3]

CHAPTER VI. IN SELF-DEFENCE

The Continental Congress wishes to keep clear of responsibility for what has been done at the lakes. The Colonies are not officially involved. It is decided to abandon the posts. But the public feel alarmed. Signs of coming war, particularly from the north. The Indians as well as the Canadians feared. Ticonderoga commonly regarded as an essential bulwark. Protests against abandoning it. Measures of the Colonies to hold it. Connecticut troops are sent there. Arnold is ordered to give place to their commander and resigns. The result is unfavorable. Schuyler is ordered to take command at the lakes. The outlook toward the north is dark..... 166

Illustrations. P. 168, Silas Deane [4] (Du Simitière, Thirteen Portraits, 1783); 173, Joseph Warren, signature; 176, Page of Trumbull's Memorandum Book (New Eng. Mag., XVII., p. 18); 179, Joseph Hawley, signature[8]; 187, *Arnold to Congress, July 11, 1775[1]; 191, * Hinman to Schuyler, July 7, 1775.[1]

CHAPTER VII. CANADA REACHES A CRISIS.

George III. is firm in his policy regarding America. Will he be equally stubborn in sticking to the Quebec Act? The Canadian petition against it. The fate of the petition. The increasing discontent in Canada. Some quail before the prospect of trouble. Others continue to proclaim their rights. Walker's attitude. A public discussion. The Act goes into force. The consequences at Montreal. An informal delegate sent to Phila-

PAGE

delphia. The attitude of the noblesse after the Act takes effect. The attitude of the clergy. Consequences in Canada of the capture of the lake forts. American efforts to reassure the people of Canada. The effect upon the British anti-government party. What that party accomplished. Its final lessons to the Canadians. It is uncertain what turn the Canadians will take. Carleton's reflections. A possible solution of the problem 193

Illustrations. P. 197 * George III.[8] (Entick, Late War, 3d ed., 1770, IV., frontis.); 202, T. Walker and others, signatures (Mass. Arch., Vol. 193, p. 83); 207, * In Old Montreal (drawn by R. A. Sproule, 1830; lith., 1871); 212, Lord North[8] (Murray, Present War, I., p. 96); 216, T. Walker's House.[9]

CHAPTER VIII. CONGRESS HESITATES BUT CROSSES

Carleton proclaims martial law. How this is received by various classes in Canada. The sentiment of the Canadians at this time. Method of enforcing the Proclamation. The attitude of the nobles. The Canadian feeling about the Colonials. Their attitude in view of the Proclamation. Carleton's mistake. A minority are positively friendly to the Americans, and anxious to have an American army enter Canada. Impulse among the Americans to advance. Carleton's military forces known to be weak. Arguments in favor of invading Canada: it would prevent the enemy from coming south, make a diversion favorable to Boston, prevent Carleton from forcing the Canadians to take up arms, bring the neutral Canadians to the American side, intimidate the hostile there, save the active friends of the Colonials, deprive England of the resources of Canada, and have a great effect on British public opinion. Objections to the movement and replies to them. Congress decides to send troops into Canada 220

Illustrations. P. 222, Mouth of the Outlet of Lake George (photograph); 225, Adirondacks viewed from Crown Point (photograph); 229, Rev. T. Allen (N. E. Mag., XV., p. 394); 231, Thomas Gage, signature[8]; 234, 235, *Hancock to Washington, June 22, 1775[8]; 240, * Secret Journal of Congress, June 27, 1775.[1]

PAGE

CHAPTER IX. THE ARMY ASSEMBLES

Philip Schuyler. His problem. The right way to attack it. His course. Delays at New York. Time is lost by depending upon letters. Difficulties in getting troops. The Green Mountain Boys. Reinforcements from Connecticut. New York troops. Their inadequate equipment. A lack of gunpowder, muskets, and lead, and the attempts to meet it. Other embarrassments. The behavior of the men. Colonial jealousies. The troops object to military regulations. Schuyler's nerves. The troops assemble. Educational value of the reminiscences of the district. The camp life. The army gets into shape. The issue between Great Britain and the Colonies grows sharper..... 224

Illustrations. P. 245, Philip Schuyler (miniature by Trumbull, 1792); 253, Rogers Rock, Lake George (photograph); 256, Sketch in the Highlands; 258, Sabbath Day Point, Lake George (photograph); 261, Ticonderoga in 1818[8] (Analectic Mag., 1818); 265, Ticonderoga in 1901 (photograph); 269, Western Barracks, Ticonderoga, in 1901 (photograph).

CHAPTER X. THE COUNSELS OF THE FOREST

Peculiar terrors and perils of Indian warfare. The Indians still capable of doing great harm. The near leagues and the remote tribes. The troubles between Great Britain and the Colonies deeply exciting to the savages. They are wards of the government and open to many influences from that quarter. The Iroquois have grudges against New York. Situation of the Canada Indians. Efforts of the Colonials to influence them. The Stockbridges. Their embassy. Force likely to be the prevailing argument with the Indians. Conflicting signs and reports of their attitude. The outlook becomes clearer. Indications respecting the western, the northern, and the central groups. Gage's orders to Guy Johnson. Johnson's operations. Carleton's decision. The council at Albany. Baker's imprudence. General result..... 272

Illustrations. P. 274, Deerfield Door hacked by the Indians (photograph); 276, Caughnawaga in 1903[9]; 280, Israel Putnam, signature[8]; 285, * Eleazar Wheelock

PAGE

(painting belonging to Dartmouth College from a miniature by Joseph Stewart); 290, E. Wheelock and J. Dean, signatures[5]; 294, John Johnson, signature.

CHAPTER XI. A CAMPAIGN OF GOOD INTENTIONS

News from Canada of the friendly disposition of the people. Brook Watson's discredited opinion. Brown's trip. His report. Tidings of Carleton's preparations. Schuyler favors an advance but does not move. He could at least occupy Pointe au Fer or Ile aux Noix. He could in fact go to St. Johns. The explanation of his inaction. Montgomery's course when Schuyler goes south. The army sets out and proceeds to Ile la Motte. There Schuyler overtakes it, and all advance to Ile aux Noix. A letter from James Livingston of Chambly. Schuyler's address to the Canadians. A move to St. Johns. A skirmish. The army returns to Ile aux Noix. Schuyler's and British explanations of the movement. Another abortive advance. All return to Ile aux Noix. Demoralization and discouragement. Schuyler taken to the rear, ill... 304

Illustrations. P. 311, * Montgomery's Will (Harper's Mag., LXX., p. 356); 314, * Schuyler to Congress, Aug. 2, 1775[1]; 318, Griffin's Affidavit[7]; 321, Montgomery's Sword (photograph, Würtele, ed., Blockade of Quebec, p. XIII.); 323, Rock Dunder (photograph); 325, * J. Livingston to Schuyler [Aug., 1775][3]; 328, On Lake Champlain (photograph); 331, Evening View of Ile La Motte from Iron Point [9]; 334, On Nut Island.[9]

CHAPTER XII. THE CURTAIN RISES

Carleton's difficult position: responsible for the civil administration; uncertain on whom he can depend; compelled to offend some by his reserve; expected to recover the lake posts and to raise 6000 Canadian troops; placed in charge of the upper posts; etc. His troops. His military policy discussed. The British force at St. Johns. Allan Maclean and his corps. Fort St. John. Attitude of the British-Canadian element in view of the invasion. Attitude of the Canadians. Attempts to coerce them. Taschereau. Young La Corne. Cuthbert. Appeals of the loyalists. The Bishop's influence wanes. The Indians of

PAGE

Canada declare for neutrality. Carleton feels abandoned, but does not lose heart. The Americans again resolve upon a forward move. Reinforcements. Timothy Bedel. The Americans advance to St. Johns. The troops are placed in good positions. Richard Montgomery. A comparison between him and Carleton..... 336

Illustrations. P. 339, * Fort at St. Johns in 1903[9]; 345. * Carleton to Preston, [Aug.] 26, [1775][3]; 349, * St. Johns in 1776 (Anburey, Travels); 353, Caughnawaga in 1903 [9]; 360, Strings of Wampum (Haines, American Indian, p. 497); 363, American Revolutionary Arms (Smith, Historie Booke, pp. 85, 91, 94); 369, Montgomery's Arms (Harper's Mag., LXX., p. 352).

CHAPTER XIII. ETHAN ALLEN'S MISTAKE

Montgomery realizes the importance of winning the confidence of the Canadians. His early operations at St. Johns tend that way, but an untoward event has an opposite effect. Ethan Allen's changed position in consequence of the capture of Ticonderoga. His subsequent loss of prestige. He is anxious to recover his ground. He is sent into Canada and wins great éclat there. Circumstances take him to Longueuil, opposite Montreal. He plans with Brown to attack the city, carries out the scheme unsuccessfully single-handed, and is captured. Allen peculiarly obnoxious to the British. His interview with Prescott. He is sent to England. Effect upon the Canadians. Walker has compromised himself and Carleton feels that now he can safely be arrested. His apprehension brutally affected. The Canadians join the British freely..... 371

Illustrations. P. 373, E. Allen's House at Bennington (photograph); 376, Allen's House at Burlington (photograph); 379, Calash; 382, * Allen's Letter announcing the Capture of Ticonderoga (photo. by Mr. L. E. Woodhouse); 385, * Montreal about 1760 (drawing by Thomas Patten, Château de Ramezay, Montreal); 391, * Letter from S. Warner[3]; 394, E. Allen, signature.[8]

CHAPTER XIV. EBB AND FLOW

The Canadians have no disposition to fight in 1775. Not a fighting people. The problem before them mainly a

PAGE

political one, and the influences many on both sides. They are determined not to obey the British, but undecided as to the Americans. This illogical position is a bridge to the American side. Confidence is essential, and this hinges largely upon the outcome at St. Johns. Montgomery understands the fact, but finds his operations greatly hindered by the want of spirit and the insubordination of the troops, and by the sentiments of Colonial aloofness, jealousy, mutual dislike and mutual distrust among them. Fortunately the Canadians do not realize the faults of his army, and after all they begin to show a certain loyalty to the American cause. The overtures made by La Corne are encouraging, and still more so the capture of Chambly, due mainly to the Canadians..... 400

Illustrations. P. 403, John Hancock (painting by Copley, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston); 408, 409, * Montgomery to Bedel, Sept. 25, 1775[6]; 414, On the Richelieu[9]; 417, Fort Chambly in 1903[9]; 422,* Schuyler to Washington, Oct. 26, 1775[2]; 427, C. Lee to Palfrey, Nov. 5, 1775.[3]

CHAPTER XV. VICTORY

The siege of St. Johns drags. The patriots are depressed, and the Tories exult. Hard money is lacking. Exertions are necessary merely to prevent the enemy from escaping. Provisions, ammunition, and troops are hard to get. The sick list is very large. Montgomery's plan of attack is upset by the protest of his troops; and Carleton and Maclean combine to relieve the fort. Warner's repulse of Carleton at Longueuil defeats this scheme; Montgomery pursues his original plan; and at length, after suffering much from the siege, the garrison of St. Johns surrenders on Nov. 2, being in great straits and convinced that there is no hope of relief. The next day the Americans take possession..... 431

Illustrations. P. 435, * Governor Jonathan Trumbull (portrait by John Trumbull, N. Eng. Mag., XXIII., frontis.); 440, Jonathan Trumbull, signature; 443, *Schuyler to Washington, Oct. 12, 1775[2]; 449, Longueuil[9]; 454, * Schuyler to Washington, Nov. 7, 1776[2]; 458, John Andr[é], signature [8]; 461, * André's Sketch of Himself (by the courtesy of Yale University).

PAGE

CHAPTER XVI. MORE VICTORIES

The capture of St. Johns has a great effect on people's minds, but that post is only the gate. It is important to win Montreal, particularly because Carleton is there and also a large quantity of powder. Operations of the Americans. The march to Laprairie. Laprairie. Passage of the river. Action of the suburbs of Montreal. The fortifications of Montreal. Sentiment there. Occupation of the city. The terms. Carleton escapes with his fleet, troops and valuable stores, but is delayed and finally is checked by the Americans. Easton's letter to him. Brown's ruse. The fleet surrenders and returns to Montreal. Carleton's escape..... 467

Illustrations. P. 470, Laprairie [9]; 472, An Old French Cottage at Laprairie [9]; 475, Montreal viewed from Laprairie; 477, Bonsecours Church, Montreal (Century Mag., XX., p. 564); 484, Montgomery to Montreal, Nov. 12, 1775 (Force, Amer. Archives, Ser. 4, Vol. III., Col. 1596); 486, *Schuyler to Washington, Nov. 18, 1776 [2]; 489, Richard Prescott, signature.[8]

CHAPTER XVII. AMERICAN ARGONAUTS

The camp of Washington's army. Arnold, summoned by the Massachusetts authorities to settle his accounts, arrives there. Attitude of Washington toward him. The route to Canada by the Kennebec. It is brought to Washington's attention. He proposes to Arnold to invade Canada that way. Steps to gain information. Schuyler is consulted. Arnold grows impatient but is induced to await word from Schuyler. The expedition is determined upon. Measures to secure equipment and troops. Motives for volunteering to go. The riflemen. Preparations and delays. The detachment marches to Newburyport. Its stay there. It sets sail..... 492

Illustrations. P. 493, Nathanael Greene, signature; 495, Washington's Headquarters, Cambridge, in 1906 (photograph); 498, From an Old Map in the Navy Dept., Paris (G. Marcel, Réproductions); 500, *J. Brewer's letter[9] (Mass. Arch., Vol. 146, p. 94); 504, Benedict Arnold, 1776 (a print pub. in 1776 by Thomas Hart); 508, * Washington's orders to Colburn [9]; 516, Christopher Greene (por-

PAGE

trait copied by Lincoln, in possession of Brown University); 518, Dr. Parsons's Church, Newburyport (photograph).

CHAPTER XVIII. INTO THE WILDERNESS

The voyage to the Kennebec is rough and that up the river tedious and slow. There are settlements on the Kennebec but no base of operations exists there. Colburn's shipyard. The bateaux. Fort Western. The expedition is launched for the march. Fort Halifax. A Carrying-place. The Five Mile Falls. At Skowhegan. Norridgewock Falls. Misfortunes to boats and provisions. The wilderness begins. The Great Carrying-Place. Conduct of the troops and their leaders. Arnold's responsibility and his measures. Disturbing signs..... 520

Illustrations. P. 521, Mouth of the Kennebec [9]; 523, Merrymeeting Bay [9]; 526, Site of Colburn's Boatyard [9]; 529 Getchell and Berry, signatures [9] (U. S. Hse. Repres. Archives); 529, Arnold's receipt for bateaux [9]; (ib.) 533, Joseph North House, Gardinerston (Hanson, Hist. of Gardiner, p. 86); 535, Fort Halifax Blockhouse about 1865 (photograph); 538, Skowhegan Falls [9]; 539, Bombazee Rapids [9]; 541, Middle Pitch of Norridgewock Falls [9]; 543 Carritunk Falls [9]; 545, The Kennebec where Arnold left it [9]; 549,* S. Adams to Mrs. Adams, Oct. 20, 1775.[4]

CHAPTER XIX. STERN REALITIES

Dead River seems to end all troubles but proved deceptive, for, though peaceful and beautiful, it is rapid. A stern awakening on Oct. 16. Why the provisions give out. The great storm and flood. Difficulties of progressing both by water and by land. Provisions are lost. Arnold calls a council of war. The decision is to advance. Measures adopted. A conference is called by Enos. The result of it. Upper Dead River and the series of ponds. Crossing the Height of Land. Rendezvous on Seven Mile Stream. An agreeable but anxious situation. Preparations to proceed. News from Arnold, now in advance..... 553

Illustrations. P. 554, Mt. Bigelow viewed from Bog Brook [9]; 556, Lower Dead River and Mt. Bigelow [9]; 559, Arnold Falls [9]; 562, Near Shadagee Falls [9]; 568, One of the Chain of Ponds [9]; 569, Horseshoe Pond [9]; 571, Arnold Pond [9]; 574, Height of Land near Arnold Pond [9]; 576, Seven Mile Stream and the Meadows.[9]

PAGE

CHAPTER XX. AT THE THRESHOLD OF DEATH

Arnold's warning about the route. Why it is not fully obeyed. The trap at Lake Megantic. Hard fortune of those who march down Seven Mile Stream. Equally bad luck of those who march as Arnold directs. Arnold's voyage down the Chaudière. The hardships of the troops on their way down the river. Disasters. Famine. Rescue. Destruction narrowly escaped. Attitude of the people. Cordial relations between them and the Americans. Arnold enrolls Indians. The army goes on to St. Mary, St. Henri, and Point Levi..... 578

Illustrations. P. 579, Near the mouth of Arnold River in 1903 [9]; 587, Where the Chaudière leaves Lake Megantic [9]; 589, On the Upper Chaudière [9]; 593, *The Swift Chaudière [9]; 596, Chaudière Rapids [9]; 598, From Captain Topham's Journal; 604, The Chaudière near St. Mary.[9]

REMARKS..... 607

LIST OF SOURCES..... 621

MAPS IN VOLUME I.

PAGE

The Country between Crown Point and Albany, 1776 (Emmet Collection) 112

Ticonderoga in 1759 (Palmer, Lake Champlain, p. 84) . . 120

Middle Portion of Lake Champlain (Faden's American Atlas, 1776) 146

Lake George, 1873 249

Guy Johnson's Map of the Country of the Six Nations, 1771 (Winsor, Narr. and Crit. Hist.) 297

Lower Lake Champlain, etc. (Faden's American Atlas, 1776) 306

Montreal about 1775 (from a contemporary map by Carver) . 479

Arnold's Route 512

The Chain of Ponds (based upon MS. surveys) 565

Arnold's Route from Dead River to Lake Megantic (based largely upon the author's investigations) 572

Arnold's Route from the Great Carrying-Place to Quebec . 582

A Portion of Montresor's Map of 1761 (Library of Congress) . 584

The Lower Chaudière (Eastern Townships Map of the Canadian Geol. Survey) 601

OUR STRUGGLE FOR THE FOURTEENTH COLONY

INTRODUCTION

SOON after the middle of February, 1775, two months before the spring verdure of Lexington Green suddenly turned redder than autumn, the Boston Committee of Correspondence held a session in its usual place of meeting, Faneuil Hall.[1]

Certainly the name of this body could not be called sensational. It reminds one of the genial and dignified personage who figures, as Corresponding Secretary, among the sedate officials of many learned societies; and when Mr. Samuel Adams—rising in the Town Meeting, November the second, 1772, at about half-past three of the clock—moved that a Committee of twenty-one

---

SPECIAL NOTE.—A footnote marked § contains references covering the paragraph to which it is attached, in the order of the statements they support. A few abbreviations are used: Wash. for Washington, Sch. for Schuyler, Montg. for Montgomery, Liv. for Livingston, Sull. for Sullivan, Commrs. for Commissioners, and others that will be understood at once. Id. means *the same person*; ib., *the same place*; Force, Force's American Archives; Can. Arch., Canadian Archives (MSS.), Ottawa; Pub. Rec. Off., Public Record Office, London. For further explanations regarding the footnotes, etc., see the Preface. For the full titles, etc., of books referred to, see the List of Sources at the end of this volume. For the sources of the illustrations, see the Table of Contents. The REMARKS will be found at the end of the text in each volume.

[1] § The duty of opening correspondence with Canada was referred to this Com. by the Mass. Prov. Cong. (see Journal, p. 100) on Feb. 15, and, as will appear in Chap. I., the Com. acted within a week. Frothingham, Warren, p. 446.

persons be chosen, 'to state the rights of the Colonists, and of this Province in particular, as Men, as Christians, and as Subjects,' and to exchange opinions and news with other towns, probably no one except himself suspected how much this action might signify.[2]

FANEUIL HALL IN 1775

The world soon began to learn, however. There are places where a word brings down an avalanche. So there are times when an exchange of views means a revolution, and this happened to be such a time. Within three years, a contributor to the *Massachusetts Gazette* wrote of the Committee of Correspondence, 'This is the foulest, subtlest and most venomous serpent that ever issued from the eggs of sedition.' 'The source of the rebellion,' cried many a Tory in high wrath; and Bancroft has echoed: It 'included the whole revolution.' It was, in the strictest reality, a secret but mighty engine, this modest body; and before it lay just now perhaps the gravest concern it had ever handled,—one that certainly had a long outlook both in time and in space.[3]

How many of the members attended that day one cannot be sure; for, if any records of the session were kept, they have disappeared. James Otis, that tongue of fire, had been the chairman; but his spirit had badly shattered its earthen vessel, and at his own request his name had been removed from the list. Josiah Quincy could not aid with his ripened wisdom; for his voyage in search of health had failed, and he was now about sailing from England, to breathe his last off Cape Ann in sight of his

[2] § Boston Town Records, 1770–1777, p. 92.

[3] § Mass. Gazette ('Massachusettsensis'), Jan. 2, 1775. Frothingham, Warren, p. 200. Bancroft, U. S. (N. Y., 1883), III., p. 420 (of Adams's motion).

beloved native land. Very likely Oliver Wendell, the grandfather of our poet-wit, had come; Thomas Young, John Adams's physician, may have driven down in his gig; and perhaps Dr. Benjamin Church, who had stanched the blood of Crispus Attucks, could afford to leave his elegant mansion in Raynham. One can only be sure that seven members at least answered at the roll-call; for the town, mindful that hours were precious and engagements many, had fixed that number as a quorum.[4]

And yet this is by no means all that is morally certain. Whether Young and Church appeared or not, a certain other physician came over from his house in Hanover Street, no matter what called him elsewhere. A fascinating type was he,—quick, impulsive, lovable, hatable. All that marked the cultured and easy man of the world, he suggested; yet his elegance counted little beside the spirit and the patriotism that spoke from his eloquent face and flashing eyes. It was he, the funeral orator of the Boston Massacre, who quietly dropped his handkerchief over the handful of bullets which a British officer held up at him as he spoke in the Old South Church, and went on without a tremor in his impassioned plea for liberty. Warren was his name: Dr. Joseph Warren, the Martyr of Bunker Hill.[5]

And a man still more notable was there. In good season at the rendezvous, came 'a plain, simple, decent citizen, of middling stature,' or perhaps a little above it, in a red cloak, a cocked hat, and a tie-wig. To be an elegant man of the world seemed far from his thought. Indeed, he appeared to despise, or at least shun, all display and luxury, and to deserve the name that has been given him, 'Last of the Puritans.' Yet his florid

[4] § Otis: Boston Town Records, Dec. 30, 1774. Quincy: Loring, Orators, p. 259; Young: ib, p. 26; Church: ib., p. 37. Quorum: Boston Town Records, Dec. 7, 1774.

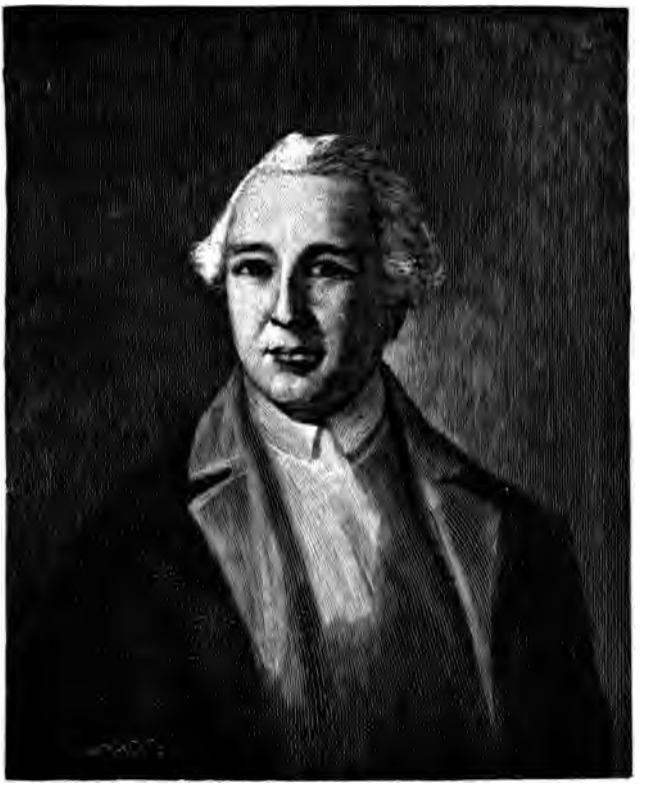
[5] § Loring, Orators, p. 60. Frothingham, Warren, pp. 15, 26, 166, etc.

countenance hinted of blood in the heart; his heavy brows lightened with pleasure as each of his colleagues entered the room; and he greeted them, one by one, in a cordial, though in truth somewhat formal style. This was Samuel Adams.[6]

It had been proposed that the Committee extend its field to Canada,—the province of Quebec, it was then called; and immediate action seemed in order. The step was evidently important, though its importance appeared to grow as it was dwelt upon; and very naturally the consideration of it opened the way to long views and a broad discussion on the state of the country.

What Warren said, can be gathered quite well from his recorded utterances:—'Our existence as a free people depends absolutely on acting with spirit and vigor. The ministry are even yet doubtful whether we are in earnest when we declare our resolution to preserve our liberty; and the common people in Britain are made to believe that we are a nation of noisy cowards. Even those who wish us well dare not openly declare for us, lest we should meanly desert ourselves, and leave them alone to contend with Administration; who, they know, will be—politically speaking—omnipotent if America should submit to them. If America sees better days, it must be the result of her own conduct. We have had such full demonstration of their diabolical designs against us, that we can look for nothing from them but what our own virtue and spirit can extort. It is barely possible that Britain may depopulate North America, but I trust in God she can never conquer the inhabitants. Our cause is just; and we are so sensible how necessary it is to defend it, that I have no doubt, but, with the blessing of heaven upon us, and upon the many good friends engaged for us, we

[6] § J. Adams, Works, X., p. 251. Wells, S. Adams, II., p 211; III., p. 335. Frothingham, Warren, p. 26.



JOSEPH WARREN

shall be able to hold on and hold out until oppression, injustice and tyranny shall be superseded by freedom, justice and good government. America must and will be free. The voice of our fathers' blood cries to us from the ground, " My sons, scorn to be slaves ! " The contest may be severe, the end will be glorious.' [7]

Warming as he developed his ideas, Warren glowed before he was through like a coal from the altar; and the slender company thrilled profoundly with that sense of majesty and awful earnestness which never failed to make the assembly shiver, when he—as President of the Provincial Congress—gave the officers their commissions and their charge.[8]

Then Adams spoke, moving his little audience no less, though in a different way. One point was evident, he thought. If the Colonies were merely to kneel and petition at the foot of the throne, the presence of Quebec among them would add power to their voice. But that was not all. 'The plan of the British Court, as I have been well informed this winter, is to take possession of New York, make themselves masters of Hudson's River and the Lakes, cut off all communication between the Northern and Southern Colonies, and employ the Canadians, upon whom they greatly rely, in distressing the frontiers of New England.' [9]

From this premise, the orator went on with rising force, clearing the vision of his colleagues as Elisha opened the eyes of his servant.

'It requires but a small portion of the gift of prophecy for any one to foresee that Providence will erect a mighty empire in America; and our posterity will have it recorded

[7] § The language of Warren: Frothingham, Warren, pp. 33, 177, 381, 392, 393, 396, 414.

[8] Frothingham, Warren, p. 33.

[9] S. Adams to Bowdoin, Nov. 16, 1775: Proc. Mass. Hist Soc., 1st Ser., XII., p. 227.

in history that their forefathers emigrated from an island in a distant part of the world, the inhabitants of which had long been revered for wisdom and valour. *They* grew rich and powerful: these emigrants [also] increased in numbers and strength. But *they* were at last absorbed in luxury and dissipation; and, to support themselves in their vanity and extravagance, they coveted and seized the honest earnings of those industrious emigrants. This laid a foundation of distrust, animosity and hatred, till the emigrants, feeling their own vigor and independence, dissolved every bond of connection between them.'[10]

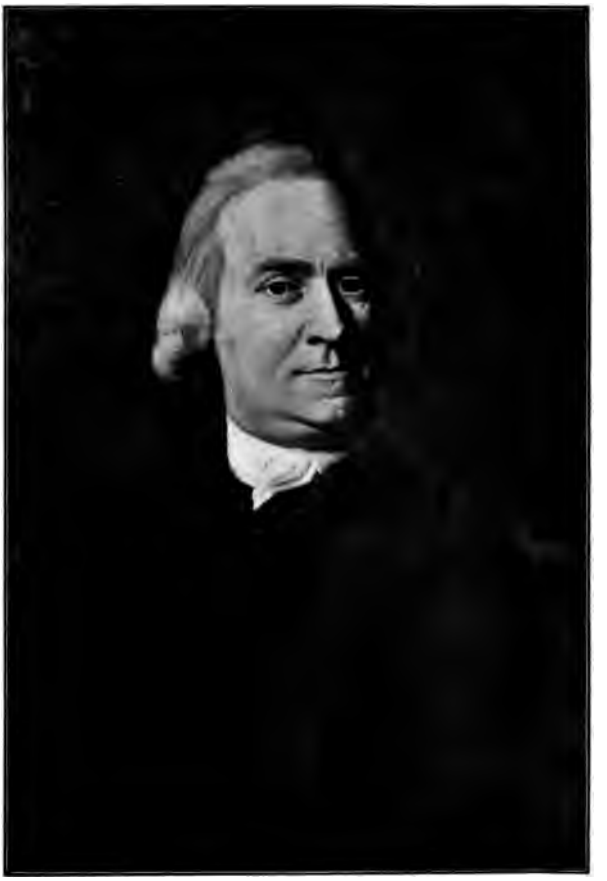
'We are to be a nation and a great one. To be prosperous we must have an extensive trade. This will require a respectable navy. Our ships must be manned, and the source of seamen is the fishery. Nova Scotia and Canada would be a great and permanent protection to the fishery. And further, the possession of these territories would prevent any view of Britain to disturb our peace in the future and [would] cut off an important source of corrupt British influence.'[11]

Without the slightest sign of affectation, the plain citizen of a moment ago had now assumed an air of dignity and even majesty. His melodious voice, tuned by a rarely musical ear, charmed the small circle; his head, though already trembling with the palsy, wore somehow a look of extraordinary meaning; his dark blue eyes shone with a prophet's enthusiasm; and his outstretched arm, which had overawed Governor Hutchinson after the Massacre, seemed clothed with more than human power. His

---

[10] S. Adams to A. Lee: Apr. 4, 1774: 4 Force, I, 238.

[11] § S. Adams to Cooper, Apr. 29, 1779: S. Adams Papers. A few slight changes have been made. Though this letter was written later, it seems highly probable, in view of Adams's large hopes for his country and his deep interest in Canada, that it represents his views in 1775. 'Long before the outbreak of hostilities' Adams and Warren had 'concerted plans' for the acquisition of Canada (Wells, S. Adams, II., p. 340). As the reader will perhaps infer from Chap. III., other points also may have been dwelt upon by Warren and Adams.



SAMUEL ADAMS

arguments,—combining warm patriotism, diplomatic wisdom, military prudence, and statesmanlike foresight, — backed up with such eloquence and such a personality electrified the Committee; and in this spirit it set its face toward its work: Canada must be won.[12]

Certain facts added immensely to the importance of this decision. Adams's influence reached far beyond those walls. He has been called the Father of the Revolution, and not without reason. Wherever the spirit of the movement should go, his ideas were to fly on the same wings; and among them his views about Canada. Nor were they to travel unattended. Adams possessed a rare gift, the power of making others his spokesmen without their knowing it; and for many years this power had been used unceasingly in the cause of America. From 1758 to 1775, said John Adams, 'he made it his constant rule to watch the rise of every brilliant genius, to seek his acquaintance, to court his friendship, to cultivate his natural feelings in favor of his native country, to warn him against the hostile designs of Great Britain, and to fix his affections and reflections on the side of his native country.' Even the rich John Hancock, dashing past in his gold-laced hat, embroidered waistcoat, scarlet coat, and ruffled sleeves, with a coachman and a footman bespangled with silver, and six beautiful bays to draw it all,—even he, though not aware of the fact, owed his patriotism largely to a certain plain fellow on the curb following him with a lustrous eye. Several of these young men were now leaders among the patriots, and they could hardly fail to reflect the views of their political father on a point he deemed highly important. He and they led Massachu-

---

[12] § J. Adams, Works, X., p. 251. Wells, S. Adams, II., p. 408; III., p. 335. Before Hutchinson: ib., I., p. 323

setts; and all have recognized the share of Massachusetts in guiding the Revolution.[13]

'Short-sighted mortals see not the numerous links of small and great events which form the chain on which the fate of kings and nations is suspended,' wrote Joseph Warren; and before long this truth was to be illustrated most astonishingly by the course of policy set moving in the chamber at Faneuil Hall. But the beginning seemed very simple. Adams and his colleagues felt they knew what they were going to do. Their action was deliberate. No chance, no mere accident carried the American revolt into Canada, but a set purpose: a set purpose to win the fourteenth Colony. And what that meant was to gain the whole of British America north of New England, New York, and the Ohio River, to gain waves bound to be the school of hardy seamen, and to gain ocean areas filled with a shining wealth of cod and mackerel.

Extraordinary turns of fortune both aided and hindered the working out of this design. Bold, sagacious, and also mistaken plans, brilliant and also blundering action, the deeds of heroes and the sufferings of martyrdom, dramatic successes and no less dramatic failures marked the course of events; and all these, together with the flow and ebb of sentiment among an almost voiceless people, it is our present endeavor to trace.

[13] § J. Adams, Works, X., p. 364. Loring, Orators, pp. 105, 106; Nat. Port. Gall., I. (J. Hancock).

I

ROOTS OF BITTERNESS

WHAT sort of lodgment was the spark of revolution to find in Canada? A wall of ice would extinguish it; a thatched roof would take fire; a magazine of gunpowder would explode.

October the third, 1535, a water-fowl never seen before in that region slowly ascended the upper St. Lawrence River, exciting the infinite wonder of every Indian along the shores. Far larger than any war canoe, with a great spread of grey cloth and black ropes in lieu of plumage, it sailed on without the aid of hands.[1]

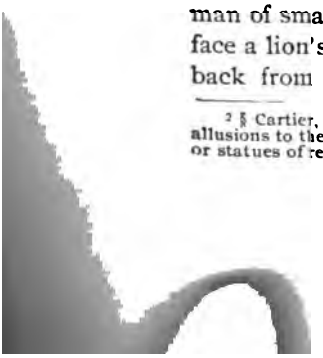
The strange bird was, of course, a European ship; and at the prow a Bréton captain, one Jacques Cartier, who always looked intensely active, whether he moved or stood still, gave what orders were necessary to catch the wind or to avoid the shoals and currents. Meanwhile, not only with his piercing eyes but with every one of his keen features, even to the sharp beard on his long chin, he seemed to sweep the immense black forests that rose to a climax in a small mountain on his right, and to examine the water and the shore with a peculiar attention. About here ought to be Hochelaga, he thought—the Indian town of which he had been told below.

Finally he decided to land; and then, with his little band of soldiers, he marched on about a couple of leagues

[1] Cartier, Bref Récit, p. 25.

through the silken rustle and the golden gleams of ripe cornfields, found the one narrow opening in a triple wall of palisades, and advanced between longish wooden cabins roofed with bark to an open space in their midst. With curious but wary glances he looked about him. What was the hidden but watchful village thinking, he wondered. Were these fair-skinned intruders in glittering armor looked upon as enemies and wizards, to be seized, if possible, and tortured? Or, coming from the East in flashing vesture, were they to be reverenced as children of the sun? Suddenly, wrote Cartier in his *Brief Account*, suddenly the women and children came pouring into the open space, many bringing babes in their arms. With trembling fingers they stroked the faces, hands, and shoulders of the Frenchmen, 'weeping with joy' to see them, and making signs that they should touch the little ones. So auspiciously ended the first voyage into Canada.[2]

After two generations had passed, other French vessels turned their prows against the current of the St. Lawrence (1603), and the history of the region began. Near Tadousac, where the noble Saguenay came in, Champlain, the hero of the expedition, held a council with the savages on a shore sprinkled with the blossoms of a northern May; and, while the Sagamore gravely declared that he was glad the French were coming to till their lands and fight their enemies, his braves, crying 'Ho, ho, ho!' in a wild chorus of approval, danced joyously before the strangers, brandishing the heads of defeated Iroquois, their mortal foes. Champlain was a man of small stature but lofty spirit, and behind his calm face a lion's courage slept; yet even he would have drawn back from this alliance, had he known what it meant.



[2] § Cartier, Bref Récit, p. 25. See Bosworth, Hochelaga Depicta, p. 21. The allusions to the personal appearance of early Canadians are based on portraits or statues of recognized worth.

JACQ ES CARTIER

But he did not know. He pressed on; retraced the voyage of Cartier; led a fleet of Algonquin and Huron war canoes across the lake that now bears his name; routed the Iroquois with fire and thunder still farther south; toiled almost a generation for Canada; and finally—bequeathing to the land he loved a deadly feud as well as an immortal fame—laid his worn-out body on its earth.[3]

After him the pioneers came faster. Those were the days of the Jesuit missionaries: among them towering Brebœuf, whose enthusiasm would not have shrunk from the necklace of red-hot tomahawks that was in store for him, had he foreseen it, and his comrade Lalemant, almost too feeble to live but strong enough to die in tortures without a murmur. Little by little, settlers reinforced the explorers; the black forests were pierced with spots of light; the wigwam found itself overshadowed by the house; fields grew, and churches multiplied; and the struggle for wealth supplemented, though it could not supersede, the struggle for existence.[4]

Early in the 17th century, Richelieu turned his eyes this way, and entrusted the region to a Company of One Hundred Associates. But no trading concern has been able to manage an empire; and Louis XIV., on the advice of his great minister Colbert, made Canada a royal province (1663). The white flag of the Bourbons floated now from the Castle of St. Louis at Quebec. A governor, covered with gold lace, held court and issued orders there. An intendant in black looked sharply after the King's interests, and made them—far too literally sometimes—his own. Laval, with the eyes of a soldier, the nose of a statesman, and the lips of a priest, ushered

---

[3] § Champlain, Œuvres, II., p. 6. The alliance against the Iroquois became effective in 1609, but Champlain's policy was indicated here in 1603.

[4] § As the brief sketch of early Canadian history aims merely to tell what is already known, references are given only in special cases. Parkman's works are the principal authority.

in a long line of bishops. Orders and ranks were established; soldiers in straight lines marched to the frontier; and, in short, Canada took on more and more the style of New France.

During the last quarter of the century, Frontenac—a terrible figure of bronze, with lips parted for high words and an arm outstretched to command or to strike — made the province not only respected but feared. Enemies were faithfully scourged, friends reinforced, and obstacles battered. And finally, in the century that followed, the witty and courtly Montcalm, though he struggled in vain, almost defeated fate with his gallantry and almost hid disaster with his glory. With him concluded the story of New France, and the line of its brilliant leaders ended.

Now the first look below the surface discovered, all through this period, unrest, agitation, discord, and war.

The inevitable Indian troubles were peculiarly dreadful, because the fierce Iroquois took sides against the French. War-parties hurried north by the Richelieu River so persistently that people named the stream *Rivière des Iroquois*[5]; while other fleets of canoes, packed with naked savages, bounded down the rapids of the St. Lawrence above Montreal. Every trick of Indian cunning and every horror of Indian ferocity joined hands against the friends of the detested Huron. Many and many a night, when the moon was clear, a nun, looking sharply into the bushes of the convent garden at Montreal, could see a painted Mohawk squatting patiently there, to tomahawk the first comer at sunrise; and once a war-party dashed past the guns of Quebec, slaughtered some friendly Indians on the Island of Orleans, and paddled back, without receiving a shot from the terrified garrison. A throng of candidates for martyrdom came over from Europe. Now and then one failed to die, but sufferings worse than death

[5] Dawson, North America, p. 302.

CHAMPLAIN'S PLAN OF TADOUSAC (Edition of 1613)
A, Round Mt.; B, Harbor; C, Brook; D, Indian Camp; F, Peninsula; F, All-Devils Point;
G, Saguenay River; H, Lark Point; I, Mountains; M, Roadstead;
N, Pond; O, Brook; P, Grass-land.

usually consoled his disappointment; and a broad scheme of empire, the masterpiece of Jesuit enterprise, courage, and policy, fell shattered under the tomahawk of the Iroquois.[6]

Along the southern border lay the British colonies, and the traditional hatreds of the Hundred Years War seemed reinforced here by the clash of irreconcilable ambitions. These half-wild provinces, outposts always in touch with each other, were the representatives of jealous powers. They could easily be driven into conflict by the mighty forces behind; and, year after year, the pile of animosities grew constantly higher both north and south of the line.

Four serious and regular wars lighted their flames along the border. Scarcely a village on the frontier of New Hampshire and Massachusetts was left unscathed by the French and Indians; the outskirts of New York suffered the same horrors; and spots of blood and ashes reached far toward the centres of population. Sleeping Saratoga and Schenectady were burned. Just before sunrise one morning, the red devils and their white allies dropped over the stockade of peaceful Deerfield. Men were knocked on the head close to Northampton. A scalping-party appeared at Dover. Bravely but in vain tall Sergeant Hawks tried to defend Number Four. At Keene a savage opened hostilities by thrusting his long knife into an old lady's back. A captive was roasted alive at Exeter. Casco Bay resounded with savage yells and with cries of agony. The smoke of Brunswick rolled far across the sky.[7]

During three months of the dark year 1746, thirty-five Canadian bands ravaged the border. In 1757 Dieskau, skimming Lake Champlain and Lake George with a swift

---

[6] Parkman, Jesuits, Chap. XXXIV.

[7] § See particularly Parkman, Half Century, *passim*. Number Four was Charlestown, N. H.

fleet of birch canoes, set a bloody ambush for the Provincials on the soil of New York. Montcalm did still more. Day after day he chanted the war-song at Montreal with the braves of thirty-three tribes. They came to love him more than life itself; and, when he saw the fire blaze high in their eyes, he stopped the song and led them toward the south. On the sixth day, they found the ramparts of Ticonderoga linking the blue of the heavens to the deeper blue of the lake; and then, twisting through the woods, they stole in silence across the smooth waters of Lake George. Fort William Henry fell; and that massacre followed, which set an edge of steel on the hearts of the Colonists.'

But the contest had two sides. In 1712, Dummers wrote, 'I am sure it has been the cry of the whole country ever since Canada was delivered up to the French, *Canada est delenda.*' 'Canada must be demolished—*Delenda est Carthago*—or we are undone!' cried Governor Livingston of New Jersey in 1756. 'Long had it been the common opinion, *Delenda est Carthago*, Canada must be conquered,' attested a pastor of the Old South Church in Boston. And attempts, not few, were made to fulfill the threat. Over and over again expeditions moved north against Quebec, and twice that proud rock felt the tread of conquerors. British and Provincial troops, hacking their way through the forests of Acadia, seized Port Royal. Grand Pré changed masters three times, but remained in Saxon hands. With banners carried high, Pepperell and his bold farmer lads marched through the Dauphin Gate of Louisburg, the French-Canadian Gibraltar. The Jesuit mission on the Kennebec ended in fire and blood. Dieskau fell bleeding from four wounds, and many an Indian cabin at the north was darkened by his failure. Montcalm perished, and Vaudreuil surrendered. The drum and war-cry, the song of triumph and

wail of disaster seemed as natural in Canada as the roar of its northeast gales.[8]

Troubles at home co-operated with hostilities abroad in creating a tradition of unrest. Quebec demanded that Montreal should deal with Europe only through her warehouses, but Montreal tempted the red-man with trinkets and brandy to carry no furs beyond Mont Royal. Quebec, the Jesuit citadel, intrigued, threatened, and triumphed against the Sulpician fathers of the upper capital. Young men by the hundreds, defying the orders of the Crown, left their ploughs and mattocks rusting in the ground, threw themselves headlong into the adventures and license of trade in the wilderness, and returned now and then, with their savage comrades, to demoralize the towns with the swagger, devil-may-care, and orgies of the wild *coureur de bois*.[9]

Church and State sometimes found themselves rivals,—even enemies. The castle scowled fiercely at the bishop's palace; ecclesiastics defied the orders of the King's representative; and once, it was said, a priest ventured to preach openly against the Governor and the Intendant as 'a pair of toadstools sprung up in the night.'[10] Neither could these two officials get on well together. The Governor, standing for the person of the sovereign and the majesty of the Crown, found himself checked and spied upon by the bustling man in black, the business agent of the colony, so to speak, who administered justice, drew the purse-strings, and made reports.

The royal authority seemed as absolute as Louis XIV. could contrive. In 1671, Paul Dupuy expressed the opinion that the English did a good thing when they cut

---

[8] § Livingston and Foxcroft: Parkman, Montcalm, I., p. 419; II., p. 377. Paltsits, Scheme. See Shirley's speech: Paltsits, Scheme, p. 16.

[9] § Parkman, Old Régime, pp. 339, 98, 104, 400, 360, 361, etc. Dussieux: Canada, p. 22.

[10] Parkman, Old Régime, p. 383.

off the head of Charles I.; and for this and some other such remarks, after lodging awhile in prison, he was dragged to the Governor's door in his shirt, with a rope around his neck and a torch in his hand, to ask pardon; was then sent over to the pillory to be branded on the cheek with the royal fleur-de-lis; sat for half an hour in the stocks at the mercy of the unmerciful; and finally, loaded with irons, found himself back in the prison. Yet even such authority as this did not feel secure; and, near the close of the French régime, an intendant complained that more regulars were needed to keep the people down.[11]

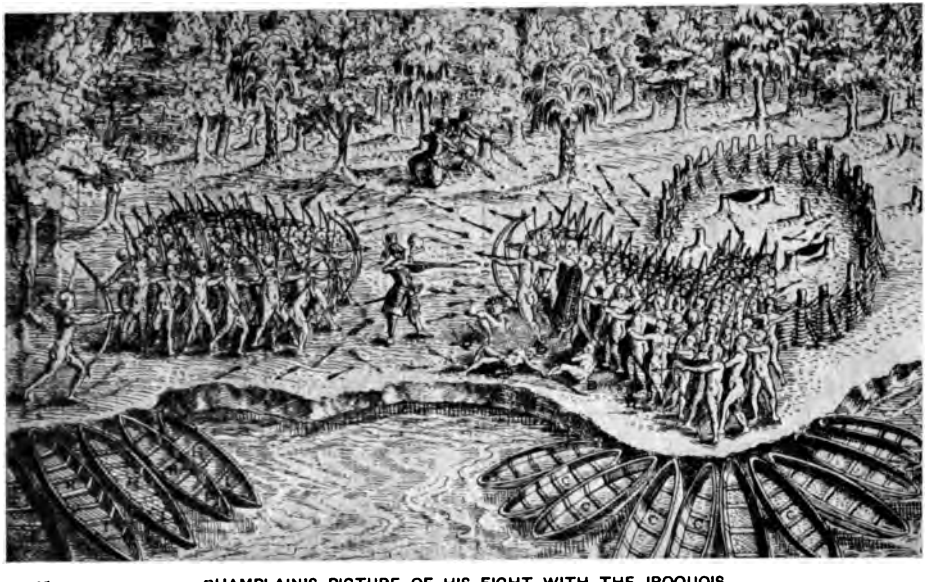
In the middle of the 18th century arrived the grand crisis of Canadian history. On the Plains of Abraham (1759), a tall man whose wasted frame, comical face, and short red hair—laughable even in his mother's eyes—clothed a spirit superior to pain and weakness, dealt a mortal blow at the empire of France,—and perhaps at that of England, also,—in North America; and soon, by the capitulation of Montreal (1760),[12] Canada fell entirely into English hands. Old things did not pass away then, but they were changed. All things did not become new, but foreign elements began to mingle with what already existed there; and the problem of governing the conquered brought a measure of vengeance upon the conquerors.

So long as the strife between Great Britain and France continued, Murray, one of the British generals, ruled Canada by military law. Yet his hand was by no means heavy. From the moment of victory, good sense or magnanimity or both inspired the English. Though a man of war, the Governor had a tender feeling for his subjects. Justice tempered with humanity was no doubt his wish and purpose. A soldier was hanged for robbing

---

[11] § Parkman, Old Régime, p. 331. Justice: Cavendish, Debates, p. 108. Mém. of Hocquart: Queb. Lit. and Hist. Soc., Hist. Docs., 1st Ser., 1840, p. 4.

[12] Houston, Const. Docs, p. 32.



25 CHAMPLAIN'S PICTURE OF HIS FIGHT WITH THE IROQUOIS

a citizen of Quebec; and British veterans could be seen in the harvest-field volunteering to help the farmer gather his crop, sharing their rations with him, and filling his empty pipe with tobacco.[13]

The Treaty of Paris ended the war in 1763. In October of that year, a royal proclamation staked out the limits and the political future of the province; and, ten months later, a civil administration went into effect under it. The system was that of a crown colony minus the Assembly. A 'Captain General and Governor in Chief' headed the administration; and a Council, by whose 'advice and consent' he was supposed to act, supplemented his wisdom, though in fact it was often hard to get a quorum of the Council, and the Governor usually did about as he pleased. Their ordinances, at first published at the beat of drum by criers, and later read from the *Quebec Gazette* by the priests at the close of the Sunday service, announced the will of the government; and, sitting also as a supreme provincial court, they were empowered to interpret the laws.[14] Murray was the first civil governor; and he gave place in 1766 to a man of equally good intentions and more ability, General Guy Carleton.

Yet, though Canada was fortunate in her British rulers, the tune there did not become pure harmony, and even a hasty glance at the strings could show why.

A mass of tenant-farmers, the French *habitants*, formed the basis of the population. These were the descendants of colonists—largely Norman—sent over by Louis XIV. and of women persuaded later to come and marry them. It was a tough, healthy stock, well purged of weaklings by the hard conditions of existence, full of Gallic vivacity

---

[13] § See Murray's reports in the Can. Arch. in proof of this. Parkman, Montcalm, II., p. 331.

[14] § Houston, Const. Docs., pp. 61, 67. Carleton, Maseres and Hey before the House of Commons: Cavendish, Debates. Coffin, Quebec Act, pp. 326, 338–343. Can. Arch., 1888, p. XII.; 1890, p. XII.

and by no means destitute of Gallic charm, yet not without some little faults. Bougainville, not long before the Conquest, painted the *habitant* as 'loud, boastful, mendacious, obliging, civil, and honest; indefatigable in hunting, travelling, and bush-ranging, but lazy in tilling the soil.' Murray, though a foreigner—or possibly because a foreigner—said more in their favor. While their military Governor, he described them as 'a strong healthy race, plain in their dress, virtuous in their morals and temperate in their living'; and two years later he alluded to them as 'perhaps the bravest and the best race upon the Globe.'[15]

They piqued themselves mainly upon their politeness; and, while their French ancestry was not to be forgotten, there was probably something in Marr's opinion that long subordination had left this mark upon them. Book-learning they wofully lacked. In fact, according to Lotbinière, hardly more than four or five persons in a parish could read; and of course their credulity—aside from a dash of the mocking cynicism native to every Frenchman—matched their ignorance. But, from the very cradle, children were taught how to act and how to speak, so that even the humblest countryman could manage his feet, hands, and tongue properly in any society.[16]

Though far from rich, these people seemed gay and contented. 'In New England & in the other Provinces of the Continent of North America belonging to the British Empire,' wrote Charlevoix, 'there prevails an opulence which the people know not how to profit by, & in New France a poverty concealed under an air of ease that appears unstudied. . . . The English Colonist ac-

---

[15] § Bougainville: Parkman, Old Régime, p. 439. Murray, Report, June 5, 1762: Can. Arch., B, 7, p. 55. Id. to Board of Trade, Oct. 29, 1764: Pub. Rec Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 2, p. 335. Marr: Can. Arch., M, 384, p. 85.

[16] § Marriott, Plan, p. 32 (Lotbinière). Hey to Chancellor, Aug. 28, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 12, p. 365. Murray to Shelburne, Aug. 20, 1766: Can. Arch., B, 8, p. 1. Marr: Note 15.

cumulates Property, & spends nothing needlessly: The Frenchman enjoys what he has, & often makes a show of what he has not. The former toils for his Heirs; the other leaves his [Children] in the penury where he found himself, to get on as they can.' [17]

At the Conquest the *habitants* were poorer than ever,—far poorer. War had kept them from their fields; no little wealth had vanished in smoke; and the French paper money that stuffed their pockets had turned by a hateful alchemy to mere dirty rags. The harvest of 1759 was but meagre,—save that garnered on the Plains of Abraham. A barrel of flour sold for two hundred francs. Most of the cattle and many a horse were sacrificed to keep the wolf from the door. People lived chiefly on a pittance of salt cod, or else on the King's rations. But they took up the spade and the sickle again with good courage. Some trapped the beaver, and some drew the seine. New blood flowed now in Canada; new capital worked its resources; the commercial instincts of the British gave a fresh impulse; and the country prospered more than ever. Holes in the thatch closed; chinks between the logs were stopped; the pot simmered briskly, and the fiddle soon recalled its merry dances. By 1771, 460,000 bushels of wheat could be exported annually.[18]

Toward the government, the mass of the *habitants* felt only submission. 'The people in general seem well enough disposed toward their new Masters,' reported General Gage from Montreal. Haldimand, writing from Three Rivers, expressed the same judgment with more emphasis. At the close of 1773, eleven years later, Lieutenant-Governor Cramahé only re-echoed these opinions, pronouncing the people 'tractable and submis-

---

[17] Charlevoix: Voyage, p. 80.

[18] § Parkman, Old Régime, p. 350; Montcalm, II., p. 172. Wheat: Chase and Carroll to Hancock, May 17, 1776: 4 Force, VI., 587.

sive.' Exhaustion might partially explain their state of mind at first; and besides, they realized how completely they had been defeated. But the purpose of the British to treat them fairly and kindly was no doubt appreciated, especially as miscolored stories from Acadia may have led them to expect something very different. Moreover, they felt that all authority came from God; and they realized, as truly as did the Papineau of a later day, that under British rule they were indeed well off,—no longer summoned to battle, no longer in danger, no longer burdened with taxes; but free, secure, prosperous, and light-hearted. Such was the mass of the Canadian farmers; and the French common people of the towns had similar reasons for entertaining similar feelings. Yet every man of them understood that an alien race had conquered and now reigned over them. [19]

CHAMPLAIN'S PICTURE OF HIS HOUSE AT QUEBEC

Another section of the conquered population, however, stood sharply apart from the *habitants*. This was the noblesse or gentry. The rulers of France had believed in aristocracy; therefore, said they, New France must have an upper class. The feudal system was established there by Richelieu; and some officers of a French regiment disbanded in Canada, reinforced by patented aristocrats and more officers, formed the noblesse.[20]

---

[19] § Gage to Amherst, Mar. 20, 1762; Can. Arch., M, 375, p. 222. Haldimand, 1762: ib. B, 1, p. 216. Cramahé: ib., Q, 10, p. 22.

[20] § Noblesse: Parkman, Old Régime, pp. 232, 294, 305; [Maseres], Occas. Essays, pp. 164–166; Murray, Can. Arch., B, 7, p. 55; Carleton to Shelburne, Nov. 25, 1767 (Can. Arch., Report for 1888, pp. 41–48). Maseres, Account, p. 165.

But the feudal system of the province reflected its French original in a ghostly fashion. On the one hand its political powers were nil, and on the other it had to depend upon usefulness more than brilliancy for the little consideration it enjoyed. As a scheme for dividing and clearing the wilds, it played a valuable part, since a noble forfeited the grant made him by the King unless the land were improved; and, as he could seldom afford to clear it himself, he found it necessary to look for settlers. Rents were so low that he could not live decently upon them. Sometimes, in fact, aristocrats fell into the direst poverty. 'It is pitiful,' wrote the Intendant Champigny, 'to see their children, of which they have great numbers, passing all summer with nothing on them but a shirt, and their wives and daughters working in the fields'; and three of the four original nobles reached the very edge of starvation. 'Pride and sloth,' wrote the same Intendant, were the causes of their ruin; and he added, 'I pray you grant no more letters of nobility, unless you want to multiply beggars.' 'To increase their number, is to increase the number of do-nothings,' declared Governor Denonville. 'In general poor, . . . extremely vain,' wrote Murray in 1762.[21]

For such men a post in the King's service was almost the only resource; and as a rule, while the French occupied Canada, they held commissions in the army. In that rôle their qualities had more lustre. Some of them, like Iberville, St. Castin, and La Salle, found poverty a noble spur to enterprise, turned their backs upon haughty but squalid idleness, and proved their titles to nobility by shining deeds instead of rusty parchments. Courage and military forwardness they did not lack. The border wars kept their swords bright; and, whether leading a foray or

[21] § See Note 19. Rents: 128 seigneuries are said to have yielded on the average only £60 a year; see Coffin, Quebec Act, p. 298. Champigny and Denonville: Parkman, Old Rég., pp. 307, 308. Murray: Can. Arch., B, 7, p. 55.

following a general, they served New France and scourged New England with zeal and effect. In short, the French-Canadian aristocracy was essentially military; and, though anybody who could buy an estate became a 'seigneur,' he did not for that reason become a noble.[22]

Upon this noblesse the Conquest dealt its heaviest blows. On the one side it put an end to royal employment, and on the other it annulled all authority over the *habitants*, subject previously to various feudal obligations. Many of the most important withdrew with the fleur-de-lis to France; and others, instead of living in the towns, as they preferred to do, had to exist as best they might in the dull poverty of their farms. Fear, hope, and hopelessness combined to keep them quiet, and Carleton acknowledged 'their decent and respectful obedience to the Kings government'; yet, as he informed Hillsborough in the same breath, he had not 'the least doubt of their secret attachments to france.'[23]

The Roman Church in Canada had been singularly exalted and then signally humbled.

In the early days, both Quebec and Montreal had been theocracies. Faith, devotion, and pious courage had never shown a brighter light, nor mysticism an illumination more brilliant or more absurd. Both God and the devil seemed to have the saintly pioneers especially in view at all times. Occurrences that came elsewhere in the natural order of things took place there by direct supernatural agency; and prodigies, miracles, visions, and ecstasies almost superseded the customary methods of observing and reasoning.[24]

---

[22] § Posts: Carleton, Nov. 20, 1768 (Can. Arch., Report for 1888, p. 48). Iberville, etc.: Parkman, Old Régime, pp. 310, 311. As soldiers: ib., pp. 312, 313. Seigneur vs. noble: ib., p. 304.

[23] § To France: Maseres, Account, p. 170. Carleton to Hillsborough, Nov. 20, 1768: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 5, last letter; see Can. Arch., Report for 1888, p. 48; and ib., Q, 5, 2, p. 890.

[24] For this paragraph and the next: Parkman, Old Régime, *passim*; particularly pp. 400, 217, 138, 185, 384, 404.

Among themselves the ecclesiastics might conspire and quarrel, but their common Church moved on majestically with a lofty front and a high hand. Governors might come and also they might go,—especially if they differed with the Jesuits; but the Church remained. The most vicious of the rulers had to pay homage to her, and the most virtuous were forced to wink more or less patiently at her abuses. More surprising still, the priests dared threaten Canadian belles with excommunication, merely for decorating their shapely heads with a knot of ribbon. Laval, in whose veins ran the proud, hot blood of a Constable of France, and in whose brain burned the fire of a Peter the Hermit,—Laval once declared, 'A bishop can do what he likes'; and he not only succeeded in turning the whole government of Canada bottom-side up, but even achieved the final and fatal triumph of rousing the jealous self-will of Louis XIV. himself. Under such a rule, orthodoxy could not fail to remain spotless; and when the King, after letting loose on the Huguenots his odious dragonnades, ordered this righteous example followed in Canada, the proud reply went back, 'Praised be God, there is not a heretic here!'

But now there was a heretic, and this proud Church lay at his feet. Instead of setting up and throwing down at its will governors, intendants, and councils, it had to walk softly before a Protestant King, himself the head of the Church in Canada, as in all British dominions. Instead of fulminating from the rock of Quebec, like a new Pope from a new Rome, the bishop felt happy to plead that, under the Capitulation of Montreal and the treaty of peace, he could lay claim to that humble boon, toleration. And when Briand, the present occupant of the episcopal

throne, received permission to be consecrated in France (1766), he thankfully let it be understood that he would be a mere over-shepherd of the sheep, a St. Peter of the first century, not of the thirteenth. No doubt the government dealt fairly and kindly with the Church, and both the higher clergy and the country priests repaid it with gratitude as well as obedience. But—Rome does not change, and Protestant rule could not be enjoyed.[25]

All these elements made up what bore the name of 'new subjects.' Of the 'old subjects,' as the British side of the house was termed, Governor Carleton stood first and most important.

Not precisely a drawing-room ornament was he, for an enormous nose mounted like a geological formation in the middle of his rather shapely face; nor a boudoir delight, for his well-turned lips moulded commands better than compliments, and that half-world of cleverness, manners and meanness called 'society' could have pleased him but little. Neither could he expect to be a popular idol; for he was by no means one to mouth his words fondly, until the tasteless concluded they must be honey; to beguile the unwary with facial movements that were outwardly smiles and inwardly chuckles; to inquire with tender unction after a mother or son, the fact of whose existence had been deftly snapped up five minutes before; and to prove his title to great distinction and great power by all manner of smallnesses: little graces, little favors, little flatteries, little ingenuities, little tricks, and services even smaller. Perhaps he might have looked well on a bishop's throne, for General Riedesel thought he resembled the Abbé Jerusalem exactly[26]; but arms were his

---

[25] § Briand: Maseres, Add. Papers, p. 138. Priests: Murray, Can. Arch., B, 8, p. 1; B, 7, p. 55. See Chap. XII., Note 22, and the corresponding text.

[26] Riedesel, Letters, p. 30. Nose: Gaspé, Mém., p. 127. Portrait: Polit. Mag., 1782, p. 350.

profession, and personal appearance was the last of his cares.

Had the Athens of Diogenes been his home, we should hear more of the tub perhaps, but certainly not so much of the lantern. Cleaner hands than anybody else 'ever entrusted with public money,' he was reputed to have; yet that was not enough to satisfy him, and, on assuming the governorship, he shocked Murray's friends and angered Murray himself by refusing the fees belonging to his office,—fees based on the capacity of richer provinces, and in his opinion too heavy for Canada.[27]

Essentially, and not merely by profession, he was a soldier,—fearless and inflexible, and General Gage described him as 'the best Military Instructor I know'; yet he regarded a victory over fellow citizens as no cause for rejoicing. 'Coach-dog' statesmanship he despised, and he had other uses for his ear than keeping it to the ground. Probably, also, he was—like Washington—too superior, too high-minded, too large, to penetrate all the meanness of small minds, or foresee all the counsels of timidity and selfishness; and no doubt his military instincts and training influenced both his political judgment and his personal likings. Many found him cold, and some looked upon his kind acts as mere policy; but in reality he was no man of bronze. Reserve and even sternness became a great governor and soldier in perilous times; and only a person of heart would have perceived the shrewdness of magnanimity.[28]

Being human, he was not infallible; but large, long views, broad kindliness, and sane policy beyond the reach of personal ambition or personal resentment he surely possessed. Circumstances as well as merits favored him,

---

[27] § **Clean hands**: Polit. Mag., 1782, p. 351. Fees: Can. Arch., Report for 1890, p. XIII.; Q, 3, p. 411; Coffin, Quebec Act, p. 359.

[28] § **Gage to Barrington, Aug. 27, 1774**: Can. Arch., QA, 12, p. 203. Victory: Letter, Oct. 14, 1776 (Can. Arch., B, 39, p. 219).

too. An inspiring captain without the passions of the fighter, an impartial judge without the bandage which justice has been said to wear, a satrap who refused to be either a courtier or a bandit, a hero without vanity and a man without a price, he had the good fortune to be set in contrast with Lord Germain in the cabinet and with General Burgoyne in the field.

Around the Governor, shading off in the fixed gradations of rank, stood the military men, with all the traditional merits and all the traditional faults of their caste,—honest, spirited, straightforward, haughty, domineering, and prejudiced[29]; and beyond them, in a circle that faded away toward the obscurity of stellar space, revolved the British civilian public.

The essential fact about these last was that a wish to make money, not a sentiment, nor a fancy, nor a sense of duty, had led them to settle in a cold, strange land among an alien people; and no doubt the consciousness of belonging to the dominant race had weighed somewhat in their calculations. Most of them had in fact arrived since the Conquest, and perhaps it would not be unfair to suggest that, if they marched for this frigid Canaan under the lead of a Moses, it was a Moses of the modern type.

MARQUIS DE MONTCALM

To tell the truth, what evidence concerning them made its way into the records looked remarkably unpleasant. Murray, soon after the treaty of peace, wrote the London government about "Licentious Fanaticks Trading here,"

[29] Murray to Lords of Trade, Mar. 3, 1765: Can. Arch., Q, 2, p. 377.

whom nothing could satisfy except 'the expulsion of the Canadians.' Half a year later, he described them as 'chiefly adventurers of mean Education, either young beginners, or, if Old Traders, such as had failed in other Countrys'; adding, 'all have their Fortunes to make and [are] little Sollicitous ab[t] the means.' Even the officials chosen in England for the civil service did not win his heart. 'Instead of Men of Genius and untainted Morals, the Reverse were appointed to the most important offices,' he complained. Carleton's report, dated soon after his arrival, resembled Murray's; and, within three years, he deposed the justices of the peace from their jurisdiction in civil cases on the ground that many of them acted oppressively. Men who failed in business took the office, he said, as a means of extortion.

RUINS OF LOUISBURG

And similar uncomplimentary judgments, after the British-Canadians fell out with the government, were often expressed and emphasized beyond the water, in speeches and in pamphlets.[30]

All this needed to be liberally discounted, however, on account of aristocratic, military, and political prejudices. It was true, no doubt, that a considerable number of these people, particularly those who settled in Canada at the time of the Conquest, were ex-sutlers and discharged soldiers, who made their living as liquor-dealers at retail; and possibly some of them deserved Murray's description,

---

[30] § Murray to Board of Trade, Oct. 29, 1764: Can. Arch., Q. 2, p. 233; Mar. 3, 1765: ib., p. 377 (Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 2, pp. 335, 455); see also Can. Arch., B, 8, p. 1. Carleton, Nov. 25, 1767: Can. Arch., Report for 1888, p. 41; Mar. 28, 1770: ib., Report for 1890, p. 1. English opinion: e.g., *Appeal to the Public*, p 19; Lyttleton to Pitt, p. 8.

'the most immoral collection of men I ever knew.' But from this low level, found in all society, the British-Canadian public of 1774 rose into what any commercial standard would accept as high respectability.[31]

Many of the traders were the agents of large English houses, and the leading merchants had a firm control of the wholesale business,—particularly the fur trade, the traffic with the Indians, and the foreign commerce. Indeed, Canada was indebted to them for substantially all of its larger affairs. Many carried on extensive operations; and some, like Adam Lymburner of Quebec and Thomas Walker of Montreal, had importance enough to merit the Governor's recognition as 'very respectable merchants.' Not a few bought estates and became 'seigneurs,' though substantially all resided in Quebec or Montreal. In a word, Canada could show, after the feebler immigrants had been driven away by the climate or poor success, just the sort of an active, energetic, sharp, rather hard and not over-nice mercantile class that has always adorned the hem of advancing civilization.[32]

Such a number of social elements could not circle in their orbits without acting and reacting on one another. Governor Carleton understood and trusted the military class, somewhat misunderstood and considerably disliked the traders, favored the *habitants* because they were really the people of Canada, and perhaps also because the lack of sympathy between him and the British residents made their support especially desirable, protected the Church, preferred the lower clergy, who were Canadian, to the

---

31 § Carleton to Hillsborough, Mar. 28, 1770: Can Arch., Q. 7, p. 7. **Liquor-dealers**: Carleton before the Commons, Cavendish, **Debates**, p. 106. **Murray**: Can. Arch., B, 8, p. 1. (By this time Murray had probably been embittered by their opposition; he was soon recalled.)

32 § **Agents**: Seigneurs, Petition (Can. Arch., Q. 4, p. 231). **Business operations**: Carleton and Maseres before the Commons, Cavendish, **Debates**, particularly pp. 127, 141. (Tonnancour of Three Rivers, however, was a French Jew. He controlled a great business.) Developed Canada: Hey, Can. Arch., Q. 12, p. 203. Carleton, Cavendish, Debates, p. 103. **Seigneurs**: Can. Arch., M, 384, 2, 1, p. 233. **Poor success**: Carl. to Shelburne (Can. Arch., Report for 1888, p. 43).

higher clergy who came chiefly from France, and felt a special interest in the noblesse because they were gentlemen, because they were soldiers, and because he believed that 'through their Interest' the lower class could be managed."[33]

The noblesse—although their poverty had secured them permission to engage in business without losing rank, and had sometimes driven them rather deeply into trade—felt a lordly contempt for the British merchants and probably showed twice as much as they felt; while, according to Murray, they received plenty of 'insults' in return. Toward the Governor, they looked with gratitude and hope as well as obedience. The Church was their revered mother; and the *habitants* were unshackled serfs, whose emancipation they as yet hardly realized, and recognized even less."[34]

The peasants in turn regarded the nobles quite generally as dethroned despots, now to be despised as much as they had once been feared. Indeed, though Murray and Carleton were not in a position to gauge the current, the noblesse began to lose their influence as soon as the authority of France withdrew; while the Canadians, compelled to deal with the British merchants and seigneurs, learned somewhat rapidly various welcome principles of English freedom. The superior activity, wealth, and political skill of the British gave them, in fact, some ascendancy over the natives. In 1766, the Canadians of Montreal, assisted perhaps by fellow citizens of the other tongue, proved their appreciation of the non-military spirit of English law by protesting against the billeting of troops upon them; and that same year some of them,

[33] § **Carleton**: Cavendish, Debates, p. 103; Coffin, Quebec Act, p. 325. Carleton to Shelburne, Nov. 25, 1767: Can. Arch., Q, 5, 1, p. 260. Carleton to Hillsborough, Mar. 15, 1769: Can. Arch., Q, 6, p. 34. (See Murray to the same effect: B, 8, p. 1; B, 7, p. 55.)

[34] § **In trade**: Murray, Report, June 5, 1762 (Can. Arch., B, 7, p. 55). **Contempt**: Seigneurs, Petition (ib., Q, 4, p. 231; Murray to Lords of Trade, Mar. 3, 1765 (ib., Q, 2, p. 377). **Insults**: Murray to Shelb., Aug. 20, 1766 (ib., B, 8, p. 1).

described by the noblesse as 'slaves to their creditors,' joined the British residents who petitioned for Murray's recall."

Toward the Church, the peasantry behaved like an affectionate but self-willed little rogue who discovers that his mother is fond as well as imperious. Released from every legal obligation to pay church dues, a corollary of the Conquest, they soon began to straighten their tired backs; and, even before the treaty of peace, Murray wrote, 'they every day take an opportunity to dispute the tythes with their Curés.' In short, the mass of the Canadians had left their old moorings, and were drifting now in a current of unknown direction and unknown rapidity. Might not some Charybdis or Scylla first reveal their whereabouts to themselves and the world?"

The most prominent British merchant at Montreal was the Thomas Walker already mentioned and often to be mentioned hereafter.

No masterpiece of art, no Raphael or even Hogarth has preserved this gentleman's features; yet, if Spenser said truly that 'Soul is form and doth the bodie make,' it would not be impossible to sketch his portrait. A strongly built man he must have been,—his large bones knit well together, and cushioned with no soft outlines of good-humored flesh. His beardless, raw-red face lay in broadly hewn planes, already a little pendulous at the lower edges in 1775. Short, iron-grey hair bristled up from a bronzed forehead, strikingly seamed; a long, substantial nose brightened into a deeper red at its keen and downward point; dark eyes, bloodshot and a trifle watery, glared out from under bushy eyebrows; and his ears, large and

---

[35] § Attitude: Hey to Chancellor, Aug. 28, 1775: Can. Arch., Q, 12, 203. Ascendancy: Cugnet in Maseres, Add Papers, p. 21; Carleton's implied opinion, Can. Arch., Q, 4, p. 40. Billeting: Can. Arch., Q, 3, pp. 120–170. Petition: Can. Arch., Q, 2, p. 361 (see ib., B, 8, pp. 6, 14). 'Slaves': Petition of Seigneurs (ib., Q, 4, p. 23)

[36] Murray, 1762: Can. Arch., B, 7, p. 56.

GENERAL JAMES WOLFE

remotely suggestive of a bat's pinions, hinted also perhaps of a nocturnal and predatory disposition. His ears, did we say?—but at this period he possessed only one such organ, and this curious fact bore seriously on the fate of nations.

At half-past eight in the evening, December 6, 1764, the Walkers were sitting in the parlor of their handsome house near the Château of Montreal. As usual, the cloth had been laid for tea in the hall, a room between the parlor and the street. Mrs. Walker, who was enough like her consort to render the family life piquant as well as affectionate, looked at her watch and remarked, 'It is time to go to supper.' Then, on second thought, as Mr. Walker had not been feeling very well that day, she urged him to be served in the parlor. It appears to have required ten or fifteen minutes to adjust this matter, but finally they went into the hall and sat down.[37]

Close behind Walker a strong door opened into the street, with a sashed door on the inside of it; and very soon the outside latch began to rattle violently as if some one were in a hurry to enter. 'Come in!' Mrs. Walker called out in French; and her husband, turning at the same instant, saw the outer door thrown open and a large number of people in disguise crowding up. Some concealed their faces partially with little round hats; while others had blackened them, or covered them with crape.

The inner door was instantly burst open, and several of the intruders hurried by the table as if to cut off retreat. Walker bethought himself at once of his bed-room beyond the parlor, where he kept a great number of firearms

---

[37] The Walker outrage from the official documents: Can. Arch., Report for 1888, pp. 1–14. See Can. Arch., Q, 4, p. 133. Walker, Memorial: Cont. Cong. Papers, No. 41, X., p. 655. The description of Walker is based upon the series of documents and events in which he appears. See, e.g., Carleton to Dartmouth, Nov. 11, 1774: Pub. Record Off. Colon. Corres., Quebec., II, p. 17. Mrs. Walker: see, e.g., J. Carroll to Chase and Ch. Carroll, May 28, 1776 (Emmet Coll.).

constantly loaded; but, on turning that way, he received a blow from behind—a broadsword blow, he believed—and, after driving through his assailants, found the door of the bed-room guarded by two men. The rest of the family had escaped meanwhile by another exit from the hall.

Then followed a terrible struggle in the parlor. Walker was set upon, beaten, wounded, and pushed from the bed-room door into a window recess, where, as he thought, only the curtains, tangling themselves about him, prevented his assailants from dashing his brains out against the stone wall of the house. Here the victim fainted or was stunned; but he quickly came to and heard some one across the room shout,

'Let me come at him; I will dispatch the villain with my sword!'

This roused him; and, breaking away from those in the window, he made a dash in the direction of the voice. Though his eyes were now full of blood, he saw two naked swords aimed at him. One he thrust aside with his left hand, and for some reason the other failed to do execution; but several men seized him and carried him toward the great fireplace as if to throw him on the burning logs. Wresting himself out of their clutches, after leaving the print of his bloody fingers on the jamb, he was struck on the head with a tomahawk—so the surgeons concluded—and felled to the floor.

There some one dealt him a terrific blow on the loins, and another miscreant sat or kneeled by him for the purpose, apparently, of cutting his throat. Walker bent his head to his shoulder and held his hand to his neck. In the struggle one finger was laid open to the bone, and one ear severed.

'The villain is dead!' exclaimed a voice.

'Damn him, we 've done for him!' answered another; and they all made off.

But the victim, though he had received not less than fifty-two bruises, besides many cuts, recovered after a painful siege, and set about the detection of his assailants. In November, two years later, three military men and three civilians were charged with the crime and arrested. All were prominent people, and the excitement became intense. Their influence counted powerfully in their favor, of course, while Walker's high temper had alienated not a few; and, as the evidence appeared far from conclusive, no indictment was brought in. Finally, however, one of the six had to stand trial, but he proved an alibi; and no further prosecution was attempted.

Naturally, this affair produced an immense commotion, bitter and long continued. It even reached the King's ear. And it was indeed of no little significance, for it illustrated, after all allowances were made for an arbitrary and harsh personality, the high state of tension between the military and the civil elements; for Walker had taken the lead in refusing to billet soldiers upon private houses or permit officers to bleed citizens by having more than one billet at a time.[38] Nobody could forget it or undo the effect of the hot feelings it aroused,—least of all, Walker himself. Nine months before the abortive prosecution of his alleged assailants, Murray had removed him from the Commission of the Peace, and his reinstatement by order of the King had no tendency to allay the irritation. Neither did the action of the British settlers in petitioning for Murray's recall, nor that of the noblesse in sending a counter petition.[39]

---

[38] Can. Arch., Report for 1888, pp. XI., XII. Walker Memorial: Note 37.

[39] Petitions: Can. Arch., B, 8, pp. 6, 14, 191; Q, 4, p. 23.

II

GERMS OF REVOLT

THE natural friction between two very different races; the inevitable discord, however concealed, between conquered and conquerors; the bitterness of a dethroned priesthood; the desperation of penniless aristocrats; the unpredictable impulses of an oppressed people discovering they were free; the mutual contempt of nobles and merchants; the mutual misunderstandings between the British Governor and the British public; the mutual distrust of Protestants and Roman Catholics; the keen antipathies between a military and a trading community,—these would seem to have been explosives enough; yet the real fulminate in Canada was something else.[1]

To tell the truth, more than one difficulty still to be considered might lay claim to that title; but the largest of them had a pre-eminent right: the question of summoning an Assembly. In that matter, strangely enough, trouble seemed impossible on a first view yet inevitable on a second.

The royal proclamation of 1763 had announced with majestic unction that popular government would be set up, and invited British subjects to come and prosper under the branches thereof. 'And whereas it will greatly contribute to the speedy settling our said new Governments,' declared the King, 'that our loving Subjects should be informed of our Paternal care for the security of the

[1] See Can. Arch., Report for 1890, p. X, for interesting remarks on the state of Canada from 1760 to 1775.

Liberties and Properties of those who are and shall become Inhabitants thereof,' be it known hereby that 'express Power and Direction' have been given 'to our Governors of our said Colonies [acquired under the treaty of 1763] that so soon as the state and circumstances of the said Colonies will admit thereof, they shall, with the Advice and Consent of the Members of our Council, summon and call General Assemblies within the said Governments respectively, in such Manner and Force as is used and directed in those Colonies and Provinces in America which are under our immediate Government.'[3]

As the announcement itself explained, England gave this pledge to Canada, not only as a natural consequence of raising her flag on that soil, but for the definite purpose of inducing British citizens to reside there. It seemed not only a father's promise but a landowner's contract. Indeed, Lord Mansfield's famous judgment, in the similar case of Grenada Island, involved the conclusion that the proclamation amounted in reality to a constitution or charter; and this view appeared to be confirmed by the fact that the Quebec Act, the first organic law given Canada by Parliament, was careful expressly to abrogate the proclamation. Legally, it has been held, the government of Canada at this period without an Assembly was unconstitutional and absolutely void. Yet, whether no Assembly was called, as some declared, or was summoned and elected once, according to Marriott's report to the Crown, as a matter of common agreement no Assembly ever sat; practically, therefore, none existed.[4]

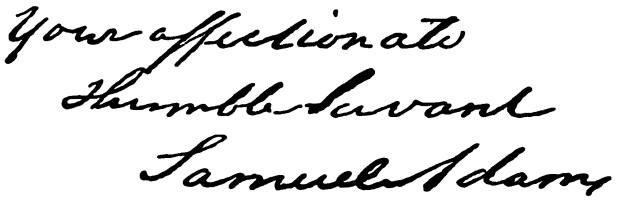
There were good reasons, however, for this apparent lapse of the royal word. Canada belonged essentially to French Catholics, who, under British law, could neither hold office nor vote. Carleton's estimate of their number,

---

[3] Can. Arch., Q, 62A, 1, p. 114; Houston, Const. Docs., p. 67.

[4] § Coffin, Quebec Act, pp. 294, 326-328. Marriott, Plan, p. 32.

150,000, was doubtless too high; but if they were 60,000 against some 2000 British, according to Haldimand's estimate in 1780, one can understand why three British governors in succession looked upon them as entitled to the first consideration. Now, to change the law and admit these Catholics to an Assembly would shock British prejudices, destroy British safeguards, and place the British residents in Canada under the rule of Frenchmen and 'papists,' conquered by force of arms but a little time since; while to exclude them would excite and per-



haps justify their fears of oppression. As Lord North said to the House of Commons, 'The bulk of the inhabitants' were Roman Catholics, and to 'subject them to an assembly composed of a few British subjects would be a great hardship.' To avoid this difficulty, it was proposed that while Protestants alone should be eligible for membership in the legislature, Catholics might be allowed to vote for them; but Solicitor-General Wedderburn opined that, were this franchise given to all Catholics, the noblesse would be offended, while, were it not, the Assembly would fail to be representative. In short, it seemed practically impossible to carry out the conditional promise of 1763.[4]

Several facts helped reconcile the government to inaction.

---

[4] § Carleton: Cavendish, Debates, p. 103. Haldimand: Can. Arch., B, 54, p. 354. Haldimand's estimate was too low, for, according to the census of 1784, the population of the districts of Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers was 111,314 (Can. Arch., Report for 1889, p. 39). Murray, Aug. 20, 1766: Can. Arch., B, 8, p 1. Johnstone: Cavendish, Debates, p. 249. Wedderburn (Dec., 1772) and the general question: Coffin, Quebec Act, pp. 465, 476. Bourinot, Canada under Brit. Rule, p. 44.

One was that an Assembly did not appear to be desired by the French-Canadians,[5] whereas the rule of a Governor and Council seemed to be, not only the system demanded by the circumstances of the time, but the régime most likely to please the mass of the people. Autocracy had been the polity of France. Only twelve years after the founding of Jamestown, wrote Hutchinson, 'a house of Burgesses broke out in Virginia'; but no such malady had got a foothold in Canada. 'In the fulness of our power—and our certain knowledge,' and not as lawyers and legislators, had spoken the edicts of the King. For a long period, merchants were not permitted to meet for even the simple discussion of their business. The syndic, chosen for a while by the towns, disappeared at a word or two from the throne, like frost under a glance of the sun; and, though the citizens of Quebec were called together a few times to consider some such local matter as the supply of fire-wood or the color of bread, the eye of authority soon narrowed upon them and the gatherings withered away. 'It is of very great consequence,' wrote Meules, an intendant, 'that the people should not be left at liberty to speak their minds.'[6]

Neither had the British governors exerted themselves to teach the value of public meetings. In this respect, curiously enough, they followed the tradition of their predecessors, much as Carleton, though he succeeded a governor recalled in a sort of disgrace, held Murray's views about the noblesse. In both cases, like causes produced like effects. Evidently they feared, and very naturally, that some political epidemic might break out among this mass of conquered aliens, if they crowded over

[5] The word 'Canadians' will often be used by itself to signify the French of Canada; and the English-speaking people will be called 'British-Canadians.'

[6] § Carleton before the House of Commons: Cavendish, Debates, pp. 105, 106, 118. North: ib., p. 10. Hutchinson: Am. Hist. Assoc., Report, 1891, p. 313. Parkman, Old Régime, pp. 330, 331, 336, 351.

much together. It was held that British citizens themselves had no right to assemble without the governor's consent. Even mere petitions were discouraged. So dead an atmosphere could not well transport ideas of self-government; and, as few covet what they know nothing about, the mass of the Canadians desired an Assembly about as much as they desired porcelain bath-tubs or electric lights.[7]

More than that, some of them positively dreaded such a contrivance. The noblesse belonged of course to this number; and their petition in favor of Murray showed, as one might have expected, their preference for a military régime. The priests had no desire to be ruled by a group of somewhat aggressive Protestants; and others dreaded that an Assembly would make trouble with the home government as in the Colonies. Canada was prosperous now, argued many; why not let well enough alone? The very logic of this reasoning hinted that perhaps a vague cry of 'Liberty, liberty!' might some day set these blissful Canadians on fire, for such advice meant that ignorance was to continue, and it was impossible that a mediæval French polity should go on forever, unchallenged, in an English province; but—it was plausible.[8]

Another thing that helped reconcile the British government to inaction was the sort of people who demanded the fulfillment of the 'promise,' as they loved to describe it. Not only were they traders and merchants, with all those words implied; not only had they quarrelled with the military caste and failed in deference to the noblesse; not only was it believed that they would like to oppress the natives; but a number of them had come from the

[7] § Right to assemble: Cramahé to Dartmouth, Dec. 13, 1773; July 15, 1774, Can. Arch., Q. 10, pp. 24, 79. Petitions; Carleton to Hillsborough, Oct. 25, 1769 (Can. Arch., Q. 6, p. 161). Carleton before House of Commons: Cavendish, Debates, pp. 105, etc.

[8] § Petition: Can. Arch., Q. 4, p. 23. N. Y. Journ., Aug. 11, 1774 (Letter from London). Carleton: Cavendish, Debates, p. 106.

turbulent and mutinous Colonies. Thomas Walker had lived long at Boston, and indeed that name had appeared there in more than one previous generation. According to Bourinot, the English within the limits of Canada in 1764 were chiefly from New England; and the next year Murray reported eleven out of a hundred and thirty-six British residents in the District of Montreal as born in the Colonies, while no doubt others had lived there. Carleton spoke of 'some Colonists settled among' the British of Montreal, as if they were comparatively few; but apparently they were very energetic, for Lieutenant-Governor Cramahé testified that substantially all such British subjects as intended 'remaining in the Country, adopted American Ideas in regard to Taxation.' Indeed, the instructions given Carleton in 1768 with reference to calling an Assembly, and the Act of 1774, which denied the Canadian government any authority to lay taxes except for specified local purposes, appeared to acknowledge the danger of insubordination; and in general the British Ministry could hardly fail to look upon the demand for an Assembly as largely an outcropping of Colonial rebelliousness or at least of a similar spirit.[9]

The methods of the British residents hardly tended to calm the irritation. They saw that the proclamation had given them a great advantage, and evidently did not propose to neglect it. Possibly they were not unwilling to govern the country somewhat unfairly in their own interest. But anyhow, race and habit prompted them to ask for a real voice in public affairs, not a mere shadow of authority like that of the Council; and without it they deemed their property and their personal rights exposed

[9] § **Walker**: Carleton to Germain, May 9, 1777 (Can. Arch., Q, 13, pp. 96, 98); **Walker, Memorial**, *passim*. Bourinot, Can. under Brit. Rule, p. 43. Murray, **List**: Can. Arch., B, 8, p. 96. Others: note instances in the text *passim*. **Carleton to Dartmouth, Nov. 11, 1774**: Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 11. Cramahé to **Dartmouth, July 15, 1774**: Pub. Rec. Off., Quebec, 10. p. 115. Instructions **Can. Arch., M, 230, p. 67, § 10.**

to arbitrary ordinances. They wished it; the government had 'promised' it; and so, in season and out of season, through evil report and through such faint glimmerings of good report as befell them, cheerfully ignoring all the difficulties of the case, they demanded it in respectful but emphatic terms.[10]

As may readily be supposed, no time was allowed the proclamation to die a natural death. In 1764—like a bud forcing its way through the bark of a tree, when a frost has killed the young shoots—the British members of the grand jury at Quebec astounded Governor Murray with a demand for self-government. Taking the ground that, as no Assembly had been called, they 'must be considered at present, as the only Body Representative of the Colony'; and that 'British Subjects have a right to be Consulted before any Ordinance that may affect the Body they Represent be passed into a Law,' they requested that 'the publick accounts be laid before the Grand Jury at least Twice a year, to be Examined and Check'd by them.' Rather a bold beginning, this; and perhaps it was equally audacious to protest at the same time against the admission of Catholics to juries as 'an open Violation of our most sacred Laws and Liberties,' as well as a menace to the security of the province. But apparently they felt that, as the lion had put his nose into their vise, a decided turn would soonest end the business, and that no good reason existed for concealing what has been called their claim to rule.[11]

Eight of these men and thirteen more signed the petition against Murray in 1765; and, calling themselves representatives of the whole British element, once more demanded an Assembly. The next year, some traders

---

[10] Petition, Dec. 31, 1773: Can. Arch., Q, 10, p. 56; Dartmouth to Cramahé, May 4, 1774: ib., p. 55. See text below.

[11] § Can. Arch., Q, 2, p. 242. Bourinot, Can. under Brit Rule, p. 44.

GENERAL GUY CARLETON

were haled into court for refusing to pay the old French customs duties levied still by the government; and the refusal of the jury, drawn from the mercantile class, to convict them, has been thought probably due to resentment at the delay in summoning a legislature. Then, for a time, quiet returned.[12]

In June, 1767, Shelburne wrote Carleton that the privy council had the subject of improving the constitution of Quebec 'under the most serious and deliberate consideration.' It was too serious, apparently, to result in action; but news of the matter seems to have been sent across to the British merchants in Canada, and, at the beginning of 1768, the Governor wrote that the agitation for an Assembly, which he thought had been given up the year before, had reappeared, the leaders being 'egged on by letters from home,' much as the commotions in the Colonies were stimulated by political sympathizers across the water.[13]

In 1770, Carleton sailed for the mother country; and, as he was known to stand in opposition to the wishes of the British-Canadians, it seemed necessary, perhaps, to counteract his influence. At all events, another petition made the voyage at about the same time, demanding an Assembly under the 'promise' of 1763.[14] How welcome this fresh reminder of an obligation that could not be kept seemed to the home government can easily be imagined; but imagination pauses a little when it finds the petitioners requesting, after the language of the proclamation, that it be called 'in such a manner as is used in those provinces in America under your Majesty's

[12] § Petition against Murray: Can. Arch., B, 8, p. 6. Coffin, Quebec Act, p. 314. But the speech of the Attorney-General at a similar trial in 1769 would seem to suggest that the resentment was due to the failure of the government to put the English laws into force (Coffin, p. 315). Can. Arch., "Commissions," pp. 304, 305.

[13] § Shelburne, June 20, 1767: Can. Arch., Q, 4, p. 129. Carleton, Jan. 20, 1768: ib., Q. 5, 1, p. 370.

[14] Can. Arch., Q, 7, p. 359.

immediate government,'—provinces already forming in line for 'rebellion.' Then quiet fell once more upon the scene, for the merchants, having represented the case, went about their affairs.

In 1773, however, it began to look more than ever as if something would be done about the government of Canada, and the activity of the petitioners redoubled. A particular danger served, apparently, as the primer of their zeal. A report got abroad in Great Britain that a duty on spirits would be imposed upon the province by the authority of Parliament; and the news, wrote Cramahé, was transmitted by one of the 'Correspondents' of the merchants.[15] On this, a Mr. McCord, who had come from the north of Ireland soon after the Conquest, and built up a very snug little business at Quebec as a retail dealer,—particularly of liquors,—invited the chief Protestants of the town to meet. On the thirtieth of October, at least forty-one of them came together. Thirty-eight voted in favor of moving once more for an Assembly; and, three days later, another meeting decided to begin with a petition to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, to invite the French citizens to meet the committee on the following Thursday, and to furnish the people at Montreal with a transcript of the records, so that all might work in harmony.[16]

[15] Cramahé to Dartmouth, July 15, 1774: Can. Arch., Q, 10, p. 79.

[16] Compare Cramahé to Dartmouth, Dec. 13, 1773 (Can. Arch., Q, 10, p. 22) with the report of the meetings in ib., p. 11; Maseres, Account, pp. 1–35. The petitions, etc.: Can. Arch., Q, 10, pp. 46, 51, 56.

The idea of getting the support of the Canadians was not new. It had grown up naturally, as the British realized their influence over their fellow subjects and the importance of making every possible effort. All summer Mr. McCord had been at work along that line; and now, as the leading spirit of the committee, he labored at it more than ever. But here came a real difficulty. Were the French to have full representation and full rights in the legislature? If not, they were probably better off without such an institution, for the home government, naturally desirous that Canada as a whole should be prosperous and contented, was much more likely to treat them equitably than fellow citizens who could make substantial profits by oppressing them. Evidently afraid of being used merely as catspaws, they declined to join the British in petitioning for an Assembly except on this basis; the British refused to 'dictate' details to His Majesty; the plan of co-operation fell through; and the former petitioners had to go on alone once more.[17]

First they addressed the Lieutenant-Governor; and then, as he assumed a perfectly non-committal attitude, they proceeded to petition the King and memorialize the Earl of Dartmouth. Walker and almost all the British in Montreal and Quebec outside of the government circle took hold. Francis Maseres, recently the Attorney-General at Quebec, a very active, able and well-informed man, became their London agent[18]; and his faultless ruffles, tie-wig, and three-cornered hat, so dear to all who loved the Inner Temple, could be seen moving briskly about the city on this business. But in spite of all the striving, an Assembly did not come.[19]

---

[17] § See Note 16. Maseres, Add. Papers, pp. 20–48.

[18] For Maseres: Dict. Nat. Biog., XXXVI., p. 407; Morgan, Celeb. Canads.; L'Electeur, 10 janv., 1891; Lamb, Essays of Elia, p. 159.

[19] § See Note 16. Agent: Carleton to Dartmouth, Nov. 11, 1774 (Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 11). Maseres himself did not consider the province ripe for an Assembly (Letter to Dartmouth, Jan. 4, 1774: Can. Arch., Q, 10, p. 8).

In fact, nothing came just then. It has been said that the British administration was 'studying,' all this while, the problem of Canada; but if so, it studied in a very languid and tropical sense. The decade from 1760 to 1770 was a lean period,—'ten years of weak governments and party anarchy,' as Lecky has said; and, even after North stepped shrinkingly into Grafton's narrow shoes, it required some time to get the machinery into motion. Between 1763 and 1772, the seals of the Secretary of State changed hands a dozen times. 'When the house is on fire, one does not trouble oneself about the stable,' the French minister had said, not long before, with reference to Canadian difficulties; and British public men, shivering at the thought of the Arctic snows deposited in Canada by their own imaginations, busied themselves, with much the same feeling as the Frenchman's, in the battles and intrigues of their home politics.[20]

But Governor Carleton had put his shoulder squarely to the wheel, and finally, after all these years of waiting, it began to move.

Though he neither admired nor liked certain elements of the population, his course did not spring from hostility. He aimed, not to destroy, but to upbuild; not to injure but to benefit. Here was a mass of ignorant people, unable to guide their own destinies but happily provided with leaders, the noblesse and the clergy. In 1766 Murray had written, after rather a long stay in Canada: The peasants 'have been accustomed to respect and Obey their Noblesse, their Tenures being Military in the Feudal Manner; they

WEDDERBURN

[20] § Bourinot, Can. under Brit. Rule, p. 44. Lecky, Hist. Eng., I., p. 1.

have Shared with them the dangers of the Field; and natural Affection has been increased in proportion to the Calamities which have been Common to both from the Conquest of their Country.' How reasonable this appeared to men of the upper caste, and how well supported by the traditional manners, not yet lost, of the people! While, as for the priests, the foundations of their power seemed even firmer as well as deeper. If, now, the wishes of these leaders were met, the people would be satisfied; they would be happy.[21]

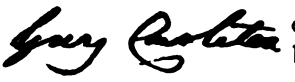
At the same time, the empire would be strengthened; for, as Laterrière said, while every place in the government went as a matter of course to British subjects, the Canadians were indifferent; this indifference might lead easily into discontent; and discontent in Canada would be peculiarly dangerous. Here, said the Governor, were but a few soldiers, with no sure place for magazines, arms, or troops, 'amidst a numerous Military people, the Gentlemen all officers of experience, poor, without hopes' of admission to the service of Great Britain; while on the border lay Colonies meditating resistance, and across the sea stood an ancient foe, allied by blood to these Canadians. That 'the interests of many would be greatly promoted by a revolution,' he saw plainly; yet the British had 'done nothing to Gain one Man in the province, by making it his private interest to remain the King's Subject.' The existing situation, therefore, could not be suffered to continue; a remedy must be found.[22]

That remedy—which was also to make the Canadians happy—was the fateful Quebec Act of 1774. By this law, the province was extended on the east as far as the rocks

[21] § That Carleton's ideas were benevolent and were dominant in moulding the Act is unquestioned, and evidence may be found, e.g., in his testimony before the Commons: Cavendish, Debates. See also, Nat. Dict. Biog., IX., p. 94. Murray to Shelburne, Aug. 20, 1766: Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 21,668, p. 1.

[22] § Laterrière, Mém., p. 63. Carleton to Hillsborough, Nov. 20, 1768: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 5, last letter.

and fisheries of Labrador, while its bounds on the south-west, making a magnificent bend along the Appalachian Mountains and the Ohio River, swept the territory of five of our present States into the same vast net. The Roman Catholic church, which had merely been tolerated by the wording of the treaty, gained the new power of compelling its communicants to pay their dues. It was also enacted that while the criminal law of England should continue in force, the civil law—the defence of property—should be that of France; and a Governor and Council, appointed directly or indirectly by His Majesty and so within easy reach of his displeasure, were to modify the old laws and create the new ones. Not only was no Assembly granted, but the express annulment of that darling 'promise' appeared to quench all hope of self-rule; and thus a safety-valve was transformed into a bomb.[23]



Other apples of discord, fair-looking enough, were thrown into Canada by this Act, though Dartmouth—with a troubled look on his genial, handsome face—honestly described it as 'founded in the most anxious good Wishes for its Welfare and Prosperity.' To the extension of territory no serious objection was made, but the new status of the Roman church called forth many protests. To give the priests legal aid in collecting their tithes appeared in some eyes like 'establishing' the popish confession, and the fires of Smithfield were still too near for anything like Romish power to please good Protestants. The government, however, felt able to take the ground that all this lay involved in toleration; that it was necessary for the protection of Catholic worship against the British of Quebec; for, according to the Attorney-General, some

[23] § Can. Arch., Q, 56, 2, p. 500 (501); Houston, Const. Docs., pp. 61, 90; Smith, Canada, II., p. 73.

'very laudable, good Protestants among them' wanted the anti-popery laws 'carried fully into execution,' lodging 'a general presentment against all the [other] inhabitants of the colony for being Papists'; and evidently such fanatics might exert themselves to cripple the Roman church by stimulating the people to pay no tithes.[24]

Besides, as a matter of fact, Protestantism seemed amply safeguarded. The King was to be supreme, and Carleton's Instructions explained what that meant. 'All appeals to, or correspondence with any foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction of what nature or kind soever' should be 'absolutely forbidden under very severe penalties.' All exercise of Roman Catholic functions must be under the license of royal authority, and only a Canadian by birth could be appointed to a benefice. On a request from the majority of the inhabitants of a parish, a Protestant minister was to be appointed there and receive all the tithes, while no Protestant should ever pay tithes to the Roman authorities. Catholic ecclesiastics might marry if they would, and burial in churches and churchyards must be allowed 'to every Christian Persuasion.' Certainly the Protestants had little to complain of under this head.[25]

The Canadians, however, felt highly incensed. This blunt, this absolute assertion of the King's ecclesiastical supremacy sounded rough; and how could they possibly enjoy seeing unblest hands laid so heavily on the sacred vessels? Probably they did not enjoy it; but something quite unforeseen and quite different eclipsed that grievance. As early as the year of the treaty (1763), Murray wrote that his Canadians did not care much for the hierarchy, and would be satisfied if given their parish priests. So much

[24] § Dartmouth to Carleton, Apr. 15, 1775: Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 127; portrait belonging to Dartmouth College. Atty.-Gen., Cavendish, Debates, p. 32. Treaty, Art. IV.: Collection of Acts, p. 24.

[25] § Supremacy: see Quebec Act in Houston, Const. Docs, p. 90; Maseres, Account, p. 84. Instructions: Can. Arch., M, 230, p. 134, § 21 (the instructions were not drawn up until Jan. 5, 1775).

the Quebec Act certainly allowed them. The trouble was that it gave more. Since the Conquest they had been able to do as they pleased about the church dues, and they had found that system pleasant. As a letter in the *Public Advertiser* said, they had 'lived exempt and happy for the space of fifteen years,' but now 'the compulsive obligation' to pay had been 'unnecessarily and officiously revived.' No doubt the Bishop held a different opinion on this point; but the opening of a purse and the extracting of silver therefrom lay well within the intellectual capacity of Jacques Bonhomme. On that subject at least, he was able to think for himself.[26]

But if the Canadians could sing the dominant part on this theme, the British had their turn on the next.

The same proclamation of 1763 had announced, as with a flourish of trumpets, that 'all persons inhabiting in or resorting to our said colonies may confide in our Royal Protection for the enjoyment of the benefit of the laws of England,' and another sentence appeared to place the criminal and the civil law on the same footing in this regard. But the civil law did not, like the criminal branch, follow the flag as a matter of course; and the Crown lawyers explained in 1766 that it was not the intention 'at once to abolish all the usages and customs of Canada with the rough hand of a conqueror.' Hillsborough, who had a leading part in drawing the proclamation, wrote Carleton officially, as Secretary of State, that 'it had never entered into our idea to overturn the laws and customs of Canada in regard to property, but that justice should be administered agreeably to them, according to the modes of administering justice . . . in this kingdom'; and in 1774 the Attorney-General calmly observed that he 'never imagined that a proclama-

[26] § Murray to Halifax, Oct. 23, 1763: Can. Arch., Q, 1, p. 251. Letter in Pub. Advertiser, Dec. 29, 1775: quoted by Maseres, Add. Papers, p. 147.

THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH

tion so exceedingly loose and general could be pleaded as an authority.' [27]

As a matter of fact, the civil laws of the aforetime continued in effect; and the British-Canadians little relished this interpretation of His Majesty's assurance. It has been called a sound principle that, if one use ambiguous expressions, one must submit to any reasonable construction they will bear; and it had seemed fair to conclude from the proclamation that English laws, well understood and thoroughly trusted, would throw their protecting arms round the property of all British settlers in Canada. And now something worse yet had come. To have the ambiguity cleared up, indeed, but cleared up in the wrong sense excited indignant alarm, and that grew still deeper when Holt's paper informed the public that a motion proposing an optional jury as an amendment to the Act, expressly 'in order that the English merchants might have some remedy to protect their property,' was opposed by the government and lost by a vote of forty to eighty-three. 'Individuals bred up in a country where trial by jury does not prevail,' Solicitor-General Wedderburn had argued, 'would find it very difficult to exercise the office of a juryman. They would consider it a hardship.' [28]

Carleton's return to Quebec (September, 1774) after the passage of the Act, seemed at first a joyous event, however, confirming every presage of Canadian satisfaction. The noblesse and the clergy pressed to his side. The people about him, as he wrote to Gage, appeared to show 'the strongest Marks of Joy and Gratitude.' Those more remote, so he informed the Earl of Dartmouth, 'in all their Letters and Addresses, expressed the same Sentiments.' Many at Quebec, even of the British, in

[27] § Proclamation: see Note 2. Coffin, Quebec Act, pp. 332, 333, 352. 1766: Smith, Canada, II., p. 27. Hillsborough, Mar. 6 1768 Can. Arch., Q, 5, 1, p. 344. Att.-Gen.: Cavendish, Debates, pp. 56, 71. See REMARK I.

[28] § Continued: Cavendish, Debates, pp. 56, 102, 108. N. Y. Journal, Aug. 11, 1774. Wedderburn; Cav. Deb., p. 56.

spite of advice from England, presented an Address full of a 'Wish to see universal Harmony and a dutifull Submission to Government continue'; and Hey, the Chief-Justice, declared that his letters represented the Canadians as 'happy beyond all expression.'[29]

But such papers have often been deceitful. A petition from certain of the Canadians had served as the ground for passing the Quebec Act; yet was it not asserted that the signers, instead of representing the people—who did not even know such a document existed—were their ancient oppressors, or else were men who dared not refuse to sign, though now, like repenting Judas, they dared bewail the consequences of their act? And who could not imagine, when the Governor and his lady stepped ashore at Quebec on a fine Sunday afternoon under the splendid autumn sky of Canada, when the cannon roared from the ramparts, when the Lieutenant-Governor in his gold-laced uniform and all the clergy in their robes greeted him at the landing, when the 'popish' Bishop kissed him and was promptly rewarded with a place at his right hand in the gilded chaise; and when, in this manner, amid the plaudits of the populace, he proceeded in triumphal slowness to the Castle,—who could not imagine the feelings of 'the beggarly English,' as it was reported that he had been pleased to style them?[30]

Yes, their feelings could be imagined easily; and to appreciate what followed required no imagination at all. The Protestants looked on with a growing rage while, as they bitterly said, the Governor 'very genteelly introduced

---

[29] § To Gage, Sept. 20, 1774: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 10, p. 163; to Dartmouth, Nov. 11, 1774: ib. 11, p. 17. Addresses: Can. Arch., Q, 11, pp. 11, 19, 108. (The Essex Gazette, however, of May 2, 1775, reported that only twenty persons could be found in Quebec to sign an Address of thanks for the Act.) Hey to Dartmouth, Nov. 23, 1774: Roy. Hist. MSS. Comm., Rep. 11, App. 5, p. 370.

[30] § Petition: Maseres, Account, pp. 111, 117, 131; Add. Papers, p. 101 (quoted letter). Signers: letter from Quebec, Nov. 9, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1417. Did not know: Maseres, Account, p. 133. Scene, etc.: Letter from Quebec of Sept. 20, 1774, in N. Y. Journ., Oct. 6, 1774.

Popery.' Angrier still, they heard some of the French boasting to one another, 'Now all our laws will be made by the General and the Bishop,' and saw the noblesse, prouder and more insolent than ever, hurrying from all quarters, like so many buzzards, to attend the Governor's ball on the Queen's birthnight, in the full expectation of going home with commissions in their pockets, or a delightful perspective of the bench and council-board in their eyes. French gentry and English soldiers were in future to be the favorites more than ever, they groaned, while the enterprising merchants who made the country prosper, were beyond that pale of law which guarded the meanest wretch in a British gutter![31]

The discontent soon found words, and they were sharp. No juries any longer in civil cases! exclaimed the Opposition. No Habeas Corpus! A mere Order in Council empowered to invent new crimes! The bulwarks of property overthrown! The palladium of freedom lost! And the French,—they made an artistic antiphony of the song by wailing, We have thriven under English laws, why must we change? The old land customs mean feudal tenure, feudal rule, the foot of the noblesse on our necks. Again we must shoulder muskets under the swords of these petty tyrants! Again we must pay them salaries and pensions! Again we shall be driven to attack our neighbors on the south, and have to stand perpetually on guard against their resentment! Despotism was bad enough, but this new tyranny under the mask of law we abhor. 'What

[31] § Letter from Quebec of Sept. 20, 1774, in N. Y. Journ., Oct. 6, 1774. Letter from Montreal in Essex Gazette, Mar. 14, 1775. Maseres, Freeholder, *passim*. Annual Register, 1776, p. 9.

will be your Lordships astonishment,' wrote Hey to the Lord Chancellor; 'What will be your Lordships astonishment when I tell you that an act passed for the express purpose of gratifying the Canadians & which was supposed to comprehend all they either wished or wanted is become the first object of their discontent & dislike.'[32]

Thomas Walker, already active, now doubled his pace, as Carleton soon discovered. 'A General Meeting of the English Inhabitants' convened at Montreal; and, when their plans had matured, Walker, Price, and four others went as a committee to Quebec. As soon as busy 'Emissaries' had prepared the ground there, a summons was posted up in the Coffee House. Messengers bearing verbal notices hurried from door to door. A gathering took place; a committee was appointed; 'Town Meetings' and sessions of the joint committees followed; and measures were eagerly canvassed—though in profound secrecy—for securing amendment or repeal of the 'abominable Act.' Well might the Governor fear the consequences 'of an Infection, imported daily, warmly Recommended, and spread abroad by the Colonists here, and indeed by some from Europe, not less violent than the Americans,' though he believed that 'for the present' it could 'only excite a trifling and momentary Agitation.'[33]

As for the French commoners, while some voiced more or less publicly the general discontent, and others, trooping to the Castle, paid homage to the all-powerful Governor, the mass of them, feeling timid as well as dissatisfied, stood sullen and silent. Though 'greatly alarmed at

---

[32] § Hab. Corp.; Maseres Account, p. 240. N. Y. Journ., Nov. 10 1774, (Letter from Montreal); Maseres before the House of Commons: Cavendish, Debates, p. 133 The French cry: Maseres, Account, p. 133 and Add. Papers, p. 101; N. Y. Journ., Nov. 10, 1774 (Letter from Montreal); Maseres, Add. Papers, p. 458; Almon, Remembrancer, 1776, Part I., p. 130. Hey to Chancellor, Aug. 28, 1775; Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 12, p. 365.

[33] § Carleton to Dartmouth, Nov. 11, 1774 Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 17. Letter from Montreal in N. Y. Journ., Nov. 10, 1774. Letter from Quebec, ib., Oct. 6, 1774. Letter, ib., Dec. 1, 1774.

being put under their former Laws,' as a gentleman wrote from Montreal, they were unable to think their way through the business, and did not know what to do. But ere long the agitation began to move them. The noblesse had noted with surprise and indignation the 'Meetings and nocturnal Cabals' of the British, as the Governor styled them, dreading that some of their own people might put their hands to a paper; and soon it began to be evident that such fears had a substantial basis.[34]

Lord Dartmouth hoped that 'every man in the Colony that was not biassed by Passion and Prejudice' would approve of the Act, and the hope came near fulfillment, since hardly a person of the sort he described existed there. The results, however, were disappointing. As Carleton discovered, the British residents—at least some of them—were 'exerting their utmost Endeavours to kindle in the Canadians the Spirit that reigned in the Province of the Massachusetts, and seemed to run through most of the other Colonies'; the Canadians, however much in awe of the government, appeared to be drawing nearer and nearer to the British malcontents; and the country went hurrying on toward what the Chief-Justice called as gloomy a prospect 'in point of security & in the ill humours & evil dispositions of its inhabitants . . . as could be imagined.'[35]

[34] § Carleton and N. Y. Journ. of Nov. 10; Dec. 1, 1774: Note 33.

[35] § To Carleton, Apr 15, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 181. To Dartmouth, Jan. 12, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 147. Hey to Chancellor, Aug. 28, 1775: Note 32.

III

THE REVOLUTION ENTERS CANADA

REMARKABLY enough, the very Act that did so much to alienate Canada from England, made the Colonials twice, yes, tenfold as anxious to win her. A region so vast, with resources unfathomed even to-day, after a century and a quarter more, had seemed valuable; but now it became invaluable. Hope was outdone by fear. Instead of merely desiring it, they felt it must be theirs.

To be sure, it has been denied that any good grounds for Colonial alarm could be found in the Act; and considerable support for this view has been discovered. It was the fixed policy of the British Board of Trade to discourage the settlement of whites in the wilderness beyond the mountains, because they made trouble with the Indians, interfered with the monopoly of the fur trade, and could practically escape from the restrictions on American enterprise; and this Act, quashing the claims of the Colonies to that region and setting up in their place most unpalatable law, religion, and government, would prove a mighty bar to further immigration. The established commercial policy of England could, then, explain the western extension of Quebec; and to this might be added what Carleton stated to the House of Commons: that courts of justice could now be set up in the Ohio region, and it would no longer be regarded as 'an asylum for all the vagabonds.'[1]

[1] § Winsor, Am. Hist. Rev., Apr., 1896, p. 437. Coffin, Quebec Act., pp. 423–432. See the Pamphlet by Knox (summarized by Coffin, p. 429) for a defence of

In the complaint that papists had been favored, Lord North would see only moonshine. He did not admit that his bill would carry their church beyond the limits of ancient Canada; 'but if it should do so,' he suavely remarked, with the puffing cheeks and aimless rolling eyes of a blind trumpeter, 'the country to which it is extended is the habitation of bears and beavers.' With equal coolness he explained away the new right of enforcing church dues; and, in short, plausible reasons could be given—and were —for every section of the law.[2]

It has been argued also that in the debates of Parliament upon the Act—though for ten successive nights the House of Commons wrangled until one o'clock, and the Opposition orators pricked the government's armor at every joint—little was said about concealed sinister designs against the Colonies, and this little provoked no attention on the Administration benches; and it has been urged very shrewdly that, had the Ministers aimed the law at the troublesome people south of Canada, they would have been as open about it as when they passed the Boston Port Bill at the same session.

But the idea of humoring Roman Catholics in order to have them ready for use against Protestant colonists, if it really existed in the mind of Lord North, was one that he must have felt a peculiar willingness to conceal from the British public at that stage; and this was true even though he may have believed the people would permit such a weapon to be drawn, should the Colonies actually rebel and blood really flow. The Boston Port Bill angered

---

the extension of Quebec. For the policy of the Lords Commrs. for Trade and Plant., see Hinsdale, Old Northwest, p. 134. The British conquest of Canada, removing all fear of the French, had encouraged the Colonials to pass the mountains (Bourinot, Am. Hist. Assoc. Papers, V., Pt. III., p. 92). Dartmouth's letter to Cramahé, Dec. 1, 1773 (Can. Arch., Q. 9, p. 157), intimates that the narrow limits of Quebec were thought to be cramping the province. Carleton: Cavendish, Debates, p. 145.

[2] § Cavendish, Debates, pp. 10, 12. 'Trumpeter': Walpole, Geo. III., IV. p. 78.

America, a fact which signified little to North; but ordering French 'papists' to cut the throats of British Protestants was liable to madden England, unless its fighting blood were thoroughly aflame; and that would have signified a great deal.

There were good reasons why little could be said about hidden sinister designs against the Colonies, even if the bill contained them. The Opposition speakers had no time for deep reflection on the possibilities of the Act. On the second of May, Dartmouth presented it to the Lords. Fifteen days later it passed that chamber. On the eighteenth it came to the Commons, and it was crowded to a final vote there with all possible speed. The minority complained bitterly that no opportunity was given them to find out what the bill meant. 'The government has left us in the dark,' exclaimed Barré, uprearing his massive

frame and swarthy head in protest; and Edmund Burke thundered in the same key. Besides, the members of the House had been thoroughly tired out by a long and excited session,—so thoroughly, indeed, that on the final test of strength only seventy members were present out of five hundred and fifty-eight.[3]

But the tenacity of the Opposition suggested that much was feared even though little could be proved. 'We have had as hard fighting and many more battles to establish government for Canada as there were to conquer it!' exclaimed Sir Thomas Mills.[4] If the Cabinet really had aims which they preferred to conceal, what better course could their speakers take than simply to ignore the grop-

[3] § Cavendish, Debates, p. III. Coffin, Quebec Act, pp. 394, 395, 397. Maseres, Proceedings, p. 222. Barré (Macmillan's Mag., XXXV., p. 115; Dict. Nat Biog., III., p. 275) and Burke: Cavendish, Debates, pp. 81, 85.

[4] Coffin, Quebec Act, p. 395.

ing hints of the Opposition? And, finally, these hints, though groping, were far from insignificant. They were quick, sharp, angry alarums, as if the Opposition believed an enemy lurked in the woods, but had not yet been able to make sure and hesitated to call out the artillery.

Dunning invited attention to the fact that the bill went beyond the treaty stipulations, and called it a proposition 'to establish the Roman Catholic religion and tolerate the Protestant religion.'[5]

'In short, Sir,' cried Captain Phipps, 'I see nothing in this bill but the language of despotism.'

'This is the worst bill that ever engaged the attention of a British council,' declared William Burke; 'It is a bill to establish the popish religion—to establish despotism.'

Over and over again, Barré pointed the finger of deep suspicion at it; and finally, after driving North to admit that it would allow French-Canadians to serve in the British army, he declared something had now been found that struck him 'with a more serious and deep detestation' of the plan than anything before. This, he believed, was a scheme to 'raise a Popish army to serve in the colonies,' making the Canadians 'the taskmasters' of their neighbors, 'and, in the end, their executioners.'

A 'mischievous bill,' protested Edmund Burke, 'the King's pleasure twisting itself about every fibre' of it. 'Am I sure,' he demanded,—his massive brow scowling, and his rapid words driven almost headlong by still swifter thoughts,—'Am I sure that this despotism is not meant to lead to universal despotism? . . . It is evident that this constitution is meant to be both an instrument of tyranny to the Canadians, and an example to others of

[5] For this and the following remarks against the bill: Cavendish, Debates, pp. 15, 79, 251, 228, 203, 217, 89, III., 296; Lyttleton to Pitt, pp. 4, 15; Parl. Hist., XVII., p. 1402. For Barré: Note 3; Burke: Dict. Nat. Biog., VII., p. 348; Chatham: ib., XLV., p. 365.

what they have to expect; at some time or other it will come home to England.'

The last speaker on the bill in the Commons exclaimed to the presiding officer: 'You, Sir, should throw it over the table, and somebody else should kick it out at the door,'—a signal token of the wrath it had now excited; and, when it returned to the Lords with the amendments of the Lower House, the Earl of Chatham, coming down to his place in spite of broken health, and raising his voice until a roll of sweet but awful music almost shook the chamber, denounced the proposed law as 'a most cruel, oppressive, and odious measure'; 'atrocious, shallow, inept'; 'destructive of that liberty which ought to be the groundwork of every constitution,' and sure to lose the King forever 'the hearts of all Americans.' Under it, he declared, Canada would be used some day to quell British America.

Had the Ministry been unable to discover its bearings when they endorsed the bill? Certainly they could not plead ignorance after listening to such protests, yet they stayed not their hand. Barré, after his outburst about a popish army, turned squarely upon them in a rage, the bullet in his cheek trembling and the eye above it filled with a savage gleam. 'If it be your plan—if it be part of your plan—throw it out here and let it be discussed!' he vociferated. Could such a challenge have passed unheeded by every supporter of the government in a British House of Commons, if there had not been an understanding to 'lie low,' and say nothing on so valuable yet so dangerous a project?

In truth, one cannot believe that the Ministers had no thought of using Canada against the Colonies, unless they possessed an extraordinary gift for the happy art of forgetting.

Governor Hutchinson had expressed the fear that his

THE EARL OF CHATHAM

fellow-countrymen, released from every apprehension of new Frontenacs, would throw off the authority of their sovereign. Choiseul himself, in negotiating the treaty of peace, told Stanley, the envoy of His Britannic Majesty, precisely the same thing in words the most forcible. Kalm, the Swedish traveller, whose well-thumbed account of North America was in many English libraries, expressed a similar opinion. Not a few others felt and said the same; and Parkman has not hesitated to write that, if the arms of France 'had gained in Europe or Asia territories with which to buy back what she had lost in America, then, in all likelihood, Canada would have passed again into her hands.' The value of the northern province as a check upon the Colonies had, then, been clearly pointed out and was clearly understood only a few years before.[6]

According to so good a witness as John Adams, Great Britain did not forget; for he says that the conquest of Quebec, which released her subjects on the south from all dependence on British protection, 'inspired her with a jealousy which ultimately lost her thirteen colonies.' And we have still better evidence than his. In 1768 Carleton himself wrote to the Secretary of State that steps ought to be taken to win the support of the Canadian French, so as to have their aid should France adopt the policy of backing the Colonies 'in their independent notions.' 'Canada,' he added, 'might forever support the British interests on this continent for it is not united in any common principle, interest or wish with the other Provinces, in opposition to the Supreme seat of Government.' In short, he suggested using that Colony against its neighbors on the south.[7]

---

[6] § Hutchinson, Hist., III., p. 100. Choiseul: Parkman, Montcalm, II., p. 403. Kalm: ib., p. 404 (see Kalm's list of subscribers). Parkman, Montcalm, I., p. 3.

[7] § J. Adams, Works, II., p. 61, note. Bourinot, Can. under Brit. Rule, p. 67. Carleton to Hillsborough, Nov. 20, 1768: Can. Arch., Report for 1888, p. 48.

The British military policy aimed the same way. In the autumn of 1774, General Gage, finding his throne in Boston more and more unsteady, asked Carleton 'whether a Body of Canadians and Indians might be collected, and confided in, for the Service in this Country, should Matters come to Extremities'; and Carleton replied that the 'Fidelity and Zeal' of the Canadians 'might be depended on.' And a few months later, General Haldimand, afterward the Governor of Canada, wrote Amherst strongly in favor of employing Canadians and Indians 'to reduce the four New England governments to reason.' These letters, to be sure, were a little later than the Quebec Act; but it is hard to believe, especially when one considers the general slowness of movement at that period, that so important an idea germinated and shot in the brief interval, or that no troubled official at home had ever enjoyed the sweet pleasure of eying its fair bud of promise.[8]

Be this as it may, however. For the present purpose one mainly needs to explore the thoughts, not of British Ministers, but of American patriots; to inquire what the governed thought was meant, more than what the government actually intended; and no politic reserve hooded this point. The Colonies—already well advanced in their resistance to what they looked upon as tyranny, and naturally suspicious of every Ministerial scheme—were intensely alert; and the Act, as it emerged more and more clearly from a mist of rumors, was studied on the western shore of the Atlantic with prejudice, no doubt, but also with acumen. Even if the extension of Quebec merely carried out the steady policy of the Board of Trade, that was a policy of monopoly and restriction which the Colonies were determined to resist.[9] But far more than this was discovered in the bill.

[8] § Gage to Carleton, Sept. 4, 1774: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 10, p. 159; reply: ib., p. 163. Haldimand to Amherst (in French), Dec. 15, 1774: Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 21,661, fo. 304.

[9] See protest of New York: (Hansard), Parl. Hist., XVIII., p. 650.

The keen eye of Alexander Hamilton, for one, pierced it through and through, and his clear voice warned the country that a great peril was near at hand. Who could deny that arbitrary government, the very thing which the Colonies declared the Ministers designed for them, had now been set up at their threshold? The King 'has only to inform the Governor and Council what new laws he would choose to have passed,' so Hamilton pointed out, 'and their situation [as practically his appointees] will insure their compliance.' His Majesty has full power, in the same way, over the courts. He can remould even the criminal law. The Roman religion has been established by statute, for the civil authorities now engage 'not only to protect but to support it.' Whatever excuse there might be for such a step in the former province of Quebec, there can be no necessity for it in the newly added region. Under such conditions no Protestants will go there. It will be filled with papists; and 'these colonies, in time, will find themselves encompassed with innumerable hosts of neighbors, disaffected toward them both because of difference in religion and government.' In all this, the Ministry must have had a purpose. Its purpose was to increase the number of Roman Catholics, console them, through the controlling influence of their priests, for the loss of civil rights by granting this valuable religious gift, and 'propitiate them to the great purposes in contemplation—first the subjugation of the colonies, and afterward that of Great Britain itself.'[10]

Such words—at least plausible, and offset by no superhuman power of discovering hidden tenderness in the hearts of King George and Lord North—received a tremendous reinforcement in echoes from abroad.

Some hints of the Opposition protests during the

[10] § Hamilton, Works (Lodge), I., 'Remarks on the Quebec Act,' pp. 175, 176, 179, 181, 185, 187.

unreported debates in Parliament certainly crept into the American ear. Lord Chatham was said to have declared that the Act would involve a great country in the worst of tyranny, and Lyttleton's public Letter, which charged him with protesting furiously against this 'plan of despotism,' was reprinted at Boston in 1774.[11]

Of the opinion of the British public in general, no doubt seemed to be left. It was reported in the newspapers that when the King passed along in the state coach to sign the bill at the Parliament House, he was beset by a crowd shouting, 'No popery! No French laws! No protestant popish king!' Groans and hisses punctuated the cries; and when he returned, after setting his royal hand to the parchment, a still wilder uproar surrounded him. 'God bless your Majesty's head, but damn lord Bute's,' bellowed one man into his ear, for Bute was suspected of having more than a finger in the Act.[12]

As early as the sixth of June, 1774, a London letter, widely copied in America, announced a petition of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London against the proposed law, and added, 'The real design of the Quebec bill, we hear, is to make it a military government, by way of check to several provincial assemblies, . . . and for this purpose it is certainly very properly situate, as it lies behind New England, New York, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.'[13]

A few weeks later, a Londoner cried, with reference to the now famous Act, 'May the Almighty preserve us, and turn the Hearts of the wicked Men who are seeking the Destruction of America as well as this Country'; and Holt's press in New York scattered the prayer broadcast.

---

[11] § Chatham: London letter, N. Y. Journ., Sept. 8, 1774, supplem.

[12] § London letter of June 23 in N. Y. Journ., Aug. 25, 1774; also Young to S. Adams, Aug. 21, 1774: S. Adams Papers.

[13] For this and several succeeding paragraphs: N. Y. Journ., Aug. 11; Sept. 1, 8, 29; Oct. 20, 1774; Sayre (probably London), Aug. 15, 1774 (S. Adams Papers); Winsor (Am. Hist. Rev., Apr., 1896, p. 442).

Five days more, and another citizen of the metropolis wrote over about 'that detestable Quebec Bill, which is so evidently intended as a bridle on the northern colonies,' and gave notice that orders to raise a Canadian regiment had already been issued.

On the thirteenth of August this was despatched from London: 'An express was sent off about three weeks ago to Canada, to arm the militia of that country with all convenient speed. The reason of this order may be easily guessed at—to have a body of forces in readiness to assist the operations of General Gage in reducing the malcontents of the provinces.' A similar warning was penned by Stephen Sayre in London, two days later; and he continued: 'for God's sake be ready for the extreme Event, . . . 't is wisdom to avoid Bloodshed, but if you are drove to it—have your sword on your thigh.' By September, the popular protest in Great Britain against the fateful law, doubtless helped on a little by William Lee, then in England, had become 'a prodigious cry,' says Winsor. The indignation spread to the smaller towns; and Captain Colley, who brought his good ship into Marblehead about the twentieth of August, reported that when he left Falmouth, the people there, who had felt hostile toward the Americans, had been converted into friends by the hated Act.

Not far from the middle of November, two more letters began their voyages westward across the Atlantic. One called attention to the strategic position of the new Quebec on the flank of the Colonies, and to the usefulness of 'our Popish fellow-subjects' there, for reducing 'the rebellious Bostonians to obedience'; while the other suggested that the government's orders to embody the Canadian militia pointed toward their joining the Indians

and raiding 'our devoted and defenceless Protestant subjects in the back settlements.'[14]

About the same time, a London journal printed an imaginary soliloquy of North, which—like the letters—appeared after a due interval in the Colonial newspapers. 'We must force the Americans to submit by fire and sword,' reflected the Noble Lord; 'We must raise some regiments of Papists in Canada . . . they will be glad to cut the throats of those heretics, the Bostonians—A Popish army is by much the fittest for our purpose—they will obey the commands of the crown without any hesitation—they have been trained up in passive obedience.' 'The Altar of Despotism is established in America!' exclaimed *The Crisis*.[15]

If such a storm blew up in England, where the danger threatened but remotely, what feelings were they likely to arouse on this side the water, with chiefs like Hamilton and hints like these to stir the popular heart?

Very naturally the Quebec Act was looked upon here as part and parcel of the Ministers' plan to harass if not destroy the Colonists, and as perhaps the meanest, cruelest, and most dangerous of their schemes. 'The port bill, charter bill, murder bill, Quebec bill, making altogether such a frightful system, as would have terrified any people who did not prefer liberty to life, were all concerted at once,' said Novanglus to the printer; and Novanglus, who was Mr. John Adams, represented a very widespread feeling. Hints of royal prerogative, of arbitrary government, of development barred, of escape cut off, of swarming 'papists' overhead, and of a stealthy shadow working round to the rear,—all these were discovered in the suspected law. 'The spirit of the people gradually

---

[14] Essex Gazette, Jan. 17, 1775. (Newspapers often bore two dates: e.g. 'Jan. 3–10.' In these notes the later date only is given.)

[15] Essex Gazette, Jan. 10, 1775. Crisis: 4 Force, II., 58.

rose when it might have been expected to decline, till the Quebec Bill added fuel to the fire,' wrote Joseph Reed to Lord Dartmouth in September. Drayton's letter to a British peer told the same story: 'the most dreadful consequences, on both sides of the Atlantic,' might justly be apprehended from the inevitable 'attempts to defeat' this group of Acts.[16]

In the minutes of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia—Benjamin Franklin, President—could be found this reason for discontinuing its meetings: 'The Act of the British Parliament for shutting up the port of Boston, for altering the Charter, and for the more impartial administration of justice in the Province of Massachusetts, together with a Bill for establishing popery and arbitrary power in Quebec.'[17]

Richard Henry Lee warned Samuel Adams of the intention of the Ministry to 'employ a military force chiefly from Canada if necessary.' Philip Livingston assured the public—with an evident glance at His Gracious Majesty, King George—that 'whenever a wicked monarch in vengeance shall arise, then shall we behold him the civil and religious tyrant, of a province which extends over half the Continent of America'; and how could the liberties of a country be safe, he demanded, when it was 'surrounded by a multitude of slaves; especially when those slaves are imbued with principles inimical to it, and united together in one common interest, profession and faith, under one common head, and supported by all the weight of a large empire'?[18]

'The whole nation has taken the alarm at the bold

---

[16] § Novanglus: J. Adams, Works, IV., p. 92. The Q. Act was 'obviously intended' to confine the old colonies to the seaboard (Bourinot, Am. Hist. Assoc. Papers, V., Pt. III., p. 93. Reed, Sept. 25, 1774: W. B. Reed, J. Reed, I., p. 476. Drayton to Lord ————, Sept. 1, 1774; Bancroft Coll., Eng. and Am., 1769–1774, p. 261.

[17] Phil. Soc.: Can. Arch., Report for 1890, pp. XXI.

[18] § Lee, Feb. 4, 1775: S. Adams Papers. Liv., The Other Side, pp. 23–25.

Mr Dear Sir' Boston Oct^o 10^th 1774

As I presume your time is very pre
cious I shall without any further introduction
proceed to acquaint you that great uneasiness
prevails from the report of Gen Charlton being
ordered to discipline 30 thousand Men immed:
diately, w^ch there is great reason to fear is to pro
mote the plan of subjugating this Province &
eventually the whole Continent. An incident

JOHN PITTS TO SAMUEL ADAMS

attempt to establish the superstitition that sanctifies absolute power,' declared Thomas Young to Samuel Adams. 'Great uneasiness prevails from the report of Gov Charlton [i. e., Carleton] being ordered to discipline 30 thousand Men immediately,' said John Pitts to the same leader; and he saw 'great reason to fear' that the move was designed for the subjugation of Massachusetts and eventually the whole country.[19]

Many believed that popery would soon be forced upon the Colonies. 'What do you think of New England, New York, etc.?' queried a letter from Rome to London, reprinted at New York; 'Will they return to the Church? If you doubt it, we do not, as we have great confidence in the king's friends.' The town of Stamford, in Connecticut, denounced the Act as 'an attempt not barely to destroy our civil liberties, but as an open declaration that our religious privileges, which our fathers fled their native country to enjoy, were very soon to be abolished.'[20]

A London letter, gravely published by the *Essex Gazette*, made bold to say that 'by establishing the Popish religion in the British dominions by law, they had removed the only objection and impediment to the restoration of the Stuart family,' and pronounced it 'absolutely impossible' to account for the actions of the Ministry except by crediting them with such a design. Joseph Hawley considered 'nothing more probable' than that 'the Province of Quebeck, as lately defined, should be ceded or given up to France'; and Josiah Quincy actually received word, indirectly, from what seemed a very respectable authority, that Catholicism had been restored in Canada under a secret treaty with France, and that now it only remained to hand the region back to its old masters. Once more the days of Frontenac might come,

[19] § Young, Aug. 21, 1774: S. Adams Papers. Pitts, Oct. 10, 1774: ib.

[20] § Popery: Gerry to S. Adams, Dec. 19, 1774 (S. Adams Papers). Letter from Rome: N. Y. Journ., Feb. 16, 1775. Stamford: ib., Oct. 20, 1774.

with all their fears and miseries, losses and horrors! Harried again by Frenchmen and Indians, the wretched Colonists would have to grovel perpetually at the foot of the throne, and supplicate a papist, perhaps a Stuart, or at any rate a hereditary tyrant, for scanty and grudging aid on any terms he pleased![21]

Official bodies weightier than Stamford town-meetings took the matter up. September the twenty-second, 1774, Cumberland County, Massachusetts, recommended that preparations for defence be made, 'as the very extraordinary and alarming act for establishing the Roman Catholic religion and French laws, in Canada, might introduce the French or Indians into our frontier towns.' On the ninth day of the same month, delegates from every town and district in Suffolk County met under the hospitable roof of Daniel Vose at Milton, in Massachusetts Bay, and—looking down on sere marshes by and by to be luxuriant, and on veins of shining water that were paths to an ocean just out of sight—voted some plain Resolves that soon shook two continents. One of them declared that 'the late act of parliament for establishing the roman catholic religion and the French laws in that extensive country now called Canada, is dangerous in an extreme degree, to the protestant religion, and to the civil rights and liberties of all America.' Only four days earlier, that fledgeling, the first Continental Congress, had nested timidly in Carpenter's Hall at Philadelphia. Within a fortnight the Suffolk Resolves arrived there; and, after due consideration, they were endorsed by the Congress.[22]

VOSE'S HOUSE

[21] § Essex Gazette, Jan. 10, 1775. Hawley: 4 Force, II., 944. Quincy: 4 Force, II., 518.

[22] § Cumb. Co: Journ. Mass. Cong., p. 659. Suffolk Resolves: ib., p. 601. (The Suffolk Co. Convention met at Dedham on Sept. 6, and by adjournment at Milton on the 9th.) Journ. Cong., Sept. 5, 17, 1774.

And that assemblage went farther. On the fifth of October, it complained pointedly of the Quebec Act. Nine days after, it grouped that with other statutes of the same session of Parliament as 'impolitic, unjust, and cruel, as well as unconstitutional, and most dangerous and destructive of American rights.' Later that day, a Resolution was adopted which expressly denounced 'the act passed in the same session for establishing the Roman Catholick Religion in the province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there, to the great danger, from so total a dissimilarity of Religion, Law, and government of the neighbouring British colonies.'[23]

Within less than a week, the terms of the famous Non-importation Association protested against the westward extension of Quebec, the discouragement of British immigration into that area, and the establishment of an arbitrary government therein. The next day, an address to the People of Great Britain, after mentioning how the Act would detach Canada from the Colonies 'by civil as well as religious prejudices,' pictured its population as 'daily swelling with Catholic emigrants from Europe,' and becoming so devoted to the government which favored their religion as to be 'fit instruments in the hands of power, to reduce the ancient, free Protestant Colonies to the same state of Slavery with themselves.' 'This,' declared the Congress, 'was evidently the Object of the Act.' An Address to the Colonies, bearing the same date, made a similar charge; and the petition to the King, passed shortly after, did not fail to prolong the strident note.[23]

Were the Conscript Fathers honest in all this? Did they really believe the complaints against the Act well founded? It has been answered by one of our able and

[23] § See the published Journal (W. C. Ford, ed.).

patriotic historians that such protests 'were simply loose sentences used for political ends.'

A vast conspiracy existed, then, to humbug the world. Barré, Burke, and Chatham burst into flames merely as fireworks. Hamilton, who fearlessly championed Cooper and Waddington simply because they had the right on their side, was in this case a demagogue. The patriot leaders, who filled their letters on the subject with accents of alarm, were not only base enough to delude the public but foolish enough to hoodwink one another.

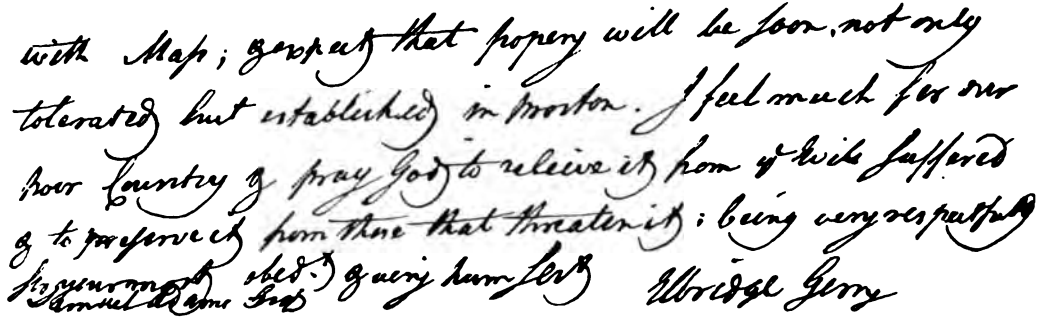
No; as in every such crisis, men sharpened their words to make them pierce, but the excitement about the Quebec Act was essentially genuine. People felt alarmed by the terms of the law. They felt alarmed because it was devised by a hostile Ministry, offered at a delicate and critical time, and passed without full explanations. They felt alarmed because they saw it escorted on its march by the Boston Port Act, destroying the commerce of that city, by the Massachusetts Government Act, annulling the sacred charter of the Colony, and by the Administration of Justice Act, haling American political offenders beyond the sea for trial in certain cases. Even the confidential reports of British officials bore witness to the sincerity of the alarm. 'People here like not to see this chain drawn behind them from one river to the other,' wrote Haldimand from New York; and Gage informed Dartmouth that the citizens about him feared their religion was to be changed. 'They cannot be made to believe the Contrary,' he added.[24]

In the midst of the alarm, however, chinks could be discovered in the wall that seemed moving down from the north and closing in upon the Colonies.

A number of men had recently migrated to Canada from

---

[24] § Bourinot, Can. under Brit. Rule, p. 67. Chain (i.e., from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi): Haldimand to Amherst (in French), Sept. 7, 1774 (Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 21,661, fo. 356). Gage, Oct. 30, 1774: Bancroft Coll., Eng. and Am., 1767–1774, p. 621.



ELBRIDGE GERRY TO SAMUEL ADAMS, DEC. 19, 1774

below, and an occasional letter proved they were still Americans. In September, 1774, residents of the city of Quebec, who sympathized with Boston in her patriotic struggles and distresses, contributed one thousand bushels of wheat; and Jonas Clark Minot, a native of Massachusetts, transmitted them with a cordial letter to the Boston Committee of Donations. At Montreal, also, 'a considerable sum' was collected for the same 'sufferers,' and forwarded in a bill of exchange. Perhaps the Canadians themselves, it was thought, vanquished in battle only a few years before, would prefer freedom to the slavish work of their conquerors; and in fact a letter from Montreal, printed in the *Essex Gazette* very early in 1775, asserted that 'even the French farmers wish the continuance of our liberties.' [25]

To a bold and original thinker like Samuel Adams, hints like these were quite enough, and soon the Massachusetts Provincial Congress was feeling about for some way to get securely into touch with the people of the north.

On the twenty-first of October, 1774, it was voted 'to take into consideration the propriety of appointing an agent or agents, to repair to the government of Canada, in order to consult with the inhabitants thereof, and settle a friendly correspondence and agreement with them.' After the subject had come twice more before the body, a committee was appointed on December sixth 'to correspond with the inhabitants of Canada'; and upon it Samuel Adams and three of his disciples—Hancock, Warren, and Church—took seats, together with a certain John Brown. On the thirteenth of February, the idea of sending an agent reappeared; but, after receiving no little attention, the

[25] § Quebec: N. Y. Journ., Oct. 6, 1774 (Quebec letter); Carleton to Dartmouth, Nov. 18, 1774 (Can. Arch., Q. 11, p. 103); Jeffries to Minot, Oct. 10, 1774 (ib., p. 105). Montreal: Essex Gazette, Jan. 10, 1775; Frothingham, Warren, p. 442. Other points will appear later.

Should you think proper to send to me to execute this Business I shall exert myself to the utmost of my Power ~~to execute~~ in rolling your Orders into ~~execution~~ execution — Letters of Recommendation will be necessary from you — expedition in prosecuting this ~~matter~~ Business is necessary and will ~~make~~ furnish you with a return before the next Session of Congress —

Cambridge Sept 19th 1774

I am Sir in haste your most
obt. Hble. Servt.

J Brown

business of corresponding with Canada was referred with power, two days later, to the Boston Committee of Correspondence, and the Congress endorsed the keenest fears of the day by pronouncing it the 'manifest design of administration, to engage and secure the Canadians and remote tribes of Indians, for the purpose of harassing and distressing these colonies, and reducing them to a state of absolute slavery.'[26]

Evidently the task of getting into touch with a people so remote, so little known, and at that season shut off by so many leagues of snow and ice, puzzled the patriot leaders; but the urgent sense of danger soon produced its prophet. The very day that saw the business turned over to the active Boston Committee, John Brown, doubtless under the spell of Samuel Adams, wrote a letter to that shrewd toucher of springs. No certain intelligence could be had, it seemed clear to him, unless a messenger were sent as far as Montreal; and he offered to undertake the hardships and perils of the journey and the mission.[27]

The Committee met at Faneuil Hall, as we have seen. Brown's offer was accepted; and one may still read the letter, drafted in Adams's clear hand and dated February 21, which was meant as the first cord of a bridge across the gulf. The financial grievances of the Colonies and the attempt to force arbitrary rule upon Massachusetts were briefly explained, and then Adams addressed himself to the strings of Canadian feeling:[28]

'It is an inexpressable satisfaction to us to hear that our fellow Subjects in Canada, of French as well as English Extract[ion], behold the Indignity of having such a Government obtruded upon them, with a Resentment which discovers that they have a Just Idea of Freedom &

---

26 § See the published Journals.

27 His letter may be found in the S. Adams Papers.

28 § Page 1. The draft of the letter is among the S. Adams Papers.

a due regard for themselves & their Posterity. They were certainly misrepresented in the most Shameful Manner, when, in order to enslave them it was Suggested that they were too ignorant to enjoy Liberty. . . . The Enemies of American Liberty will surely be chagrined when they find that the People of Quebec have in common with other Americans the true Sentiments of Liberty.' After thus graciously complimenting the Canadians upon feelings which, to tell the truth, he only hoped they might entertain, Adams expressed his joy over action that he wished rather than expected they would take:

'How confounded must they be when they see those very People, upon whom they depended to aid them in their flagitious Designs, lending their Assistance to oppose them—cheerfully adopting the Resolutions of the late Continental Congress and joyning their own Delegates in another, to be held at Philadelphia on the 10th of May next.'

A sharp thrust at Lord Dartmouth followed, for his endeavor to make His Majesty's conduct appear constitutional; and then Adams concluded: 'We beg that you will favor the Committee of Correspondence by the return of this Message with your own Sentiments and those of the respectable [29] Inhabitants of your Colony; and shall be happy in uniting with you in the necessary Means of obtaining the Redress of our common Grievances.'

John Brown was remarkable enough as a person to afford so ordinary a name. Now in his thirty-first year, he had seen—for one of that day—not a little of men and things. Though born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, he was a graduate of Yale College. His legal studies had been carried on at Providence, and later he had opened an office at what is now Johnstown, New York. His political travels had been even wider, for he began practice

[29] About equivalent in 1775 to our 'honorable' or 'worthy.'

as the King's Attorney, but after removing, early in 1773, to Pittsfield, in the midst of the Berkshire highlands, he became a member of the Committee of Safety and Correspondence and an ensign in the patriot militia. Strong, bold, active, well educated, resourceful, and fearless, he seemed the fittest possible man for the rôle he undertook.[30]

Resigning his place in the Massachusetts Congress, the Committee's agent pocketed their letter and another from Adams and Warren as members of the Committee of Safety,[31] wrapped up a useful stock of patriotic pamphlets, hurried through the crested drifts, crossed the ice-bound Connecticut, and, after a pause at home, ploughed on to the Hudson. Lake Champlain was impassable at that time; but the delay of about a fortnight enabled him to knit a line of correspondence between Albany and Boston, and then, with Peleg Sunderland, a weather-beaten hunter, and Winthrop Hoyt, long a captive among the Indians of Canada, he resolutely faced the north.[32]

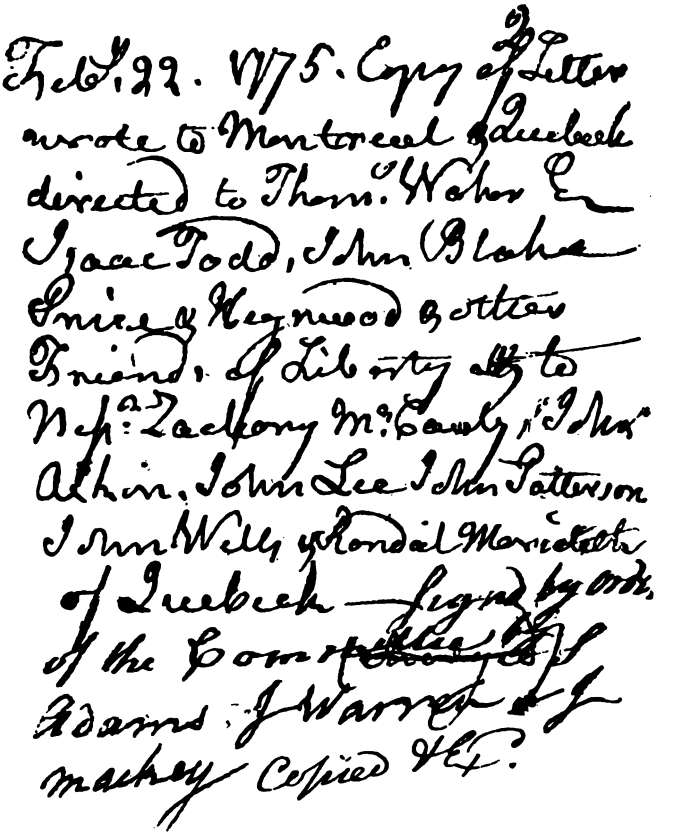
Desperate indeed he found the journey. The deep snows, the short cold days, the terrible frost of the nights, the cutting winds, the blinding storms,—these were difficulties enough to appall a hero; but they proved not the worst. Lake Champlain could never be satisfied in winter to remain long either solid or liquid, and it was now partly both. Sheets of the ice, 'breaking loose for Miles in length caugh[t] our Craft,' wrote Brown, 'drove us ag[t] an Island, and frose us in for 2 Days.' Forty-eight hours in such a grip, with no shelter but the mercies of early March, satisfied the travellers with journeying by water, and they 'were glad to foot it on Land.' But the lake had risen

---

30 § For Brown see Smith, Pittsfield, I., pp. 181, 201, 204, etc.; Berkshire Hist and Sci. Coll., I., pp. 312, 316, etc.; Hist. Mag., Apr., 1857, p. 108; Roof, J. Brown.

31 Wells, S. Adams, II., p. 275.

32 § See Brown's original letter describing his journey: Mass. Arch., Vol. 193, p. 41. Chittenden, Ti., pp. 25, 94. Hall, Ti., p. 8.



Feb.y 22. 1775. Copy of Letter
wrote to Montreal & Quebeck
directed to Thos. Walker &
Isaac Todd, John Blake
Price & Haywood & others
Friends of Liberty &c to
Nehp. Jackony Mc. Cauly & John
Atkin. John Lee John Patterson
John Welly & Rondal Mariclath
of Quebeck — Signed by ord.
of the Committee of
Adams: J Warren & J
Mackey Copied &c.

ENDORSEMENT ON SAMUEL ADAMS'S LETTER OF FEBRUARY 21, 1775

high, much of the country for twenty miles on either side had vanished under the flood, small streams had become rivers, the ice was treacherous, and the snow often proved a quicksand. The hardships of the march were 'most inconceivable,' wrote the envoy; but at length, after two weeks of perils and sufferings, passing safely the new dangers of the British regulars and Indian scouts, he traversed the long crystal bridge of the St. Lawrence and entered the low gate of Montreal. The laid train of revolution had now burned its way to Canada.[33]

Montreal—often called Villemarie, the City of Mary—began as a shrine in the wilderness, consecrated to the Holy Virgin. It was the waking reality of a pious dream,—a dove's nest for the spirit, woven out of ecstasies, visions, and prayers. About the middle of May, 1642, when flowers were filling the grass with perfume and birds filling the woods with music, brave Maisonneuve stepped from his pinnace to found, between the royal mountain and the still more royal St. Lawrence, a new Garden of Eden, already built in imagination and already dedicated in the temple of Our Lady at Paris. The long day, peaceful and splendid, seemed a foretaste of triumph. With pious enthusiasm the altar was built, and with prayers and tears of joy consecrated; and, when the glorious day gave place to a night equally glorious, it seemed no profanation to leave the Host exposed there, illumined with a pale and mysterious radiance by festoons of the easily caught fireflies. From this beginning the enterprise went on consistently. A hospital dedicated to St. Joseph, and a school which opened, like Christianity itself, in a stable, each presided over by a devoted nun,—these represented the original business of Montreal.[34]

---

[33] § Reports about Brown, etc., Can. Arch., Q. 11, pp. 149, 161, 164, 165, 166, 167; Souvenir de Maisonneuve, *passim*. Verreau (Sanguinet), Invasion, p. 21.

[34] § Dawson, N. Am., p. 308; Parkman, Jesuits, pp. 201, 207, 209.

But interests of another kind soon gathered there. To many of the settlers, beaver skins were more precious than souls. Swift rapids in the St. Lawrence marked the spot as the head of navigation and a great seat of commerce with the west. Hither came each summer a host of savages, pitching their tents on the river bank a little way from the town, smoking their pipes of peace round the governor's chair at the grand council on the Common, and then planting their trading-booths along the palisades that walled in the town. To and fro they swarmed, decked out with every savage contrivance that could adorn the body without clothing it, brandishing their clubs, firing their guns, trading, cursing, guzzling, and at last concluding—too often—in a mad pandemonium of mingled savagery and intoxication.[35]

Between these opposite poles of deviltry and Romanism, clinging to both, had grown up the Montreal that confronted Brown. Surprised and shocked, the ambassador of Puritan Massachusetts assuredly was; but he could not afford to close his eyes, for everything told more or less of the character of this people and the chances of winning their support.

Here stood a city of six or seven hundred dwellings where not a single Protestant meeting-house pointed heavenward its modest pile of diminishing boxes. Just before leaving Boston, he had probably shivered inwardly, like everybody else who read the papers, over an account of a papistical bell-christening at Quebec; but here the papistical bells were ringing, the lamps alight, the clouds of incense rising, the priests bowing and kneeling. Here Montcalm, the soldier-scholar and soldier-poet, had given many a dinner-party and many a supper; and had he not done his utmost against the Colonials? Here the graceful

[35] Parkman, Old Régime, p. 354. Marr, Remarks: Can. Arch., M, 384, p. 85.

and knightly Lévis had waved his sword; and was not he a French gallant as well as a French enemy? And what else could be expected of priests, Frenchmen, and gallants than what Brown saw and heard: everybody playing at 'wisk' and other games of cards, and many ruining themselves; even the finest ladies eager to show their knowledge of the *bon ton*, as they called this gambling; billiards, another betting game, high in fashion; French minuets and English contradances going on when cards were not,— in short, a provincial miniature of gay and wicked Paris."[36]

Yet the scandalized visitor could not gainsay the sincerity of home life among the French, nor the part it must play in the development and the policy of Canada.

At first, no doubt, he misunderstood the freedom of the girls, especially if he saw them lounging at home in elaborate curls, dirty jackets, and coarse petticoats not half long enough, or beheld them paying visits later in the day, dressed out in gay finery and laughing rather maliciously at any one who seemed astern of their belated French styles. Perhaps he was astonished, after an introduction to one of these lively maids, to be asked at once, 'Are you married?' 'Are the ladies of Montreal handsomer than your Boston ladies?' 'Would you like to take some one home with you?' But he found that in reality the girls had honest hearts and sensible minds. With all their love of dress, no woman, unless of gentle birth, put on her head the pile of ribbons called the *fontange:* an effective band of linen or muslin round the hair satisfying the ambition of all plebeians. They looked well after kitchen and cellar, singing pretty little songs full of 'cœur' and 'amour,' while they did it. With no squeams or airs, they carried home what they bought at the market. Though not

[36] Liv., Journal, Nov. 17; Penna. Mag., Apr., 1898, p. 9. Hadden, Journal, p. 12. The first Prot. chapel in Canada was erected in 1786 (Can. Antiquarian V., p. 165); see also Can. Arch., Q. 49, p. 343. Essex Gazette, Jan. 10, 1775. Laterrière, Mém., p. 61. Parkman, Montcalm, *passim*.

remarkably handsome, perhaps, they had a charm and quickness that placed them above the other sex; yet they made no attempt to domineer over their consorts. And it seemed little wonder that the men, whether married or only expecting to be, felt gay, merry, and happy, and were ready to doff their hats cheerily and with grace, not only to one another, but even to a stranger and alien like Brown.[37]

These matters, however, though by no means without importance, occupied the second place in his mind. Thomas Walker and his committee had the first, and Brown not only presented his letters but eagerly questioned his new friends. There was much to cheer him. The ground proved mellower than he had expected. In response to the contribution from Montreal, Joseph Warren had sent an answer that sounded across the mountains like a bugle-call at sunrise. In acknowledgment of the gift from Quebec, the Boston Committee of Donations had replied: 'Whilst we stand Compact like a Band of Brothers no proud Invaders will be able to subdue Us'; and, as people who have done one a favor are always disposed to be one's friends, these letters had received, of course, a wide and favorable hearing. All winter, in fact, so Gamble declared, the Colonials had certainly been corresponding, not only with the British, but with the French of Canada. And, above and beyond all other influences from below, the Continental Congress itself had formally addressed its neighbors on the north.[38]

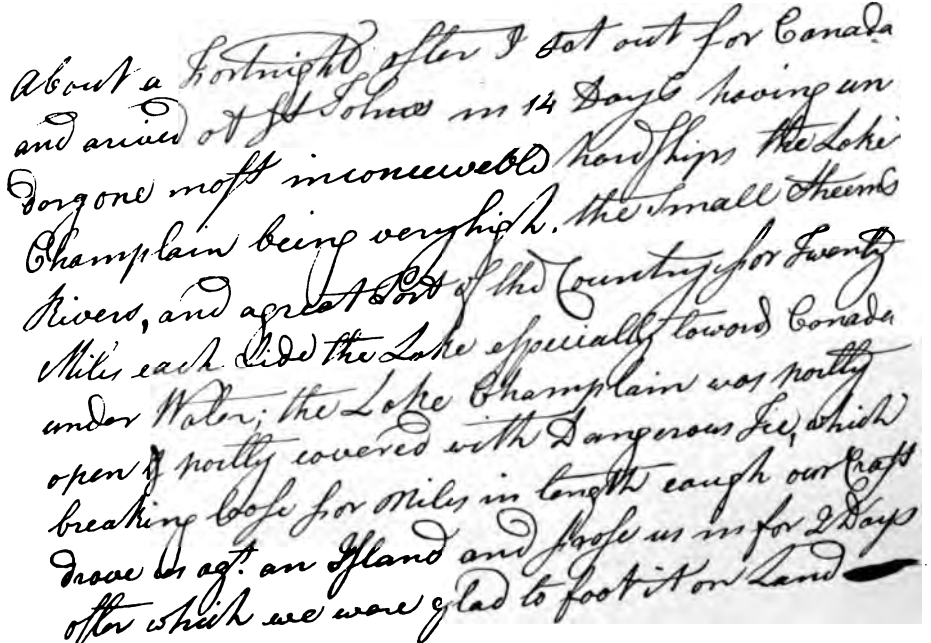
On October the twenty-sixth, 1774, a letter to the people of Quebec, drawn by Dickinson,[39] had received

---

[37] § Kalm, Travels, III., pp. 56, 57, 80, 81, 281–283. Anburey, Travels, I. p. 71. Marr, Remarks: Can. Arch., M, 384, p. 85. Laterrière, Mém., p. 52.

[38] § N. Y. Journ., Oct. 6, 1774. Replies: Frothingham, Warren, p. 442; Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 105. Gamble to Sheriff, July 20, 1775: Can. Arch., B, 20, p. 8. Journ. Cong., Oct. 24, 26. This action of Congress preceded the action of the Boston Committee; but the latter, instead of being a mere address, aimed at and secured the establishment of a close personal connection with Canada.

[39] Stillé, Dickinson, p. 144. See REMARK II.



about a fortnight after I set out for Canada
and arrived at St Johns in 14 Days having un
dergone most inconceivable hardships the Lake
Champlain being very high. the small streems
Rivers, and a great part of the Country for Twenty
Miles each side the Lake especially toward Canada
under Water; the Lake Champlain was partly
open & partly covered with Dangerous Ice, which
breaking loose for Miles in length caught our Craft
drove us off an Island and froze us in for 2 Days
after which we were glad to foot it on Land

A PORTION OF JOHN BROWN'S REPORT

the approval of that body. In warm but reasonable words, Congress explained the rights of the Canadians as British subjects and then described the position assigned them by the Quebec Act. 'Your *Judges* and your *Legislative Council*, as it is called, are *dependant* on your *Governor*,' said Congress; 'and *he* is *dependant* on the servant of the Crown, in Great-Britain. The *legislative*, *executive* and *judging* powers are *all* moved by the nods of a Minister. Privileges and immunities last no longer than his smiles. When he frowns, their feeble forms dissolve. . . . We defy you, casting your view upon every side, to discover a single circumstance, promising from any quarter the faintest hope of liberty to you or your posterity, but from an entire adoption into the union of these Colonies.'

'The immortal *Montesquieu*' was summoned from the past, and made to cast the light of his profound maxims upon this new case; and then Congress went on: 'Would not this be the purport of his address? "Seize the opportunity presented to you by Providence itself. You have been conquered into liberty, if you act as you ought. This work is not of man. . . . You are a small people, compared to those who with open arms invite you into a fellowship. A moment's reflection should convince you which will be most for your interest and happiness, to have all the rest of North America your unalterable friends, or your inveterate enemies." . . .

'We are too well acquainted with the liberality of sentiment distinguishing your nation, to imagine, that difference of religion will prejudice you against a hearty amity with us. You know, that the transcendant nature of freedom elevates those, who unite in her cause, above all such low-minded infirmities. . . . It has been, with universal pleasure and an unanimous vote, resolved, That we should consider the violation of your rights, by the act for alter-

ing the government of your province, as a violation of our own, and that you should be invited to accede to our confederation, which has no other objects than the perfect security of the natural and civil rights of all the constituent members, according to their respective circumstances, and the preservation of a happy and lasting connection with Great-Britain, on the salutary and constitutional principles hereinbefore mentioned.'

No little importance was attached by Congress to this address. The delegates of Pennsylvania received the charge of translating, printing, publishing, and dispersing it, and those of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and New York were to aid in its distribution. November the sixteenth, Edward Biddle despatched three hundred copies to Boston. 'The letter to Quebec shall be faithfully and speedily forwarded,' replied John Adams. Cushing himself, a member of the committee that reported it, sent a package to Thomas Walker, formerly his particular friend; and Walker made no concealment of receiving it. Besides, the Address had already appeared in every American paper—so Carleton thought—except the *Quebec Gazette*, and doubtless had become known in that way at the north.[40]

Earlier still, perhaps, a copy in English had made its appearance in Montreal. News of it spread quickly through the town, and all the British 'flocked to the Coffee House' to hear it. A French translation was promptly evolved at Quebec, and written copies passed from one to another among the bourgeois; and then, as the Governor, 'a man of sower morose Temper'—so Brown's Montreal friends described him—very naturally forbade printing it, the translation was despatched south to be struck off. Later it was said that a copy had been

[40] § Journ. Cong., Oct. 26. J. Adams, Works, IX., p. 348. Walker: letter from Quebec, Oct. 25, 1775 (4 Force, III., 1185). Carleton to Dartmouth, Mar. 13, 1775: Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 129.

left at every house in the region below Montreal; official reports contained glimpses of it lying on tables and passing here and there from hand to hand; and, according to a French Tory, British merchants went about the country reading it aloud to the people, while pretending to buy wheat. Little effect it would have, thought Carleton; or, at least, he expressed himself in this hopeful style to Lord Dartmouth. But, in a clearer view of the situation, such an opinion would have seemed hardly probable; and Badeaux, almost a hundred miles from either Quebec or Montreal, noted in his Journal that the Canadians were influenced not a little by the Address.[41]

Several days were spent in personal talks, and then all the British—English, Scotch, Irish, and ex-Colonials—met at the Coffee House to hear Adams's ambassador and discuss the situation. Among them Brown made a figure not unworthy of his mission. His noble personal appearance, genial air, and chivalric manner, the perils and hardships of his journey, his message and those who sent it,—patriots already famous, a city suffering in the cause of freedom, and a Colony organizing resistance,—all these together gave him the true eloquence of the man, the subject, and the occasion. His letter read, he and Walker addressed the gathering in no uncertain language, and it was then proposed that delegates be sent from Canada to Philadelphia the coming May, as the Boston letter and the Address of Congress proposed.[42]

But here appeared obstacles as great as those which had vetoed the scheme of an Assembly. Doubtless many hesitated on general principles to take an open stand with

---

[41] § **At Montreal**: Carleton, Nov. 11, 1774 (Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 17). Canadian version: Carleton to Dartmouth, Mar. 13, 1775 (Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 129); Montreal letter in Essex Gazette, Mar. 14, 1775. Brown to S. Adams, Mar. 29, 1775: Mass. Arch., Vol. 193, p. 41. Circulation: Winsor, Narr. and Crit. Hist., VI., p. 215; spy (Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 149); Verreau (Sanguinet) Invasion, p. 20. Carleton's hope: Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 129. Verreau (Badeaux), Invasion, p. 164.

[42] § **Spies**: Can. Arch., Q, 11, pp. 149, 165, 166.

the Colonies at this time, especially as the Quebec Act might, they thought, be repealed or amended. Interests as well as opinions divided them, and fears paralyzed many good wishes. All realized that their heads were in the lion's mouth, and that, as Walker said, they had not even 'the common Right of the miserable, *to complain*.' 'We deeply feel the Sorrows & Afflictions, of our suffering Brethren,' so they decided to answer the Boston Committee; 'but alas ! we are more the Objects of Pity & Compassion than yourselves.' [43]

Besides, they intimated, the northern country generally was not ripe for so decisive a step toward the Colonies. '*We cannot join them* in the insuing general Congress, which were we to attempt, the Canadians,' even though already displeased with the Quebec Act, 'would join the Government to Frustrate.' Further, Congress had adopted an agreement not to import from Great Britain, with a definite step toward cutting off exportations likewise; and, should the merchants act with the Colonies under these limitations, they would be ruined; since, as Brown explained, 'The French would immediately monopolize the Indian Trade.' Finally the British-Canadians, begging 'to be informed in what Manner we can be serviceable to your Cause, without bringing down ruin upon our own heads,' inquired whether Congress would receive delegates from the north without insisting upon the acceptance of its commercial policy. Till that could be known, the plan of sending them had perforce to be deferred.[44]

This was disappointing; yet the results of the mission could not be reckoned small. Some of them did not make

---

[43] To Boston Com. Corres., Apr. 8, 1775: Mass. Arch., Vol. 193, p 83. (The letter though signed by Walker, Welles, Price, and Haywood is evidently in Walker's hand.)

[44] § See Note 43. Mass. Gazette, Feb. 27, 1775 (letter from Quebec). Journ. Cong., Oct. 20, 1774. Brown to S. Adams: Note 41.

their appearance until later, but others could be figured up at once. Carleton admitted that a number of men promised the Colonials 'to render them all the Services in their Power.' Between this ganglion and the head in Boston a secure nerve of correspondence now ran by way of the New Hampshire Grants; and, as Brown met a number of the Quebec Committee at Montreal, that centre also was included in the line. With such a connection and such germs of revolt in Canada, who could predict the consequences?[45]

Something was done also to conjure away the danger of invasion from that quarter. Sentries took post, ready to give seasonable notice in case of a movement; and measures were taken to impede all hostile designs. The Address of Congress had suggested that, if Canada would not receive the Colonials as friends, she might have to accept them as enemies. Rather harsh the doctrine seemed, no doubt; but the times were strenuous. Warren, girding himself to be sacrificed on the smoking altar of Bunker Hill, had said to Montreal in his letter of 'the warmest gratitude': 'To war with brethren must be shocking to every brave, every humane mind; but, if brethren and fellow subjects will suffer themselves to be instruments in the hands of tyrants to stab our Constitution, every tender idea must be forgot.' Already, as Brown discovered, the friends of the Colonies had thwarted efforts to enlist the people on the side of the government by arguments 'chiefly in Terrorem'; and now, to offset the Canadians' dread of those red lines which had swept the Plains of Abraham so clean, it was given out that, should they dare take up arms against the Bostonians, thirty thousand men would

---

[45] § Carleton to Dartmouth, May 15, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 245. Brown to S. Adams: Note 41.

march into their province and lay waste the whole country."[46]

And upon this, foresight—which had certainly done the very best that it knew—yielded the stage for a while to a far mightier power, the power of the unpredictable.

---

[46] § Brown to S. Adams: Note 41. Frothingham, Warren, p. 442. Spies' reports to Carleton: Can. Arch., Q. 11, pp. 165, 167.

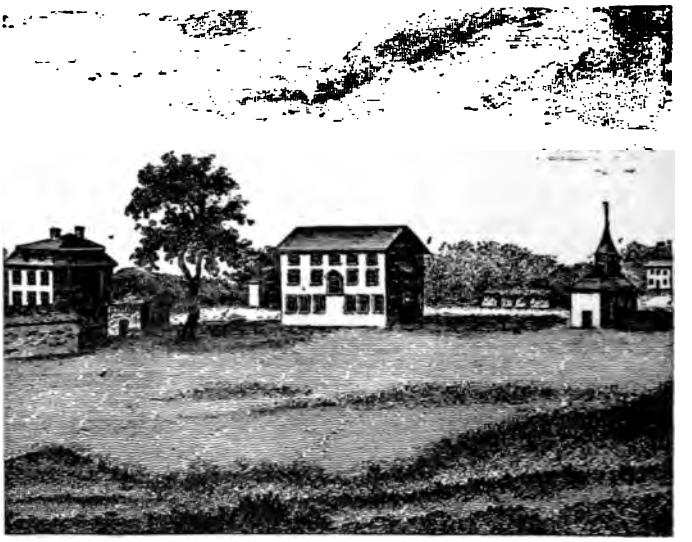
IV

TICONDEROGA

WHEN the atmosphere is thick with vapor and electricity, an imperceptible current of the upper air may rouse its latent forces to life in many quarters at once. Vapor condenses into clouds; clouds burst into rain; and each of half a dozen valleys has its particular storm, thundering and lightening down between the hills and adding a torrent of its own to the general flood. In most cases, great popular movements have been illustrations of this process, and our American Revolution followed the rule.

'I cannot call them rebels at present; but, by the blessing of God on my Armies and Fleets, they will deserve that appellation very soon,'—this was the language which *Regulus* put into the mouth of George III.; and in truth he had appeared to speak it. The happy time was now come; and, in February, 1775, the Address to the Throne declared, almost with unction, that a state of actual rebellion existed in Massachusetts. Even had Gage, the British commander there, been a statesman, he would have found it hard to stop the shadow on the dial then; but he proved lacking enough in wisdom. 'You know it was said,' wrote Franklin to Priestley, 'that he carried the sword in one hand and the olive branch in the other; and it seems he chose to give them a taste of the sword first.' At Lexington the red cup was offered the patriots and with a steady hand accepted; and from that crimson-spotted Green the tocsin sent its terrible news

abroad. At Portsmouth, 'To arms, to arms! was breathed forth with sympathetick groans,' reported Alexander Scammell. 'O my dear New England!' cried *Johannes-in-Eremo* at Salem; 'O my dear New England, hear thou the alarm of war! The call of heaven is to arms! to arms! The sword of Britain is drawn against us!' But no exhortation was needed. The barest facts rang like a clarion, and flew like the wind.[1]



LEXINGTON GREEN

One particular account of the conflict recorded its flight. New Haven received it on Monday morning, April the twenty-fourth at half-past nine; Stamford at ten o'clock that evening; Greenwich at three o'clock the next morning, and New York at two in the afternoon. 'A

[1] § Regulus: 4 Force, II., 316. Address: 4 Force, I., 1542, 1547. Franklin, Works (Sparks), VIII., p. 153. Scammell: 4 Force, II., 501. Johannes ib., 369.

true copy,' attested Jonathan Hampton early that evening, as he transcribed the letter at Elizabethtown, New Jersey. At midnight the New Brunswick Committee signed the receipt, and long before daybreak the men of Princeton were doing the like. At noon the message reached Philadelphia, and 'at the same time' set out again. 'Chester, 4 o'clock, Wednesday, P.M., received & forwarded,' noted the Committee. 'Baltimore, April 27, 1775, received, 10 o'clock P.M., John Boyd, Clerk.' At ten the next morning, the express left Annapolis; and, as the clocks were on the stroke of six, his tired steed, spattered with Potomac mud, clinked over the cobblestones of Alexandria. Fredericksburg and King William led on to Williamsburg. Not a 'moment' was lost there, and the letter sped away to Newbern in North Carolina. May the eighth, at four in the afternoon, Cornelius Harnett despatched the news to Richard Quince of Brunswick, adding, 'For God's sake send the man on without the least delay, and write to Mr. Marion to forward it by night and by day!' 'For the good of our Country and the welfare of our lives and liberties, and fortunes!' cried Marion at the boundary. At half-past six in the evening, May tenth, the express entered Georgetown, and on the instant Paul Trapier set his message hurrying along to Charleston.[2]

Wherever the courier's mount had struck hoof all these days and nights, the call to arms rang out, and soldiers leaped into ranks behind him. Seizing musket and powder-horn, many of them hastened to Cambridge; and almost before the ragged echoes of Lexington ceased pealing, the 'Audacious Briton' found himself imprisoned in Boston. Yet the patriots were not satisfied. Muskets could injure him little, and even the warmest enthusiasm

[2] 4 Force, II., 365.

could not be cast into ordnance. What should be done for cannon?

Far from all this, quite beyond the western horizon, walled in with mountains and buried in the forest, a beautiful sheet of water, adorned with lovely bays and bold headlands, was reflecting sun and stars in a silence hardly broken save by the bird, the catamount, and the storm.

The scene had not always been so tranquil. It was here that Samuel de Champlain had passed up in his canoe with a party of Indians to fight the Iroquois. It was here that Dieskau, with a greater fleet and more of the savages, had swept on to set his ambush for the Provincials. It was here that Montcalm had poised himself an instant for his dash at Fort William Henry.

In 1755, a fort known as Carillon appeared on a high, bold promontory near the southern end of the lake; and, against the green-black of the mountains, waved the snowy flag of France. At the outworks of this fort, not long after, a small man with sparkling eyes might have been seen darting here and there amidst soldiers in white, commanding and inspiring them. It was Montcalm once more; and, though British regulars and Colonial militia charged and charged again with desperate valor, the lilies were still blooming on the broad white banner at the end of the fight. A great cross rose then on the point. 'What is the leader; what the soldier; what the fortress? Behold the sign! Behold the victor! Here God, here God Himself is triumphant!' wrote Montcalm in Latin for the inscription. And France held the pass.[3]

But the tide changed. Near midnight, July the twenty-third, 1759, an immense glare suddenly lighted up the headland, the waters, and the sky; and a tremendous roar

---

[3] § Parkman, Montcalm, *passim*. Inscription: ib., II., p. 112.

shook the hills. The French troops had gone, leaving a slow match in the powder; one bastion had blown up; and the barracks had taken fire. For a time the white flag waved on amid the conflagration, as it had waved in the smoke of battle. But soon it fell; the standard of Great Britain superseded Montcalm's trophy; and Carillon became Ticonderoga. Yet the place continued to be a fort; and both there and at Crown Point, some fifteen miles to the north, lay quantities of good ordnance in the spring of 1775.[4]

But the British themselves had a use for those guns. 'It is not only expedient, but indispensably necessary,' to keep the lake posts in repair, General Carleton had declared as early as 1767; and he pointed out the reasons with force and precision. The Earl of Dartmouth saw that something must be done; and at his request General Haldimand, after looking well into the matter, gave his opinion in March, 1774. Two months later, John Montresor, the commanding engineer at New York, received orders to go to Lake Champlain 'with all possible expedition' and make plans for either repairing one of the posts or building a new fortification. Two weeks more, and Haldimand said he was going to propose to General Gage that a couple of regiments be stationed at Crown Point 'under the pretence of rebuilding that Fort, which from its situation,' he explained, 'not only secures the communication with Canada, but also opens an easy access to the back Settlements of the Northern Colonies and may keep them in awe, shou'd any of them be rash enough to incline to acts of open force and violence'; and within a few days a note in French conveyed this hint to Boston.[5]

---

[4] Evacuation: Parkman, Montcalm, II., 239.

[5] § Carleton to Gage, Feb. 15, 1767: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, II, p. 479. Haldimand to Dartmouth, Mar. 2, 1774: Can. Arch., B, 35, p. 87. Montresor: Can. Arch., B, 5, p. 249; 35, p. 123; 33, p. 264. Haldimand to Dartmouth, May 15, 1774: Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. Ind., Vol. 129, p. 287. Id. to Gage, May 20, 1774: Can. Arch., B, 5, p. 249.

A MAP
of the Country between
Crown Point and Albany
with the situation of
TICONDEROGA
being the present Theatre
of War of the British Forces
under the command of
GEN.L CARLETON.
Otter Creek
Crown Point
Fort Frederick
Otter Creek
LAKE GEORGE
Hudsons R.
Fort Edwd.
Fort Anne
NEW ENGLAND
HAMPSHIRE
Albany
MASSACHUSETS PROVINCE
Miles

November the second, Lord Dartmouth ordered Gage to have both of the forts 'put into a proper state of Defence.' The letter did not reach its destination until a day after Christmas, and apparently Gage made no move at that time; but, very soon after the fight at Lexington, he ordered Carleton to place the 7th Regiment, with some companies of Canadians and Indians, at Crown Point; while, as early as March, the commander of Ticonderoga had received a warning to prepare for trouble in the shape of 'disorderly People in Arms coming to the Fort and makeing Enquirys of its situation, and [the] strength of the Garrison.' Besides, a certain Major Skene was just about sailing from England to rebuild the works, and he expected to reach the ground with a thousand men by the first of May. Evidently the precious cannon were to be under safe British protection very soon.[6]

But Skene was delayed, and a force lay nearer Ticonderoga than Carleton's. Vermont did not exist in 1774 even as a Colony, yet people lived already on the fair slopes of the Green Mountains. 'New Hampshire Grants' was the usual name of the region; but New Hampshire had relinquished whatever title she had to it, while New York still asserted claims and seemed very much in earnest about making them good. To this, most of the residents objected with still greater zeal, for the land grants of New York literally cut the ground from under their feet. The legal case, argued at Albany, went against the settlers; but they could see no justice in the verdict. On leaving the courtroom, their leader, Ethan Allen, remarked, 'The gods of the valleys are not the gods of the hills'; and his people proceeded to enforce

[6] § Dartmouth: Précis of Oper. Gage (the letter went by sea, and reached Carleton on May 19, 1775): Carleton to Dartmouth, June 7, 1775 (Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 283). At Ti.: Gage to Dartmouth, May 17, 1775 (Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. Ind., Vol. 130, p. 327). Skene: Phelps to Conn. Assembly, May 16, 1775 (Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., I., p. 174).

their rights, as they understood them, with both humor and energy,—the humor appreciated mainly on one side of the controversy, but the energy felt quite as much on the other. The hamlet of Bennington Centre became their headquarters; and there sate the Grand Committee, which maintained a sort of government. The capitol was a rambling two-story tavern, and, for an official standard, there was a stuffed catamount in front of it, grinning defiance toward New York from the top of a sign-post some twenty-five feet high.[1]

Unpretentious enough the seat of government, but thence went orders that did not return to it void. One Dr. Adams, tied in an arm-chair, was hung up under the ensign for two hours to meditate on the controversy, and came back to the earth with changed convictions. New York surveyors had to give up their compass and chain. New York sheriffs failed to get the land, but received some of its produce in the shape of beech switches.

One morning Allen, appearing at the door of a York settler, informed him that the timbers of his dwelling were to be offered up 'as a burnt sacrifice to the gods of the woods'; and soon only ashes remained. Colonel Reid, who lived on a large estate where comely Vergennes now stands, received a visit from about one hundred men in August, 1773. His houses vanished in smoke; his mill returned to its elements; the millstones were smashed and pitched down the falls. In March, 1775, the 'Benington Mob,' as Governor Tryon called them, seized Benjamin Hough, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace, put him through a form of trial for daring to act under the authority to New York, counted him out two hundred

---

[1] For this and the two following paragraphs: Merrill, Historic Bennington Walton, Records of Council of Safety; Isham, E. Allen; Benton, Vermont Settlers; Swift, Addison County: all *passim*; 4 Force, I., 1323; II., 215-218.

good stripes on his bare back, and ordered him out of the country.

These men bore arms,—a firelock with 'Ball or Buck-Shot answerable,' and 'a good tomahawk,' as the rules provided. Many were old rangers, veterans of Putnam, Stark, and Rogers; all were 'as brave as Hercules and as good marksmen as can be found in America,' said Esquire Gilleland, who knew them; and, as early as 1771, they organized a regiment with Allen as their colonel. When some were indicted, the rest solemnly voted to 'stand by and defend' them at the hazard of life and property. After Remember Baker was wounded and arrested, his friends pursued the posse and rescued him by force. Rewards were offered against the 'Mob,' and its leaders were outlawed, but Allen, Baker, Peleg Sunderland, and others published a simple notice which had far greater effect: 'immediate death' would be the fate of whoever tried to arrest them; or, said the warning, if any person should succeed in carrying off one of these individuals, 'we are resolved to surround such person or persons, whether at his or their own house or houses, or anywhere that we can find him or them, *and shoot such person or persons dead.*' [8]

Peleg Sunderland was appointed by the Grand Committee to guide John Brown on his journey to Montreal, and later Brown wrote his principals in Boston to this effect: 'The Fort at Tyconderogo must be seised as soon as possible should hostilities be committed by the King's Troops. The People on N. Hampshire Grants have ingaged to do this Business and in my opinion they are the most proper Persons for this Jobb.' [9]

---

[8] § Proceedings of Representatives, Jan. 31, 1775. Isham, E. Allen, *passim*. Gilleland to Cont. Cong., May 29, 1775: 4 Force, II., 731. Swift, Addison County, *passim*. Hall, Vt., pp. 178, 183.

[9] § Sunderland: Journ. of Vt. Assembly, Mar. 7, 1787; Trumbull, Origin, p. 8; Hall, Ti., p. 8. Brown to S. Adams, Mar. 29, 1775: Mass. Arch., Vol. 193, p. 41.

Apparently Sunderland had talked over-confidently to Brown, for his chief had not committed himself to such a project. But 'the first systematical and bloody attempt, at Lexington, to enslave America thoroughly electrified my mind,' Allen said later; and soon afterward 'the principal officers of the Green Mountain Boys, and other principal inhabitants were convened at Bennington.' It was 'resolved to take an active part with the Country, and thereby annihilate the old quarrel with the govern-

CATAMOUNT TAVERN

ment of New York by swallowing it up in the general conflict for liberty.' 'But the enemy having the command of lake Champlain and the garrisons contiguous to it, was ground of great uneasiness to those inhabitants who had extended their settlements on the river Otter Creek and Onion River, and along the eastern side of the lake aforesaid; who, in consequence of a war, would be under the power of the enemy. It was therefore projected to surprise the garrisons of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, with the armed vessel on the lake; . . . but whether such a measure would be agreeable to Congress

or not they could not for certain determine.' Therefore the plan remained only a 'project'; and meanwhile a fleet ship was hurrying north every hour with Gage's order to Carleton.[10]

Bustling to and fro in the quiet village of New Haven, Connecticut, treading hard the new grass of the College Green, and cutting the shadows of the elms with a quick stride, lived a man of thirty-four years, who seemed expressly contrived for these perilous and arduous times. When less than fifteen years old, he had run away from home and enlisted in the French and Indian War; and, after his mother got him back, he went a second time. Soon weary of military discipline, however, he took leave of the army in the same ready style, and enlisted in a drug store at New Haven. On reaching man's estate, he established himself there as an apothecary and bookseller. Like his father before him, however, this brisk young man owned ships, and sometimes he went out in charge of one. More than once he sailed to the West Indies, and he bought horses for that trade at Quebec.[11]

Socially he stood high. Every generation had honored his name—Benedict Arnold—as far back as the second President of Rhode Island. His mother had given him some of her beauty if not a great deal of her gentleness. The strength of her affections, likewise, appeared in the son more distinctly than her piety; but he used to hold

---

[10] § E. Allen, Narrative, p. 17. Id., Vindication (Records of Gov. and Council, I., p. 448).

[11] (This paragraph and the next.) The sketch of Arnold is based on I. N. Arnold, B. Arnold, pp. 17–27; Arnold's MS. letters in N. Y. Pub. Library (Lenox); Thompson, Hist. 2nd Co., Gov.'s Footguards; Hist. Mag., Jan. 1860, p. 18 (his mother's letter); Earle, Costume, p. 59 (Gabriel); and of course a wide range of reading. The hymn-book is still in existence (Am. Antiq. Soc.).

The author hopes that he will not be accused of palliating treason, because he sets down some things to Arnold's credit. His duty is to report the facts. And it will not injure us, as students of events, to remember that a judge who does not discriminate is no judge at all. A person unable to see that snow is white cannot see that ink is black. He is blind, and therefore not entitled to express an opinion on such questions. To refuse to recognize merit is to deprive ourselves of the right to censure faults. Besides, the Arnold of West Point was the result of development, and we are bound to take the man of 1775 and 1776 as he was at that time.

one side of the hymn-book in the old church at Norwich with decorum, and he had not yet forgotten her loving exhortation, 'Don't neglect your presios soal which once lost can never be regained.' Strong, active, quick-witted, and resolute, he could not fail to be a leader, in spite of egotism and a domineering temper. His house, embowered in shrubbery, was an arc of the gayest circle in the town. No doubt many a 'newest fashioned bonnet' was turned out by Marie Gabriel, 'Milliner from France,' at her maximum price of two shillings and sixpence, to grace his parties; and, on public occasions, he shone in an elegant uniform as the captain of a 'crack' body of militia, the second company of the Governor's Footguards.

The next day after the skirmish at Lexington, word of it reached New Haven. 'Good God!' Arnold had exclaimed on hearing of the 'Boston Massacre' while at St. George's Key; 'Good God, are the Americans all a Sleep & tamely giving up their glorious Liberties, or are they all turned Philosophers, that they don't take imediate vengence on such miscreants?' and now he was ready to draw. At once he assembled his command on the Lower Green, proposed marching to Cambridge, and called for volunteers. The greater part of his men stepped forward. The next day these resolutes and some Yale students—about fifty in all—appeared again on the Green. A little difficulty as to ammunition arose; but the Captain marched his force to the place where the Selectmen were in session, and announced that he would break into the magazine unless they handed over the keys within five minutes. The devout Governor Trumbull—a Puritan divine grafted on a senator of Rome—had written to a friend about a week before, lamenting 'the late awful restraints of the Spirit'; but he could not complain of his Second Footguards, and he addressed the volunteers in

ringing words. Then, with a fresh series of resolutions in their breast-pockets, addressed to 'All Christian People,' forswearing 'drunkenness, gaming, profaneness, and every vice of that nature,' and scorning all 'ignoble motives,' the company raised a flag bearing the pious motto, '*Qui transtulit sustinet*,' and set out with martial music and a quick step for the seat of war.[12]

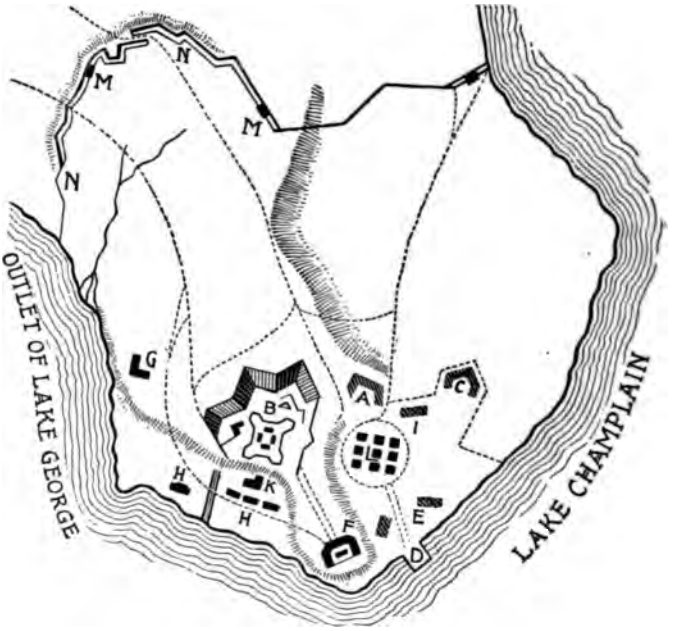
ARNOLD'S HOUSE

April twenty-ninth, they reached Cambridge, and the very next day their captain informed Dr. Warren and his Committee of Safety that heavy cannon—many of them fine pieces of brass—could be found at Ticonderoga. Probably Arnold had seen the lakes as a boy, and very possibly that visit was his only source of information. But, even though his figures flew somewhat wide of the mark, they were quite exact enough to be highly interesting. The Committee asked him to put them in writing. He did so at once and added, 'The place could not hold out an hour against a vigorous onset.' Before the day ended a letter was written to the Committee of New York, explaining the urgent need of cannon, and the necessity of trespassing a little on the rights of a sister Colony. The reply was not waited for, however. Within forty-eight hours, a sub-committee received instructions to confer with Arnold on the matter. Supplies were voted for 'a certain service approved of by the Council of War,' and the next day the Committee of Safety, 'confiding in the judgment, fidelity, and valor' of Captain Arnold, did

---

[12] § Arnold to ——, June 9, 1770: Dreer Coll. I. N. Arnold, B. Arnold, pp. 36, 37. Thompson, Footguards: Note 11. Trumbull, Apr. 17: 4 Force, II., 339. Resolutions: ib., 383.

constitute and appoint him 'Colonel and Commander in chief over a body of men not exceeding four hundred,' with instructions to 'proceed with all expedition' and reduce the fort at Ticonderoga if he could."[13]



TICONDEROGA IN 1759

A, C, G, M, Batteries; B, Fort; D, Wharf; E, Storehouses; F, [Grenadier] Redoubt; H, Prisons; I, Lime Kilns; K, Ovens; L, Gardens; N, Advanced Works

This was well; but Lake Champlain lay beyond the western mountains, and the men had still to be enlisted; whereas the 7th Regiment of Foot already stood under arms, and every whiff of wind carried Gage's order nearer to Quebec.

---

[13] § Journ. Mass. Prov. Cong., etc., pp. 527, 534. 4 Force, II., 450, 748, 750, 751, 782.

But meanwhile other things happened. On his way east, Arnold had met Colonel Samuel H. Parsons of Connecticut and given him 'an account of the state of Ticonderoga,' mentioning 'that a great number of brass cannon were there.' Parsons reached Hartford (April 27) two days earlier than Arnold reached Cambridge, and immediately had a talk with Colonel Samuel Wyllys and another gentleman. This other gentleman, a comely, alert and businesslike person, with a straight, keen nose—never keener than just then—was Silas Deane, a member of the Continental Congress.[14] Every prominent citizen of Connecticut understood the character of the Green Mountain Boys, for many of them had emigrated from that Colony, and their doings had become famous; and the trio at once decided to forward sinews of war to the Grants, and there find muscles, if possible, to get hold of the needed cannon, for on this plan no large body of men would betray the scheme by marching through the country. So the next day, supported by Christopher Leffingwell and two more citizens of weight, the schemers drew three hundred pounds from the Colonial treasury on their personal responsibility, and sent off Noah Phelps and Bernard Romans with that amount,—plus the promise of more, should more be needed.[15]

---

[14] Portrait, engraved in 1783, N. Y. Pub. Library (Lenox).

[15] Authorities on which the account of the expedition against Ticonderoga is based: The Connecticut documents (Mott's account, Parsons's letter, Elisha Phelps's letter, etc.) in Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., I.; the letters of Arnold, Allen, Mott, and others to the Mass. authorities printed with the Journal of the Mass. Prov. Cong. and Com. Safety; E. Allen's account in his 'Narrative'; John Brown's account (in substance) (4 Force, II., 623); Easton's (account in substance) (4 Force, II., 624); Easton's Memorial, June 14, 1786 (Contin. Cong. Papers, No. 41, III., p. 133); Account of 'Veritas' (4 Force, II., 1085); Hartford Courant, May 22, 1775; Worcester Spy, May 17, 1775; various letters of Allen and Arnold (found readily in Force by looking at this period in the chronological list at the beginning of Ser. 4, Vol. II.); Memorial of Delaplace (Conn. Arch., Rev. War., I., Doc. 405); Minutes of ordnance (4 Force, IV., 534). More or less valuable information has been found in: Goodhue, Shoreham, pp. 1–17; Thompson, Vt.; Hall, Vt., pp. 198–201; Hall, Ti., pp. 8–27; Chittenden, Ti., pp. 23–51; Trumbull, Origin, p. 8; Hemenway, Hist. Gazetteer; Isham, E. Allen, p. 75, etc.; I. Allen, Vt., pp. 55–59; Arnold, B. Arnold; Hollister, Conn; Sheldon, Deerfield; Trumbull, Northampton; Smith, Pittsfield, I., pp. 215–221; Field, Pittsfield; Dewey, Stockbridge; Pope, Western Boundary; Picturesque

Later the same day (April 28), Edward Mott, just appointed a captain in Parsons's regiment, went to Hartford and met Leffingwell.

'How are the people in Boston?' inquired the latter. Mott had been making a visit at the camp, and gave what news lay on his tongue.

'How can they be relieved?' Leffingwell then asked, with an air of simplicity. 'Where do you think artillery and stores can be got?'

'That I know not, except we go and take possession of Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and that I think might be done by surprise with a small number of men,' replied Mott. Perhaps he, too, had met Arnold on the road.[10]

'Wait here a moment,' responded Leffingwell, hurrying away. In a little while he returned with Deane and Parsons.

'Will you undertake such an expedition as we were talking of just now?' he asked.

'I will,' replied Mott.

On this Mott was let into the secret, and invited to follow after Phelps and Romans with a few others. The first party was to halt at Salisbury and the second could join it there.

Accordingly, on Saturday afternoon, April the twenty-ninth, Mott and five companions rode out of Hartford

---

Berkshire; Dewey, County of Berkshire; T. Allen, Berkshire County; 'First Church of Pittsfield'; Burnham, T. Allen; 'Greylock,' Taghconic; Bryan, Book of Berkshire; Benton, Vt. Settlers, pp. 105, 106; Caverly, Pittsford; Rudd, Salisbury, p. 11; Jennings, Memorials; Mrs. Plunkett in N. Y. Gen. and Geog. Record, Oct., 1897. [T. Allen] to [Pomeroy], May 4, 1775 (4 Force, II., 507); [Id.] to [Id.], May 9, 1775 (ib., 546); Walton (ed.), Records, *passim*; Chipman, S. Warner, p. 78; *Vermonter*, Mar., 1903; Swift, Addison County; Cook, Ti.; Joslin and Frisbie, Poultney; Dawson, Battles; De Puy, E. Allen; Gordon, Hist. U. S.; Robinson, The Hero of Ti. (i. e., Beaman); an article by N. Beaman, printed in the N. Y. newspaper called the *Palladium*, May 28, 1835. The author visited the ground and obtained interesting information from the local antiquarians. REMARK III.

[10] If not, the coincidence was extraordinary. It should be added, however, that the idea of getting cannon from the lakes was somewhat widespread in Conn.; see Saltonstall to Deane, Apr. 25, 1775: Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., II., p. 218.

toward the Housatonic valley. That night they put up at Smith's in New Hartford. Sunday, they pressed on without drawing rein at the church doors, crossed Norfolk, and skirted the long ridge of Wangam Mountain, probably turning off to the right, as they approached Canaan, for a glass of something warm at the Lawrence Tavern. Refreshed, they traversed the flat intervale of the Housatonic, forded the river at Indian Crossing, left Tom's Mountain over the right shoulder, and, after winding between the hills and ponds of Salisbury, found before them—beautiful of itself and enamelled at that hour with all the colors of sunset—the broad sheet of water that has given a name to Lakeville.

Salisbury Furnace the place was called then; and, where the outlet of the lake—a clear and musical brook, tumbling over a high bank—made what people described as a 'water privilege,' there stood a forge and a blast furnace, with a pair of wheezy bellows driven by the falls. Primitive, no doubt, yet not mean was this establishment, the earliest of the sort in Connecticut; for, between 1776 and 1780, it was to cast many a swivel and mortar and even cannon as heavy as 18-pounders, to back up the Declaration of Independence. But just now Salisbury Furnace had an interest of another sort. Ten years before, one of its proprietors had been Ethan Allen; one, if not two, of his brothers lived here still; and Heman Allen was despatched to let Ethan know what was on foot, so that his Green Mountain Boys might be ready.[17] For another reason, also, the Furnace was a good halting-place. In August, 1774, the inhabitants had voted in their town-meeting that 'our poor brothers of Boston, now suffering for us, shall share with us our plentiful harvest'; and

[17] It has been disputed whether Heman Allen was despatched from Salisbury or from Pittsfield. The point seems to be settled by an entry in Romans's accounts: 'Paid H. A. going express after E. A. 120 miles, £2 8s.16.' See Hall, Ti., p. 18.

help to get cannon for the relief of the patriot capital could well be expected in such a community.

By morning the numbers had risen to sixteen; and it seemed best, instead of adding more, to keep the affair secret still, and press on — unarmed — for the Grants.

DOOR OF THE MISSION HOUSE

Setting out, then, and turning to the north, the party rode along very quietly all day beside the willows and the windings of the dark Housatonic; crossed Stockbridge plain, in the shade of its handsome elms, with the famous Indian Mission on the hill at the left; and passed on the right the parsonage of Jonathan Edwards, covered with broad, hewn clapboards, where his daughter, coming home for a visit nineteen years before, had laid a bundle of flannels in her mother's arms with the proud words, 'This is my boy,'—Aaron Burr.

Still more interesting to the martial pilgrims, no doubt, was the inn, swinging its cheery sign of the Red Lion. But no long tarry could be made there; and at night they lodged in Pittsfield with one James Easton, a builder by trade, a colonel by election, a deacon by the grace of the church, and a tavern-keeper by the favor of the public.

Pittsfield, reclining like a conscious beauty among its fair hills, had just reason to be called the second node of the expedition. On the word of the minister, its Tories were the worst in the country; but a couple were now

rotting safely in the horrible jail at Northampton; two more had made for New York with the hue-and-cry at their heels; and the rest, 'mute and pensive,' preferred to let their opinions suffocate at home in pure air. Evidently the patriots did not lack zeal. Only the day before, they had filed into the paintless, blindless, belfryless, and fireless church, and heard one of the most notable among them preach,—one whose mild and delicate features and slight figure gave little token that he would be known as the 'fighting Parson Allen' of Stark's famous victory. John Brown, resting from his Canadian trip, was certainly to be counted as another of the patriots; and Easton, who possessed a knack of inspiring confidence—a sort of 'confidence-man' he was, indeed—could claim to rank *pro tempore* as a third. In fact, these three with four others had been chosen in 1774 as the Standing Committee of Safety and Correspondence.[18]

Hearing that Brown had served the cause so ably, the conspirators opened their plans to him and Easton. Both agreed to join the party, and they advised that, as the people on the Grants were poor and provisions not abundant among them, it would be well to gather some men and rations in Berkshire. Accordingly, while the rest of the party struck out for Bennington, to do what they could there, Mott and Easton, slipping round the skirts of Mt. Greylock on Tuesday morning, picked up fifteen of Easton's militia in Williamstown, while the long, patriotic vale of Jericho, which was soon to borrow a new name from President Hancock, contributed twenty-four. Equipment and provisions were secured,—all, as Parson Allen wrote, with 'the utmost secrecy'; and on Thursday, the fourth of May, this group also marched for Bennington.

---

[18] § Tories: [T. Allen] to [Pomeroy], May 4, 1775 (4 Force, II., 507). Jail: Trumbull, Northampton, II., p. 337. Com.: Hist. Mag., Apr., 1857, p. 108. Smith, Pittsfield, I., p. 190.

That evening, bad news. An express from the front burst upon them, all excitement. A man who had been at Ticonderoga had met the advance party; the garrison of the fort had been reinforced, he said; they were on their guard and repairing the works; better dismiss Easton's troops and go no farther.

'Who is this man? Where does he belong? Where was he going?' demanded Mott; but the express could not say, and Mott exclaimed, 'The men shall not be dismissed; we will proceed.'

And proceed they did. Skirting, after a brisk march, the broad base of Mt. Anthony, and casting a final glance at misty Greylock behind them, they passed the little Walloomsac Inn on the left, and on the right a diminutive Common with an equally diminutive church at the foot of it, and arrived in a few minutes more at a large wooden building with two chimneys and a stone doorstep inscribed S. F. This was the Catamount Tavern; and aloft there, looking saucier than ever, grinned the emblem of defiance. Here they found the rest of the party, except that Mr. Halsey and Captain Stephens had gone to feel the public pulse at Albany, and Noah Phelps with Mr. Heacock to reconnoitre Ticonderoga.

PITTSFIELD IN 1807

A 'Council of War' sate without delay, doubtless in the chamber where the words 'Council Room,' faintly scratched on the marble lintel of the fireplace, denoted the assembly hall of the Grand Committee. Ethan Allen, longing for an opportunity to 'signalize' himself, was eager for the expedition, and had already done much. An amiable giant named Seth Warner, second in command among the Green Mountain Boys, had little to say

but looked all battle and victory. Dr. Jonas Fay, son of the landlord, agreed to go as the surgeon.

Provisions were still found scanty, and two men set off to Albany New City [19] in search of supplies. Arrangements had to be made for patrolling all the roads leading toward the enemy, so as to pick up information and prevent any interesting news from going astray. Some volunteers had come in, but not enough; and steps were taken to raise more as fast as possible. Then, with some cattle and some wagons full of provisions, the embryonic army set out for the north. It was only a shapeless body of roughly dressed farmers, with guns at all angles on their shoulders and hats at all angles on their heads. No banners flashed gay notes of color in the sunlight; no drums roused the pulses; no fifes woke the nerves. But courage, skill, and purpose lay out of sight under the humble coats, and then as ever the invisible things outweighed the seen.

Climbing first a slight hill, they reached the spot where the Bennington Battle Monument was later to rear its grand height. Below them spread a vast flat basin of woodland. Bald Peak and the main line of the Green Mountains cheered them on from the right; the Taconics walled them in on the left; and Mt. Equinox, rising midway almost straight ahead, beckoned them forward.

Plunging at once down the steep slope, they buried themselves in the woods, and strode on with a long, lithe gait—suggestive of the lion if not of the drill sergeant—gathering at every step that highland stimulus which has always made the mountaineer a freeman. Hepatica, trilium, and bloodroot beamed encouragement from the roadside with bright though drowsy eyes just washed in dew. Morning breezes that had slept overnight on the

[19] About five miles north of Albany, on the east side of the river (Liv., Journal, Sept. 23).

odors of the hemlock and the fir, breathed upon them the spirit of liberty and of power. The grand ranges past which they filed, gave them a sense of tremendous protection and support. At Arlington, over against the hill where Ethan Allen built himself a house and dug a well—destined, like Jacob's, to outlive its maker—Saddleback and Bald Mountain upreared a front so majestic and inspiring that Vermont has engraved this view on her state seal. At North Dorset the ranges planted their splendid marble columns face to face with an air of sublimity that enjoined great purposes and bold exploits.

The volunteers perhaps—even probably—did not suspect how far-reaching their mission was; but, with the capacity if not the consciousness of doing grand things they blithely traversed these magnificent scenes, pressed on through the widening valley beyond, and finally debouched on the sandy but shady plain of Castleton. At the western end of the long, straight street, just where plain sank into intervale, stood the tavern of Zadok Remington, facing toward their own dear mountains; and, in the two stories of this rambling but roomy hostelry, they found comfortable lodgings. It was now Sunday evening, May the seventh.

THE FIRST MEETING-HOUSE, PITTSFIELD

'Cassel Town'—so Mott called it—had been appointed as the general rendezvous, and on Monday about one hundred and seventy men were gathered there. Phelps arrived with good news from Ticonderoga. In the guise of a country bumpkin, he had rowed across the lake and put up for the night at a house near the fort. Several officers came there for

a supper-party, and he listened with his very pores while they discussed the feeble state of the works. The next morning, shambling past the guards to get shaved, he noted that nearly all the cannon were unavailable, the walls and gates out of repair, the garrison unsuspicious; and he also heard that the powder had been damaged.[20]

In due season, the Committee of War—Captain Mott, Chairman—got together in Richard Bentley's modest farm-house, and the final plans were laid. Allen, Easton, and Warner should rank in that order, according to the number of men raised by each of them. Shoreham was to be the port of embarkation to cross the lake. A party under Captain Herrick[21] of Bennington should go to Skenesborough, about nine miles distant, at the very head of Lake Champlain, take possession of the place, and bring down to Shoreham in the night whatever shipping could be found; while Captain Douglas would visit his brother-in-law residing opposite Crown Point, and contrive some way to get hold of the King's boats lying there. The party for Skenesborough was drafted out, and Allen, striking across into Sudbury, took the old Crown Point military road for Shoreham to meet some volunteers. By this time night was at hand; but, in the stead of evening zephyrs, there came a whirlwind on horseback: Benedict Arnold.

Equipped with his commission, ten horses, one hundred pounds of 'cash,' a quantity of ammunition, and the privilege of selecting his chief officers, Arnold had appointed a number of captains on the third of May, and sent them off to enlist their men.[22] John Brown's report, advising that Green Mountain Boys be employed to seize Ticonderoga, lay in the files of the Committee that dealt

---

[20] REMARK IV.

[21] He spelled his name Hearick: letter, May 31, 1775, N.Y. Pub. Lib. (Lenox).

[22] REMARK V.

with Arnold, and probably he had conned it well. At all events, he made for the New Hampshire Grants without loss of time. On the morning of the eighth, he was at Rupert, heard that the fort had been alarmed, and knew something about the Allen–Mott expedition; but for all this he had no thought of giving up his plan. Writing hastily 'To the Gentlemen In the Southern Towns,' he begged them to 'send forward as many Men to join the Army here as you can Posably spare. . . . Let Every Man bring as much Powder & Ball as he can Also a Blanket their wages are 40/ pr. Month. I humbly engaged to see paid also the Blanket.' [23] Then he pushed for Castleton.

A knotty problem now challenged the Committee of War. There stood Arnold, with a commission in his hand but not a man at his back except one servant, coolly proposing to take command of their expedition. Worse yet, he could offer some very uncomfortable reasons, and no doubt he did. The Colony of Massachusetts had appointed him a colonel, had sent him out for the express purpose of seizing Ticonderoga, and had taken steps to satisfy New York for the invasion of her soil. His authority lacked nothing, and nobody else had any authority at all. Allen was no more a colonel than he was an angel; Easton had no rank save in the local militia; Mott was only a volunteer. To blot a just cause with an act of private lawlessness would not merely be wrong in the eyes of the world; it would even be ridiculous.

And that might prove only the smallest part of the

[23] A facsimile in Smith, Pittsfield, I., p. 218. Robert Cochran, a leading Green Mountain Boy, resided at Rupert (Hall, Vt., p. 460). The towns referred to were Pittsfield and those adjacent.

mischief. In the view of New York, these Green Mountain Boys were outlaws. Only yesterday, as a penniless, exiled victim of the Bennington Mob, Hough had been seen begging for bread in the streets of Manhattan, and heard repeating right and left how Allen called the Yorkers 'damned cowards.'[24] An armed invasion of her territory by these fellows would seem to the Colony a fresh outrage, menace, defiance and insult, and might place it side by side with the British government in wrath and resentment. As for the Connecticut men in their company, New York would very likely demand their punishment. Connecticut would refuse it. There would be a feud. The union of Colonies, absolutely indispensable for the success of the cause, would break in two; New York would go over to the enemy; and America would be doomed. But only let the Boys enlist under Arnold, and they would be soldiers instead of bandits, patriots instead of outlaws. If they cared for the cause, would they hesitate?

Hesitate they did, and more. The leaders had assigned the parts and apportioned the honors; Connecticut funds were paying the expenses; the men had been guaranteed the officers of their choice; under no others would they serve; and as for the haughty, domineering stranger, with his gaudy uniform, his lackey, and his piece of paper, the Castleton graveyard—as very likely some one suggested—lay just across the street. Yet the force of Arnold's position must have been felt; for the next morning, when he set off to have a lion-and-unicorn bout with Allen on the subject, the men were much afraid their stubborn leader would yield, and, abandoning the packhorses already laden with provisions, they hurried on after him, threatening to 'club their firelocks' and march

[24] 4 Force, II., 215–218.

for home, if an officer not of their choosing were to give them orders. In fact, Allen did show signs of yielding. 'Your pay will be the same if he does command,' said he to the men.

'Damn the pay!' they shouted; and they looked it.

But happily the difficulty could be settled. Allen had notions of responsibility, and felt anxious to get under cover of the law once more. Arnold could not bear to drop out of the enterprise, and did not wish the men to scatter and betray the secret. The Green Mountain Boys, needy farmers eager to plant their crops, could not remain long from home; and Arnold remembered that his own volunteers would soon begin to arrive. So it was agreed that Allen should issue commands jointly with Arnold for the present, and later, as his men disbanded, he would naturally give way. Ruffled plumage then subsided gradually; eyes faced front again; and, since the enemy were now at hand, the force moved on through the woods very cautiously. Guided by the mellow notes of a human cuckoo, it slowly approached Lake Champlain; and, during Tuesday afternoon, it concealed itself in a shallow ravine at Hand's Cove,—a small bay of little depth about a mile to the northward of Ticonderoga.

HAND'S COVE
Looking toward Ticonderoga

Meanwhile, Major Beach had set out from Castleton with a final call for recruits, and within twenty-four hours he covered sixty miles of intricate woods. It was a march

fit for the heroic age. Even the forest was taken by surprise. In and out of the shadows darted another shadow like a shuttle; in and out of the bright sunlight, a brighter flash of steel. The violet and the arbutus found themselves pressed to the soil; but they lifted their heads in an instant, sweetened—not crushed—by the light foot. The lynx opened his crystal eyes; but he quickly saw that he had not been sent for, and closed them with a long breath. The frightened robin stooped to fly; but already the intruder was gone. From clearing to clearing flew the summons, and it was obeyed as quickly. No dragon's teeth were needed to draw armed men from this ground. The axe dropped at the foot of the tree; the fork stood still in the turf; the farmer hurried to his cabin. Two words to the woman at the loom; a glance into the rough box on rockers; a snatch at the firelock and powder-horn; a shadow on the threshold; and already he was on his rapid way to Hand's Cove.

There, hidden among the trees, the company waited for light and the boats from Skenesborough: night came but the boats did not. Douglas had better fortune, though not all that he wished. On his way to get a scow that he remembered, he stopped to enlist a man named Chapman, and two smart lads in bed upstairs heard enough of the talk to satisfy them what was going on. Getting up, they quickly dressed, took a jug of rum, and hurried to a point of land near which a certain barge had been lying that day, enrolling volunteers as they went. Hailing the boat, they asked to be taken up the lake for a squirrel-hunt that was on at Shoreham. At first Black Jack, the captain, and his two helpers demurred; but the boys promised to help row and dropped a hint about the contents of the jug, for they knew Jack's weak spot. The bargain was closed, the trip made with all speed, and, on reaching Shoreham, every one except the crew pronounced the hunt a great success. At least, so the story went.

An oblique voyage of about a mile had to be made across the lake, and the work of getting over without the expected boats from Skenesborough proved very slow; but, as dawn approached, the two colonels and about eighty-five men stood on Willow Point, one hundred rods or so north of the fort, while about a hundred and fifty impatient comrades under Warner were still on the Vermont side.[25] Some of the advance party desired to wait for the rest; but, as the sky was already shot with yellow above the Green Mountains and a delay might be fatal,[26] it was decided to attack.

Arnold now claimed the right to lead, perhaps feeling better entrenched in his position because no longer on the Grants.

'What shall I do with the damned rascal,—put him under guard?' cried Allen, turning to Amos Callender.

'Better go side by side,' was the sensible reply, and that was agreed to.[27]

The men were then drawn up in three lines, and in low but thrilling tones Allen briefly addressed them. 'You that will undertake voluntarily, poise your firelocks!' he concluded; and every gun went up.

'Face to the right!' All faced; and then, guided by young Nathan Beaman—who lived opposite and had dined with the commander of the fort only a day before—they set forward on their march by an old French road through the woods.[28]

In a few minutes they had a glimpse of Ticonderoga,

---

[25] REMARK VI.

[26] Note the different version of 'Veritas' (4 Force, II., 1085), which gives Arnold special credit for the crossing and the immediate advance, and also for being five yards ahead of Allen at the wicket. A few probable points have been accepted from this account. Arnold was certainly present, and he could not be there without doing something. It is unfortunate that this account is anonymous. There are two Willow Points near Ticonderoga.

[27] Goodhue, Shoreham, p. 14. Allen to the Albany Com., May 11, 1775: 4 Force, II., 606 ('Colonel Arnold entered the fortress with me side by side').

[28] See Jefferys's map of 1758.

THE EAST FRONT OF TICONDEROGA IN 1903
The wicket-gate seems to have been about where the two elms stand

rising on its elevated ground well up above the horizon. 'Great and surprising works,' Chaplain Robbins called them a year later, and the dim light made them seem greater than they were.[29] Higher still flew the British standard, the emblem of authority and power; and more than one heart shivered a trifle at the thought of defying it. Little by little, as the men silently advanced, the bastions charged one by one out of the gloom and mist of the dawn; the old French redoubts on the low ground seemed crouching to spring; the fort loomed higher and higher in the sky. Presently, against the grey blue set with fading stars, they could make out the chimneys and gables of the barracks; and some wondered what the soldiers below those hard angles were doing just then. Everything looked very quiet and confident, as if scorning such an improvised foe. The cannon seemed ready and waiting.

Ere long they were under the glacis. Military men might condemn the old fort; but it still feared nothing except artillery,[30] and this little squad of enemies had not even bayonets. Beyond the high glacis were a moat and a wall; and beyond them—regulars.

Three minutes more, and the invaders were stealing along by the foot of the precipice, crowned with masonry, which took the place of a glacis on the side toward the lake. To the left, at the edge of the water, lay thirteen of the precious cannon; but there was no time to think of them just then. Straight ahead, at the very point of the promontory, glowered the Grenadier Redoubt,—was it going to open fire?

Creeping swiftly but warily round the curving precipice, they saw a path running down from the fort and

---

[29] Robbins, Journal, Apr. 20.

[30] Gage to Dartmouth, May 17, 1775; Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. Ind., Vol. 130, p. 327.

turning a little toward the north. A few rods away it ended—at the well. Here lay the weak point of Ticonderoga, its back door. This path, which led down to the water, led up to a gate and a covered way and through them to a small rectangular parade, walled-in with stone barracks, the heart of the fortress.

The gate had been closed; but the wicket—large enough to admit two men side by side—was open. Outside stood a sentry, thinking drowsily of his sweetheart, the next pay-day, the yellow streak above the Green Mountains, his near relief, his breakfast,—heaven knew what. Suddenly, round the slope at his left, appeared new shadows, moving shapes, forms, persons, men with swords and guns. In an instant the leaders were upon him. But he knew his business. Levelling his piece at Allen, then almost at its muzzle, he pulled the trigger.

Quick as the Green Mountain catamount, Allen struck the musket aside with his sword. But that was unnecessary: the damaged powder would not explode. Allen still lived,—lived in earnest; and his blade whirled back to descend on the fleeing sentry. For a moment, however, the low ceiling of the covered way stopped the sweep of it; and the next instant, close under the steel, the soldier burst into the parade, and with one yell vanished into a bomb-proof.

Another sentry—there were two—tried to fire; but he also failed. Pricking an American officer with his bayonet, he found the same blade flashing above his head. Only a quick softening of Allen's heart, aided by a comb in the soldier's hair, saved his brains. The musket dropped, and he begged for quarter.

No alarm was given; none could be. That one yell merely curdled a dream or two. The garrison slept on.

But not long. 'Darting like lightning,' as Allen said, through the covered passage or swarming up the

wall on either side of the gate, the invaders poured on to the parade, formed roughly, and split their throats with horrible Indian yells, while some of them—at Arnold's order—secured the barracks doors. No more dreams now: it was a terrible awakening.

Borne along on the roar of this pandemonium, the two leaders dashed up the stairs opposite the covered way, which led to the rooms of the commander, Captain Delaplace of the 26th.

'Come out of here this instant, you damned old rat, or I 'll sacrifice the whole garrison!' bellowed Allen, pounding on the door with the pommel of his sword.

The door opened; and there stood the Captain in his shirt, breeches in hand; while the frightened face of his wife half appeared in the darkness.

'Give up the fort instantly!' was the form of salutation that greeted him.

'By what authority do you demand it?' stammered the dumfounded officer.

'In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress,' thundered Allen, while Arnold added, 'Give up your arms and you 'll be treated like a gentleman.'

Delaplace began to stutter something.

'Surrender this instant!' cried the giant on the landing, cutting him short with a whirl of the sword, none too far above his head.'[1]

It looked hardly necessary to surrender. The fort seemed already possessed of the devil, and the volunteers were smashing doors and dragging out redcoats; but Delaplace gave the word, and the Americans, rushing pell-mell into the barracks—where the troops had been too much astonished and dismayed to fire, even if they

[1] An unwarranted importance has been attached to Allen's words. The version of the text is an attempt to combine all the well-supported accounts of the matter. See, in particular, E. Allen, Narrative; W. C. Todd, Biog. and other Articles, p. 104, Note; I. Allen, Vt., p. 58; Goodhue, Shoreham, p. 14.

could—quickly 'seized, brought out and disarmed' the rest of them. Not over gently was this done, for, as Allen phrased it, the assailants 'behaved with uncommon rancour.' Cutlasses and the like clashed a little. But in ten minutes, without loss of life or serious wounds, the whole affair was over, the fort vanquished, the forty-seven soldiers of the garrison made fast, and fifty-five good cannon, besides a couple of mortars, captured for Boston. Then, 'with a superior lustre,' as Allen observed, the sun rose.

The next day, as this joyous news went speeding across the hills and valleys of Massachusetts, it found the good people of that Colony bowing low in their churches for 'Publick Humiliation, Fasting and Prayer,' and beseeching the Most High that America might 'soon behold a gracious interposition of Heaven'; and to many, when they heard the message, it seemed as if the petition had been answered while still in their hearts. Different in form but equivalent in meaning was the comment of Dr. Warren. When the tidings reached Cambridge, he sat down and wrote his friend Scholly, 'Thus a War has begun'; and no doubt both he and Samuel Adams reflected exultantly that now the road to Canada—and from Canada—was being cleared.[32]

---

[32] § Fast: 4 Force, I., 1364. Warren, May 17, 1775: Bancroft Coll., Eng. and Am., Jan.-Aug., 1775, p. 229.

V

TWO RAIDS INTO CANADA

IT was no mean performance, the capture of Ticonderoga. An expedition begun in Hartford and in Cambridge went on for two weeks, moved hundreds of miles, developed, gathered a military force, collected materials of war, and finally reached its point of attack, without permitting the enemy to get wind of the secret. In view of the possibilities of defence, it required no little courage to assault such a post, garrisoned with regulars and guarded by sentries; and skill in addition to good fortune was necessary, if eighty-five farmers were to disarm and shackle fifty British soldiers without losing a life. Lieutenant-Governor Colden of New York wrote the Earl of Dartmouth in amazement of 'the actual takeing' of His Majesty's fort; while Dartmouth in turn pronounced it an 'extraordinary' as well as 'very unfortunate' event. Yet this exploit was only the beginning.[1]

About fifteen miles below Ticonderoga, Lake Champlain makes a sharp twist, and the opposing capes pinch it down to the width of about a quarter of a mile. Here, on the Vermont side, the French had planted their first settlement in this district (1731); and, when their cabins went to ruin after the English took possession, the brickwork that remained standing gave the spot a name,—Chimney Point.[2] Far more important, however, was the

[1] § Colden, June 7, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. Ind., Vol. 185, p. 360. Dartmouth to Gage, July 1, 1775: ib., Vol. 130, p. 343.

[2] Thompson, Lake Geo., etc., p. 16.

you, that all my Cattle are disposed of, and no
money remitted me. must therefore rely on your
goodness, to examine Mr. Adams about it.
I have wrote to him twice, but he has never
answered the receipts of them, must conclude

am Sir
Your most Obed.t Serv.t
Wm. Delaplace

PORTIONS OF A LETTER TO GENERAL SCHUYLER, DECEMBER 1, 1775

peninsula on the other shore, commanding the lake below; for, if properly armed, it could solidly bar this passage between south and north.

Long before the Seven Years War, the French built here at the water's edge a small stone fort garnished with a tower and redoubts, christening it Fort St. Frédéric in honor of Frédéric Maurepas, their Secretary of State. When Ticonderoga was abandoned to the English, this lower post met the same fate, and Amherst then resolved to make the most of its advantages. Discarding the works already there, he planted a five-pointed star of cut stone a little behind them. Much of the moat had to be carved from the living rock; but the British government achieved the task with picks of solid gold,—in other words, millions of sterling money. The ramparts made a promenade twenty-five feet wide and half a mile long. Redoubts protected the main fort on the land side, and the subsoil of dense limestone rendered it impossible to dig approaches. Crown Point seemed the fitting name for such a stronghold.[1]

Yet all this magnificent work was soon undone. Some accident started a blaze, and the fire spread to the magazine. Ninety-six barrels of powder, if the figures did not lie, exploded. The tops of the splendid stone barracks—most of them, at all events—were thrown down by the shock. The woodwork, all of pine, 'caulked with oakum and paid with Spanish Brown and Tar,' burned like pitch; and soon only a mighty skeleton remained. Sergeant Barlow thought it still 'a very strong curious Fort,' in the summer of 1775; while it struck Barnabas Deane 'with horror to see such grand fortifications in ruins. Impressive, Crown Point could certainly be called, but not formidable; and, on the day Ticonderoga changed masters, only some ten men of the 26th Regiment,

[1] § Thompson, Lake Geo., etc., pp. 18–20.

acting as caretakers rather than garrison, stood guard over the ordnance and stores.[4]

Seth Warner, for all his coolness, loved fun and adventure. Both tastes might be gratified in an attack upon such a post; and no sooner had Ticonderoga been secured, than he asked leave to make it. The fact that he had consented to wait on the Vermont shore and so missed the glory of that affair gave him a claim; and without delay he and Peleg Sunderland set off in the boats with fifty men. Head winds drove him back, however; and the project was given up,—perhaps because it seemed likely that an alarm would soon travel north in spite of the winds, and Crown Point would be ready. But the next day a second attempt had better fortune, and Warner took possession of fort and garrison without a struggle 'in the name of the country.' Fifty or sixty good cannon, four mortars, and 'great quantityes' of stores well rewarded this comfortable venture.[5]

Prizes lay in the opposite direction as well. Separated from the southern part of Lake Champlain by rugged and picturesque mountains and shielded on the other side by outposts of the Adirondacks, beautiful Lake George, the Horicon of the Indians and the Lac St. Sacrement of the French, lay stretched at full length, reposing in a bed of fresh verdure. The easiest escape from the basin ran toward the north; and the Outlet of the lake, after circling through the forest and tumbling over two series of ledges in the tumultuous and 'noisy' falls that gave

---

[4] § Haldimand to Barrington, Feb. 2, 1774: Can. Arch., B, 36, p. 66. Carroll, Journal, p. 79. Montresor, Report, May 7, 1774: Can. Arch., B, 35, p. 123. Barlow, Journal, Sept. 5. Kalm, Travels, III., pp. 21, 22, 35. Brown's account: 4 Force, II., 623. Arnold to Mass. Cong., May 14, 1775: ib., 584. Carleton to Dartmouth, June 7, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 283. B. Deane's letter, June 1, 1775: Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., II., p. 246.

[5] § Hall, Vt., p. 473. Goodhue, Shoreham, p. 15. Letter of Warner and Sunderland: Dartmouth Mag., May, 1872. Allen to Albany Com., May 12, 1775: Mag. Am. Hist., XIV., p. 315. Given up, etc: Arnold to Mass., May 11, 14, 1775 (4 Force, II., 557, 584); Id. to [Mass. Com. Safety], May 19, 1775 (Coll. of Mr. F. A. Arnold).

Ticonderoga its name, flowed nearly two miles more in peace, and entered Lake Champlain just above the fort.

By the road that traversed the same pass, Amos Callender, with a small party, went south. At the bridge over the Outlet, not far below the lower falls, he found three heavy cannon and as many large mortars. Passing on, he launched his canoes in the lake and paddled to a small affair of stone called Fort George at the farther end. Dominating a little eminence and fluttering a royal banner in the gusty spring breeze, the one bastion did its utmost to look formidable; but its walls were proof only against bullets; heavy guns lay near at hand, and the commander, Captain Nordberg of the 60th, stood almost alone. Neither he nor the fort could venture to be obstinate; and Callender soon returned in triumph with his prisoners, noting fifty more battering cannon at the two ends of the lake. All the captives were now bundled off to Connecticut, reports despatched to Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and Philadelphia, and the spoils of victory carefully reckoned up.[6]

Yet something was lacking,—something vitally important. Captain Herrick had undertaken to surprise and capture Skenesborough, the Whitehall of to-day, seize the boats lying there, and rejoin the main body; but he did not appear. The eventful tenth passed without him; and the eleventh and twelfth went by. Apparently something had gone wrong; and for a special reason this probability of a mishap caused great anxiety. The British government had an armed sloop on Lake Champlain, which gave it the power of sending fleets of bateaux and landing forces where it would, outside the range of the forts.

---

[6] § Goodhue, Shoreham, p. 15. Minutes of ordnance: 4 Force, IV., 534. Carroll, Journ., pp. 62, 71–73. Robbins, Journ., Apr. 7. Arnold to [Mass. Com. Safety], May 19: Note 5. Easton's account: 4 Force, II., 624. Nordberg: Halifax letter, 4 Force, VI., 513; Nordberg to N. Y. Cong., Dec., 1775 (Amer. Bibliopolist, Apr. 1871). Reports: Chap. VI., Notes 32–34; Arnold, May 19 (*supra*); Id. to Mass. Com. Safety, May 14, 1775: 4 Force, II., 584.

FROM FADEN'S AMERICAN ATLAS OF 1776

Although Arnold's avowed aim in proposing his expedition was merely to get cannon, he had seen with characteristic promptness the importance of capturing the sloop; and, besides mentioning this to the Committee of Safety, he seems to have enlisted and forwarded a crew for her.[7]

It had probably been expected that the vessel would be found at Ticonderoga or Crown Point; but unfortunately she had gone to St. Johns for provisions and other freight. It was then hoped that she would return and fall with her lading into the patriots' hands. Scouts patrolled both land and water to prevent information from going north; but a bark canoe was seen paddling with all speed in that direction, and other boats might have passed. The alarm would be given, and she would remain in safer company. It would then be necessary to go after her, and the schooner lying at Skenesborough, though not a large one, would be very convenient,—in fact, indispen-

7 § Arnold to Mass. Com. Safety, May 14, 1774: 4 Force, II., 584. Id. to Mass.

sable. Why did she not round the point, with Herrick and his brave lads cheering on her deck?[8]

Major Philip Skene, who fought like a hero in 'Nabbecromby's' ridiculous attack on Ticonderoga, had a business eye. The fertile district around the southern end of Lake Champlain, then a solid wilderness, pleased him greatly; and after the war ended, although no grant had been assured him as yet, he made the venture of settling thirty families there. In the Havana campaign he distinguished himself no less than before; and finally, to reward these services, he received in the spring of 1765 a grant of 25,000 broad acres on Wood Creek, at the head of the lake. Importing negroes from Cuba, he proceeded to develop his property; and the saw-mill, grist-mill, and iron-works of Skenesborough became no less valuable than its deep forests and oozing meadows.[9]

In May, 1775, the proprietor of this great estate was absent. More precisely, he might have been seen pacing the deck of an English vessel heading toward Philadelphia, with an appointment in his pocket as Governor of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and also—if whispers about London could be trusted—with a less visible commission to buy up every member of the Continental Congress.[10] But his son, Andrew Philip Skene, ruled the estate in his place, and on that ninth of May ruled it most probably in a very cheerful mood.

The big manor-house of iron-grey stone, slowly weath-

Com. Safety, Apr. 30, 1775: ib., 450. Id. to Id., May 23, 1775: ib., 693. Capt. Sloan's pay-roll: 4 Force, III., 355. The pay began May 3. The fact that the roll is dated at New Haven (July 24, 1775) suggests that Sloan belonged to Arnold's New Haven Co. Stephen to Fleming, May 31, 1775: Emmet Coll.

[8] § Arnold, May 19, 1775: Note 5. Id., May 14, 1775: 4 Force, II., 584. Warner and Sunderland's letter: Dartmouth Mag., May, 1872.

[9] § Stone, Wash. County, *passim*. Carroll, Journal, p. 102. Skene's title in a grant at Westport (3000 acres) was Captain, but in the N. Y. records he appears as Major. Hadden, Journ., pp. 505–509.

[10] W. Lee to S. Adams, Apr. 10, 1775: S. Adams Papers. Letter from London, May 5, 1775: 4 Force, II., 508. New London letter in Boston Gazette, June 19, 1775. Journ. Cong., June 8, 1775.

ering toward a light grey-buff, pictured both strength and comfort, shielded, as it was, from the north winds by a lofty hill of limestone—piled in vast sloping beds fit for the roof of the world—and looking down upon broad, sunny meadows, through which the Dipwater, as the Indians called Wood Creek, stealing from the low hills in the distance to the quiet of the lake near by, drew a waving line of brightness. A little higher on the hill stood a huge stone barn,—a fort in case of need. Busy servants were piling up riches for their masters. Creeping ploughs marked long furrows across the fields; the veins of red hematite began to bleed again for the benefit of the iron-foundry; while, hardly forty rods from the mansion, the mill-wheel turned sturdily at the falls. Besides, young Skene was a lieutenant in His Majesty's 43d Regiment, and, by the special grace of General Gage, Major of Brigade for the Northern District. He felt so highly pleased about his father's new dignity and power in the region that, only the Saturday before, he had put wings to Major Beach's feet by telling him about the new Governor's plan to bring up a thousand men and rebuild the forts; and, finally, as the day drew to a close, there gathered with him round the big hearth, two fair and lively sisters, an estimable aunt, and a congenial friend."

A small shadow crept along by the edge of the meadow. No one at the fireplace observed it; but presently they all heard furtive, hasty steps, and little clashes of steel; and, looking out, they found the mansion surrounded by rough-looking men, total strangers. There was no chance to rally the tenants or even to gain the barn. Captain Herrick presented himself with all the grace and gracious-

11 § Stone, Wash. Co., *passim*. Hadden, Journal, p. 509. Skene, Memorial: Conn. Arch., Rev. War, I., doc. 492. Can. Arch., B, 213, p. 2. E. Phelps to Conn. Assemb., May 16, 1775; Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., I., p. 174. Chittenden Ti., p. 107.

ness of the Catamount Tavern; only one reply to his pressing invitation could be made; and thus, in what the Brigade-Major pronounced 'a sudden and unexpected Manner,' the Bennington Mob did 'seize upon and take' his entire household.[12]

The advantage to be gained from this capture proved social rather than military, however; and, when Herrick reached for the more substantial prizes, he found them

RUINS OF FORT ST. FRÊDÉRIC IN 1903

quite beyond his reach. Doubtless the proceedings at the mansion gave an alarm. The tenants and laborers had time to arm and assemble. Several small brass cannon were put in position. The invaders, very much at home with the rifle but destitute of ordnance, found themselves well matched, especially as some of their opponents were veteran soldiers; and, in short, the two parties held

[12] Skene. Memorial: Note 11.

each other at bay. Luckily, Arnold had ordered that some of his men should march for Ticonderoga by the way of Skenesborough on the same mission as Herrick's; and Captains Oswald and Brown, arriving there with fifty volunteers, weighed down the balance and took the Skene retainers into custody. The shipping also fell into their hands; and on May the fourteenth, after a tedious voyage, the coveted schooner appeared at Ticonderoga, already rechristened *Liberty*.[13]

Meanwhile the lion and the unicorn were hard at it again. Arnold, while capable of tenderness and graciousness and of holding his temper in hand under great provocation, always found it much easier to display the opposite qualities. As a boy he had tyrannized over his playmates, and as a man he saw no reason to prefer the will of any peer to his own will. Conscious of superior abilities, he felt still more pride perhaps in his military training, his knowledge of the world, his business experience, his social polish, his commission, and his uniform. Allen he described, with an approach to accuracy, as 'a proper man to head his own wild people, but entirely unacquainted with military service'; and he explained his own position with equal frankness: 'as I am the only person who has been legally authorized to take possession of this place, I am determined to insist on my right, and I think it my duty to remain here against all opposition, until I have further orders.'[14]

Allen, on his side, made up in picturesqueness and force for whatever he lacked in elegance. He was a big, rough man with a big, rough heart; capable of twisting a tenpenny nail in two with his teeth and of roaring out a

---

[13] § Stone. Wash. Co. Easton's account: 4 Force, II., 624. Arnold's report: 4 Force, II., 584. N. Eng. Chronicle, June 1, 1775. Cannon: 4 Force, II., 450, 624 (Easton). Voyage: ib., 686. This Capt. Brown must not be confounded with John Brown. REMARK VII.

[14] § Arnold to Mass. Com. Safety, May 11, 1775. 4 Force, II., 557. As a boy I. N. Arnold, B. Arnold, p. 22. Self-control: Smith, Pittsfield, I., p. 274.

cyclopean oath; a patriot, a fighter; bold, enterprising, headstrong, rash, vain; much given to swagger, but very far indeed from witless. With due allowance for the elevation of the Bennington Catamount above the Tiger's lair and the difference between Tammany Hall and the Green Mountains in point of ventilation, he might be called a sort of 'Bill' Devery; and all had to admit that Devery could both wield the police force and illuminate

ONE OF THE BARRACKS AT CROWN POINT IN 1903

the daily press of the American metropolis, besides looking out at the same time for sundry small interests of his own. The capture of Ticonderoga had naturally multiplied both Allen's prestige and his self-confidence. It is said that when the Reverend Jedediah Dewey made a prayer ascribing the glory of that victory to the Omnipotent, Allen, who somehow chanced to be sitting below, called out, 'Parson Dewey, Parson Dewey, please mention to the Lord that I was there!' To expect such a temper, supported by the willful and fearless Green Mountain

Boys, to back down at the behest of a paper colonel would have been absurd.'[15]

Arnold's treatment of Allen's partner, Easton, probably did not help matters. This gentleman appears to have had the forethought to wet his gun in crossing the lake, and to have occupied the critical moments of the assault in drying it. Then, to atone for what some doubtless regarded as a lack of courage, he rated the unpopular New Haven colonel very soundly—behind his back; though perhaps Arnold's refusing him, as apparently he did refuse him, a lieutenant-colonel's commission had something to do with the matter. At all events, Arnold heard of the unpleasant language, taxed the culprit with it, and, on his refusing to give 'proper satisfaction,' kicked him about the premises before a number of bystanders, though Easton wore a cutlass at the time and had a brace of loaded pistols in his pocket.'[16]

But the trouble ran deeper than personalities. Arnold, a responsible commissioned officer, stood—and had to stand—for discipline and subordination; while, in the very nature of things, Allen's foresters knew nothing of the first and scouted the second. 'Everything,' wrote Arnold, 'is governed by whim and caprice'; and no doubt the criticism had some ground.'[17]

Scarcely had the garrison at Ticonderoga been secured, when its conquerors—in Allen's own phrase—began to 'toss round the flowing bowl.' Like all such militia, they would obey their chosen leader for a special purpose and a special time, but no farther would they go. They had acquired, too, certain unconventional ideas about the property of people whom they did not like. In the case of Yorkers, they felt perfectly justified; but still their

---

[15] § Allen, Narrative, *passim;* Merrill, Hist. Bennington; etc., etc.

[16] REMARK VIII.

[17] To Mass. Com. Safety, May 11, 1775 4 Force, II., 557.

conduct, however well grounded as against the government of New York, violated the legal claims of settlers perhaps no less honest than themselves, and could not fail to beget a certain general carelessness in distinguishing between *meum* and *tuum*. It became very easy, then, since the British—and therefore the Tories—were enemies, to appropriate their belongings; and Arnold increased his unpopularity by trying to check such liberties.[18]

Beyond all this lay a still deeper trouble. The people of the Grants belonged to no Colony and had no voice in the Continental Congress. Undoubtedly they sympathized with Massachusetts and Connecticut, from which so many of them had come; but, on the other hand, the Colony with which they had most to do was their mortal foe. Allen wished and hoped sincerely to get somehow within the pale; but for the present the settlers had to guard their own interests and fight their own battle as they could. Accordingly, the Green Mountain leaders, who had thought of capturing the forts on the lake as a measure of self-defence against the British, appear to have resolved now upon holding them as a security for their lands against enemies in whatever quarter, and even upon pushing beyond the edge of Canada, seizing an advantageous point there, and in that way standing solidly entrenched at both ends of their frontier. How New York would relish this, and what effect the plan might have upon the relations of the Colonies to one another or upon the delicate question of Canada, could easily be guessed; and in this matter also Arnold set his face like a flint against the wishes of Allen's party.[19]

The combination of so many and so radical differences

---

[18] Allen, Narrative, p. 21. REMARK IX.

[19] § Cf. Allen's remarks, Chapter IV., p. 116, with his determined efforts to hold control of Ti., and get possession of St. Johns, when he admitted (Mag. Am. Hist., XIV., p. 319) that his men were needed at their homes; and note particularly B. Deane's report to his brother Silas, June 1, 1775: Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., II., p. 246

brought matters into 'a very critical situation,' as Barnabas Deane reported. Not only did Arnold find his commission despised, but Allen declined to allow him the share of authority previously agreed upon, and boldly signed himself 'Commander at this Place.' Without a force at his back the paper colonel could only argue and protest; yet that sufficed to annoy and embarrass his opponents. He even 'had a musket presented at his breast by one of that party,' Deane reported, and the fellow 'threatened to fire him through if he refused to comply with their orders, which he very resolutely refused doing, as inconsistent with his duty, and as directly contrary to the opinion of the Colonies.' In fact, Arnold was twice fired at.[20]

Finally, to dispose of this very disagreeable customer, a scheme wholly without a legal basis was put through. The Connecticut expedition had rested upon no public authority. Nothing could well be clearer, and Allen undoubtedly understood the case. Certain citizens, believing the enterprise would prove advantageous to the cause, had taken upon themselves the responsibility for it.[21] Yet, when the soldiers 'paraded, and declared they would go right home,' and 'reasoning' had no effect upon Arnold, Mott, as Chairman of the Committee, furnished Allen with formal written orders, 'agreeable to the Power and Authority to us given by the Colony of Connecticut,' directing him to 'keep the command.' In plain language, a sort of conspiracy—mainly well-intended, no doubt—was planned and carried through against Arnold, and he found himself completely set aside. 'I should be extremely glad to be honorably acquitted of my commission,' he wrote to the Provincial

---

[20] B. Deane to Silas: Note 19. Allen to Albany Com., May 12, 1775: Mag. Am. Hist., XIV., p. 310. E. Phelps to Conn. Assembly, May 16, 1775 Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., I., p. 174. Arnold, Regt. Mem. Book, May 10.

[21] REMARK X.

Congress, 'and that a proper person might be appointed in my room'; although, as he repeated, he intended to remain 'at every hazard' until he received further orders."[22]

But the wheel soon turned. With the schooner, Captains Oswald and Brown brought men enlisted under Arnold's commission. It was the Sabbath when they arrived, but no great depth of 'heavenly manna' fell near the south end of Lake Champlain. The Colonel could now report about one hundred men under his lawful command. The schooner also belonged to him by right of conquest; or, if not, by a still better right, for he and his Captain Sloan understood seamanship, while probably not a man in the other faction had ever trimmed a sail. Here in his hand, then, were the means of doing something, at last. The loaded sloop was still waiting at St. Johns for a northerly breeze, and he resolved to carry out immediately his plan of going after her. To be sure this meant an invasion of Canada. What effect would that have on the people of the north, what on the Colonies, what on the British government, what on the opinion of the world? Doubtless Arnold felt sure the

THE MOAT, CROWN POINT

[22] § Mott, Journal: Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., I., p. 165. Arnold to Mass. Prov. Cong., May 11, 1775: 4 Force, II., 557. Arnold, Regt. Mem. Book.

move could easily be justified as a military necessity, especially as he did not propose to occupy St. Johns; but, whatever he thought about that, his commission directed him to capture the British 'vessel,' and so he would.[21]

An outfit of cannon was hastily fixed on the schooner; and, with her and an armed bateau, he set out on Sunday afternoon, supported by Captain Oswald, Captain Brown, and about thirty men, for the north. Contrary winds compelled him to anchor Monday night at Crown Point. The next day, leaving the schooner to beat down against them if she could, he put his men into a couple of boats, and undertook to make the long journey by rowing. Wednesday, a fair gale set in; and the schooner, overhauling Arnold, took his party on board and made good time. But this did not last; and at evening the Colonel found himself thirty miles from St. Johns, gazing at the dreamy images of a sea of glass : totally becalmed.

Not mesmerized, however. 'Manned out two small batteaus,'—was the Admiral's cure for his trouble. All night they rowed; and at sunrise, pushing into 'a small creek, infested with numberless swarms of gnats and muskitoes,' about half a mile from St. Johns, they sent a scout forward to investigate the situation. Time passed slowly in such a place, but at length he returned. The garrison of about a dozen, from the 26th Regiment, had received news of the doings above, but no more suspected that the same bag yawned for them, than Arnold suspected that Major Preston with one hundred more of their regiment was coming that way from Montreal. The Americans pushed on at once and landed about sixty rods from the post. The old French works, built of wood, had virtually gone to ruin; and the garrison, when

---

[21] § Arnold, Regt. Mem. Book. Arnold to Mass. Com. Safety, May 14, 1775: 4 Force, II., 584. Orders to Arnold, May 3, 1775: 4 Force, II., 485. Memorial of Oswald and Brown: Cont. Cong. Papers, No. 41, X., p. 221.

the invaders 'marched briskly up in their faces,' retired within the barracks, and presently, without loss on either side, yielded.[24]

Reinforcements were 'hourly expected' not only from Montreal but from the nearer post at Chambly; but that proved hardly soon enough. Arnold seized the sloop, a handy vessel of about seventy tons, carrying two fine 6-pounders of brass and a crew of seven; destroyed about five defective bateaux; took as many more that were large and good; and embarked all the stores and provisions. A fine gale from the north sprang up; the sails were spread; and, within two hours after his arrival, he set out for home with his captures, 'not leaving any one Craft of any kind behind that the Enemy could cross the Lake in.' So far as concerned that region, the nerve of Britain's right arm had been cut at a stroke.

Bowling steadily along with a fine breeze and finer spirits, the conquerors met Allen half a dozen leagues above, with four bateaux and ninety or a hundred men. Determined not to be outdone, they had followed after Arnold, and proposed to establish themselves at St. Johns according to their ambitious plan of defence. It was a hardy enterprise. For nearly three days and nights the poor fellows had not rested, and they were now about starved as well as beat out.[25]

There have been imaginations deep enough and subtle

---

[24] For Arnold's expedition to St. Johns: his Regt. Mem. Book; his letter to Mass. Com. Safety, May 19, 1775 (4 Force, II., 645); another (unaddressed) letter of his of that date belonging to Mr. F. A. Arnold; his letter to the Cont. Cong., May 29 (4 Force, II., 734: the original in Cont. Cong. Papers, 162, I., p. 8); his Certificate (Cont. Cong. Papers, 41. X., p. 223); Memorial of Oswald and Jonathan Brown (ib., p. 221); journal in Essex Gazette, June 1, 1775; Carleton to Dartmouth, June 7, 1775 (Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 283); Letter to Maseres, June 22, 1775 (Bancroft Coll., Eng. and Am., Jan.-Aug., 1775, p. 482); Caldwell to ——, May, 1775 (ib., p. 157). French works. Franquet, Voyages, p. 61; I. Allen, Vt., p. 59; Précis of Oper.

[25] § For Allen's expedition to St. Johns, besides the references in Note 24: his Narrative, p. 21; his letter to merchants (Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec. 11, p. 291); Arnold to Mass. Com. Safety, May 23, 1775 (4 Force, II., 694); Id. to Conn. Assembly, May 23, 1775 (ib., 840); Id. to Albany Com., May 22, 1775 ib., 839); Verreau (Sanguinet, Berthelot), Invasion, pp. 29, 227.

enough to paint the smile on Arnold's face at that moment, but not the smile in his heart. The play was over, the curtain rung down, the audience dismissed, the lights put out, the company going along to sup with him; and here stood the Green Mountain Boys at the door! And possibly, behind the roses of that smile, wriggled the scaly thought of letting Allen forge on without a warning into the trap at St. Johns.

FORT GEORGE ABOUT 1750

But the victor did better every way than that. Combining duty with pleasure, he addressed his lately triumphant rival in the scornful tone of a mentor. The plan, he declared, was 'a wild, expensive, impracticable Scheme,' and 'of no Consequence' either so long as the Americans were masters of the lake,—as he intended they should be. But obviously Allen could not yield at that stage; and Arnold, after enjoying the further delight of feeding his enemies, went on. His grey sails caught the first hints of dawn off Cumberland Head, and he soared gaily into the snug haven under the beak of Ticonderoga, with a booming salute, just as the sun dropped into the forest behind it. 'Providence seems to have smil'd on us,' he observed complacently.

From Allen fell no such remark. Scarcely had his worn followers groped their way ashore in the dark at St. Johns, when a horseman came in by the Montreal road. Seized and examined—not against his will, said friends of the government—he proved to be a merchant named Bindon, friendly to the Colonials. Only the day before,

THE TWIN MOUNTAINS, LAKE GEORGE

he had sent off supplies for Major Skene to the value of some £200, and then, feeling uneasy about them, had obtained permission from the military commander to follow his property to the landing. Little good it did him, but much good the Americans. Preston's detachment had crossed the St. Lawrence with him, he informed them, and could not be far behind. Still undaunted, however, Allen wrote a letter 'To the Merchants of Montreal' for Bindon to carry back the next morning.

'Gentlemen,' said he, 'The Advance Guard of the Army is now at Saint John's and Desire Immediately to have a Personal Intercourse with you your Immediate Assistance as to Provision Ammunition and Spiritous Liquors is wanted and fourthwith Expected Not as a Donation for I am Impowrd by the Colonies to Purchase the same and Desire you would Fourthwith and without further Notice Prepare for the Use of the Army of those articles to the Amount of Five Hundred Pounds and deliver the same to me at Saint John's or at least a part of it almost Instantaniously as the soldiary press on faster than Provision— I need [not] Inform you that my Directions from the Colonies is not to Contend with or any Way Injure or Molest the Canadians or Indians but on the other Hand treat them with the greatest Friendship and Kindness.'[20]

Allen's name could cast a shadow even beyond the St. Lawrence, for the fame of Ticonderoga had no doubt arrived there; and some of the merchants were for delivering him the goods. Had they succeeded in doing so, the consequences must have been unfortunate, for the leader of the Green Mountain Boys cannot have possessed anything near the sum he promised, and sympathy for his

[20] It will be observed that some of Allen's letters (particularly those from Force) appear with correct spelling, etc: others not. The former were doubtless emended by the editor. The same may be said of Arnold's and other letters. For Bindon see his Memorial, April 18, 1783: Cont. Cong. Papers, No. 41, II., p 134.

cause among the Montreal traders would have been rudely chilled. But, happily for the Colonials, his letter fell into the hands of the authorities; and they, with natural though mistaken prudence, placed an embargo on the proposition.

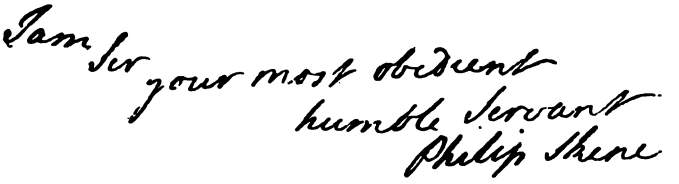
This business attended to—for hunger and thirst could not allow delay—Allen marched his 'Army' forward to ambuscade the British. As his letter showed, he meant to hold the ground. But the Boys could hardly keep their eyelids apart; and in that state of exhaustion, although as brave as any men, they might well dread a fight with an equal number of regulars. Anyhow, when the British had come within a mile or two, they decamped, crossed the wide Richelieu, and fell—rather than lay down—to sleep. Yet not quite all of them: Preston and the regulars got within reach of the very last, wounded some, and captured two or three prisoners. The next morning, the reveillé of the invaders, and that early, was the roar of field-pieces and the rattle of grapeshot; upon which, making a futile reply with musketry, they tumbled, panting and fainting, into their boats, and pulled away south for dear life.[27]

How they contrived to live for the next few days without the provisions and spirituous liquors needed 'almost Instantaniously' they did not record; but at last, with the wreck of their hopes and the ruins of Allen's prestige, they reached the forts. One or two of the men left behind escaped from the British; and when they reappeared, their complaints doubtless added venom to the leader's wormwood. Many of the Green Mountain Boys had already been compelled to leave, for both farms and families cried aloud for attention. Naturally, they scattered the faster now, while some of them enlisted under the rising

[27] Two or three men were left behind; but it is not certain that all of them were wounded or all captured: B. Deane to S. Deane (Note 28).

star. On the twenty-ninth of May, Arnold wrote, 'Colonel Allen has entirely given up the command'; and, though Allen still remained on the ground, ever active and ever hopeful, he made a public declaration that, until affairs were regulated and an officer appointed to hold the fortress, he would take no authority upon himself, but would give it up wholly to his rival.[28]

Arnold for his part begged to be released, because he felt himself not qualified to superintend the rebuilding of Ticonderoga; but meantime his energy did not flag. News came that boats were to be transported from Montreal to St. Johns and come up the lake. One of the Green



Mountain Boys who had escaped from the British reported that four hundred regulars were repairing the craft that Arnold had broken up, and making 'all possible preparations' for this aggressive movement, counting upon the Indians for aid.[29]

The Americans had only about one hundred and fifty men at both posts, and as many pounds of powder. With such feeble resources, the prospect of stopping General Carleton's move seemed hardly brilliant; but Arnold resolved to make a fight. The pass must be held, if possible; and the coveted ordnance, not yet on its way to

---

[28] § Arnold to Conn. Assembly, May 23, 1775: 4 Force, II., 840. Id. to Cont. Cong., May 29, 1775: ib., 734. Id. to Mass. Com. Safety, May 29, 1775; ib., 735. Herrick to Arnold, May 31, 1775: Ford Coll. B. Deane to S. Deane, June 1, 1775: Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., II., p. 246. The desire of Allen's party to take post on the Richelieu was not given up, however, as Deane shows.

[29] § Arnold to Mass. Com. Safety, May 19, 1775: 4 Force, II., 645. Id. to Conn. Assembly, May 23, 1775. ib., 840. Id., Summons, May, 23, 1775: ib, 841. Id., Regt. Mem. Book.

Cambridge, must be defended at all hazards. With this in view, headquarters advanced immediately to Crown Point, nearer the enemy, and the country for fifty miles below Skenesborough and Fort George was roused. All patriotic men were urged to come with whatever good arms they had, and their powder, hoes, pickaxes, and spades. Fortifications were to be thrown up; and the commander hoped, 'with the smiles of Providence,' to keep his ground if not 'overpowered by numbers.' But there was really no danger. The work of the destroyer at St. Johns had been done thoroughly. Later the British would come, and Arnold would be there to meet them; but for the present they were helpless."

Yet the Americans had enough to do. Scouts watched for the British continually, and one reconnoitring expedition exchanged shots with the enemy at St. Johns. Ammunition and provisions had to be obtained. With both vessels in his hands, Arnold found it necessary to send for more seamen, and help manage one of them himself meanwhile. King George's trim sloop, renamed the *Enterprise*, and two of his large bateaux were fully armed with cannon and swivels, and all the navy prepared to sweep the lake as soon as men should arrive. Wheel-carriages to transport the cannon eastward began to be made, and a messenger went down to Albany for more of them. Specifications were issued for two big, flat-bottomed boats of four-inch oak to convey the heaviest pieces across Lake George. Finally, a long list of requisitions for the summer was made out and forwarded to New York. Everything seemed to be included. Twelve hundred men, counting the Massachusetts regiment as four hundred of them, should be sent up, with twenty-five ship carpenters and twenty-five house carpenters; hatch-

---

30 § 4 Force, II., 840. 841 (Note 29).

ets, axes, spades, hoes, and tents were specified; and finally Arnold proved the closeness of his calculations by asking for 'three seines, thirty fathoms long, capped twelve feet, and arms six feet deep, made of large twine, the meshes one and a half inches wide, which will probably supply the Army with fish, as they are plenty and good.' [31]

At this point, affairs at the lakes appeared to have worked themselves out for awhile. Seemingly the forces were balanced.

In reality, this was not the case. Events had not ended but merely begun. The need of heavy arms at Cambridge, tripping off a mechanism of circumstances, had moved still larger and more complicated trains. Geting the forts meant a great deal more. The most surprising embodiment of enterprise, daring, and force, of self-will, unscrupulousness, and ambition to be found in the Revolutionary War, had been set on a conspicuous pinion, and the lever that planted Arnold upon the pass between Canada and the Colonies, had caught him at the same time in a dizzy maze of clockwork. The road north had been cleared; and, in doing that, the events that favored Adams's plan so remarkably had opened the way for many other events. Unexpected consequences were bound to follow.

But naturally all this was not seen at the time. People rejoiced in the surprising series of triumphs without looking very far in advance; and most of them gratefully echoed what some of them cried: 'The Lord is a Man of War; let Salvation be ascribed to the Lord!' [32]

---

[31] § Arnold, Regt. Mem. Book. Id. to Mass. Com. Safety, May 19, 23, 26, 1775: 4 Force. II., 645, 694, 714. Id. to Albany Com., May 22, 1775: ib., 839 Essex Gazette, June 1, 22, 1775. B. Deane to S. Deane, June 1, 1775: Note 28. Arnold to N. Y. Cong., May 29, 1775: 4 Force, II., 847.

[32] Essex Gazette, June 1, 1775.

VI

IN SELF-DEFENCE

WHEN the second Continental Congress came to order in Independence Hall, the tenth of May, its members little suspected to what a hazard they had been committed that very morning on the shore of Lake Champlain. In the evening of the seventeenth, John Brown, Esquire, of Pittsfield, arrived in Philadelphia from the northward, tired, travel-stained, and exultant; and the next day, introduced on the floor of Congress, he told what stirring scenes had lately been witnessed by lake and forest. 'Nor have we yet learned to rejoice at a Victory over *Englishmen!*' exclaimed Congress two months later; but here was a bloodless triumph, a conquest without a stain. A thrill of satisfaction quivered from heart to heart; and, as that quieted, it left behind no pang of troublesome accountability. For in what way had any Colonial authorities been involved?[1]

New York could prove an alibi. On the first day of May, Halsey and Stephens had been sent over to Albany by Mott and his associates; and, two days after, a letter went down the river from that place, informing the New York Committee of Safety that men on their way to attack Ticonderoga had asked for supplies, and requesting advice. Later, applications for aid came from Ticonderoga, and Colonel Philip Schuyler carried to Manhattan another petition for instructions. But, up to May the

[1] § Journ. Cong., May 10, 18, July 8, 1775. Brown's account: 4 Force, II., 623.

twelfth, no answer arrived ; and, 'unacquainted with the sentiments' of the Colony, the cautious traders at Albany 'declined interfering.'[2]

Connecticut, in the light of what reached the public later, could hardly escape responsibility; but the share of certain leading citizens in the expedition remained as yet a secret. When the news of the fall of Ticonderoga arrived at Hartford, the Committee of Correspondence promptly urged Albany to give its captors aid, although it considered the chance of immediate action there 'uncertain'; but it would have been difficult for the British government to prove even this after-the-fact participation.[3]

On the other hand, the Connecticut Assembly, apparently almost as much in the dark as King George, passed a resolution snowy-white: 'Whereas several inhabitants of the Northern Colonies, residing in the vicinity of Ticonderoga, immediately exposed to incursions [from the Province of Quebec], impelled by a just regard for the defence and preservation of themselves and their countrymen from such imminent dangers and calamities, have taken possession of that post and of Crown Point, . . . and have also taken into their custody a number of officers and soldiers who were holding and keeping said Posts, and of their own motion have sent them into this Colony; and as this Colony has no command of said Posts, now in possession of people of several Colonies, it is impracticable for said officers and soldiers to return to said posts,' therefore a committee should be appointed to provide for the former and help the latter find work. In short, Connecticut appeared on the scene as an innocent bystander,

---

[2] § Mott, Journal: Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., I., p. 165. Alb. Com. to N. Y. Com. May 12, 1775: 4 Force, II., 605. Answers, however, appear to have been sent but, as the N. Y. Com. did not feel authorized to advise, it is hard to see what they contained (N. Y. Com. to Cont. Cong., May 15, 1775: 4 Force, II., 605).

[3] § Conn. Com. Corres. to Mass. Cong., May 16, 1775: 4 Force, II., 618.

concerned only—and that merely at 'the dictates humanity'—in behalf of certain uninvited guests, fou in straitened circumstances.[4]

Massachusetts, already officially declared a rebel, h not hesitated to act emphatically and boldly through l Committee of Safety. But no explanation of the plan h been made to the Provincial Congress,[5] and no soldier bc a musket at Crown Point or Ticonderoga in the name

SILAS DEANE

the Colony. Arnold was there; but he acted onl volunteer, not under the terms of his commissio Massachusetts, for no one acknowledged his au It was the leader of the Bennington Mob who th forth a summons to the British commander. D

[4] 4 Force, II., 570.

[5] Mass. Com. Safety to Arnold, May 28, 1775: 4 Force, II., 726.

himself stated that he surrendered to 'Ethan Allyn.'[6] Seth Warner, another Green Mountain Boy, seized Crown Point; and Amos Callender, a third, took possession of Fort George. In the raid on St. Johns, of course, Arnold acted officially; but that was another affair, and the news of it did not arrive until after the policy of the United Colonies had been formulated.

Silas Deane's nickname in the new Congress—Ticonderoga Deane—hinted not only that he possessed some information about the origin of that affair, but that many of the body gradually shared his knowledge. Samuel Adams and John Hancock, persons of considerable prominence in the assembly, had arrived at Hartford just after the Connecticut expedition got under way, and must have talked with leading patriots there. John Adams, another chief, wrote Joseph Palmer a few days later that 'certain military movements of great importance' had been set on foot 'with the utmost secrecy' in Connecticut, which he 'dared not explain.'[7]

But all this—even had it been publicly known—amounted to nothing. It was not only after-the-fact, but entirely personal. The Congress had not even been in session. Deane, oppressed by what he termed the 'unhappy and erroneous' reputation of a schemer,[8] sought consolation for so grievous a wrong in the bosom of his family; and the Delegates, as a body, not only felt their withers unwrung as yet, but resolutely determined to keep clear in the sequel of any charge that hostilities had been undertaken in the lake region by the United Colonies.

The very day, therefore, that news of the capture of Ticonderoga arrived, they resolved that, whereas there

---

[6] Memorial: Conn. Arch., Rev. War., I., Doc. 405.

[7] S. Deane to Mrs. D., June 18, 1775: Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., II., p. 266. Wells, Adams, II., p. 208. Hancock to Com. Safety, Apr. 26, 1775: 4 Force, II., 401, Chittenden, Ti., p. 29. J. Adams, May 2, 1775: Trumbull, Origin, p. 14.

[8] S. D. to Mrs. D.: Note 7.

was 'indubitable evidence' that a design had been formed by the British Ministry 'of making a cruel invasion from the province of Quebec' upon the Colonies, for the purpose of destroying the lives and liberties of the people, and some steps had 'actually been taken to carry the said design into execution'; and whereas, according to the phraseology adopted by Connecticut, people in the vicinity of 'Ticonderogo' had 'taken possession of that post, in which was lodged a quantity of cannon and military stores, that would certainly have been used in the intended invasion'; therefore the Congress—fearing Carleton would sail up the lake and recapture these useful articles—earnestly advised the 'committees of the cities and counties of New York and Albany, immediately to cause the said cannon and stores to be removed from Ticonderogo to the south end of Lake George,' where a strong post would be established.[9]

The property of the King was not, however, to be stolen. Every article should be inventoried, and restitution should be made when 'consistent with the overruling law of self-preservation.' Should more troops than she could furnish be needed to hold the post on Lake George, New York might apply for them to the New England Colonies. Within the rather broad lines of what the Friends of Liberty, British and American alike, regarded as constitutional resistance to oppression, lay room—it was thought—for all this. Where, then, could rebellion be found? 'We took such Measures as Prudence dictated, as Necessity will justify': thus Congress explained the matter to the inhabitants of Great Britain.[10]

Accordingly, the New York Provincial Congress notified Connecticut six days later that, 'in pursuance of the

---

[9] § Journ. Cong., May 18, 1775. Dyer and Sherman to Williams, May 31, 1775: Hist. Mag., Jan., 1862, p. 22.

[10] § Journ. of Cong., May 18; July 8, 1775.

directions' contained in this resolution, orders had been given to remove the cannon and stores from Ticonderoga to the south end of Lake George, and a committee had been appointed as 'superintendents of this business'; while Massachusetts, with an eye still on the original purpose of the expedition, informed New York that Arnold had taken steps by her order to bring the cannon to Cambridge, but 'most solemnly' added that, so far from desiring to usurp the jurisdiction of a sister Colony, she would hold them subject to orders from the Continental Congress. Wherever the cannon should lodge, then, the forts were to be practically, if not literally, abandoned. It was in this light that the public understood the intention of Congress. Private individuals had taken a measure of self-defence; Congress would safeguard the interests of both people and Crown but do nothing that could even look aggressive; New York would act as a property-clerk, Massachusetts as an honest borrower; and so the whole affair would end.[11]

But end so, it could not. Whatever Congress might be aiming at and expecting, the people in general noted the signs of the times with a deep anxiety. Passing the Quebec Act had not proved, as Gurdon Saltonstall had predicted, 'the finishing stroke for the Ministry.' In spite of all that America's friends in England could accomplish, the government seemed more determined than ever. Instead of dreading, it appeared to be seeking, a contest with its Colonies; and the Colonies presented no less resolute a front. 'Is it possible,' cried a Rhode Island Tory aloud, as did thousands in their hearts, 'Is it possible that a people without arms, ammunition, money, or navy should dare to brave a nation, dreaded and re-

[11] § N. Y. Cong. to Conn., May 24, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1248. Mass. Cong to N. Y. Cong., May 26, 1775: ib., 715. Understanding: see, e.g., the letter of the Albany Com. to N. Y. Cong., May 26, 1775 (ib., 712); Mass. Cong. to N. H. Cong., May 29, 1775, (ib., 737); and all the evidences of public agitation which will soon appear.

spected by all the powers on earth?' But he cried in vain.[12]

Men argued back that the British army, made up of refuse and poorly trained, was not to be feared. America began preparations for war. Citizens of New Hampshire attacked Castle William and Mary in Portsmouth harbor, seized one hundred barrels of powder, and were given public thanks. Massachusetts already stood under arms. Connecticut organized a strong militia, offered bounties for saltpetre, sulphur, firearms, and gun-locks; and agreed to purchase for some time to come all the arms turned out in the Colony. New York moved in the same direction.[13]

Philadelphia, the seat of Congress, overflowed with lusty fellows dressed in short jackets of dark brown, white vests and breeches, white stockings, half-boots and black knee-garters, with broad white straps—crossed before and behind—supporting a cartouch box and a bayonet sheath, and with colored facings on their jackets to indicate their battalions. Topped off with small hats, on which a 'tail' of deer's fur, six or eight inches high, grew out of a red, black, or white rosette, thirty companies of such militia were exercising in arms there every morning and evening. 'They have made a most surprising progress,' wrote Silas Deane; and the word Liberty in white on their large cartouch boxes, explained why they turned out so eagerly for their drill. Everywhere officers and men could be seen falling into line. In fact, the Grand Continental Congress, two days after choosing John Hancock President, formally ordered that the whole country 'be immediately put into a state of defence.'[14]

And not only was there preparation for war; there was

---

[12] § Saltonstall to S. Deane, Aug. 29, 1774: Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., II., p. 143. Tory: Newport letter in N. E. Chron., Jan. 10, 1775.

[13] § N. E. Chron., Jan. 17, 1775, gave a long study of the British army. Portsmouth: Belknap, N. H., II., p. 376; N. H. Cong. (4 Force, II., 652, 653). Conn.: Johnston, Record, p. 35; J. Trumbull, Jr., to his brother, May 29, 1775 (4 Force, II., 728). N. Y. Cong., June 9, 1775: ib., 1247.

[14] Pa.: S. Deane to Mrs. D., June 3, 1775 (Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., II., p. 258). Journ. Cong., May 26.

war itself. Already American soil had been planted with the red seed of liberty. Already the name of the Great Jehovah had been invoked—and not in vain—by Colonials in arms. Already the crimson shadow of Bunker Hill lay athwart the path of America. So far the battles had been small, no doubt; but they portended greater ones. The sky was growing black; all round the horizon there were rumblings; and now the public ear, awakened by the Quebec Act and turning to the north, heard from that quarter an awful peal. 'Danger and war are become pleasing,' cried the fiery Dr. Warren [15]; but very few had reached that opinion. It was an anxious time, and anxiety deepened fast into alarm.

The fear of what Quebec might do was indeed profound. Great Britain perhaps did not intend to give back the province to its ancient masters, but that was no consolation, thought many. In fact, great as the dread inspired by French designs and French raids had been, now—wrote Joseph Hawley to Dr. Warren—the Colonials had 'more to fear from that quarter than if France alone held Canada.' 'While England has a firm hold of this Country,' wrote Mr. Hey, the Chief-Justice of Quebec, 'her cause with the Colonies can never be desperate tho' she should not have an inch of Ground in her possession in any one of them. from this country they are more accessible, I mean the N. England People, (Paradoxical as it may seem), than even from Boston itself.' The Colonials knew nothing of this letter, but they had eyes to see the grounds of Hey's opinion; and, as their comments on the Quebec Act showed, they could reason. Doubtless many of the terrors excited by that law were chargeable, as

[15] Warren to A. Lee, May, 16, 1775: Frothingham, Warren, p. 438.

John Adams once remarked, to a 'lively fancy'; but others were not. The Tories had often threatened that 'Canadians in British pay' would some day 'fall upon our rear'; and now, in addition to inferences, threats, and the warnings from English friends, there were facts; the facts had tongues; and the tongues were the tongues of bells.[16]

'Last night a Commission passed the Great Seal, constituting and appointing Guy Carleton, Esquire, Captain General and Governor in and over the province of Quebec, with all its dependencies, with greater powers than in the former commission, which is superseded': this item of news had come over in a London letter of January the second. Why this increase of powers?[17]

Two weeks before the capture of Ticonderoga the amended commission had a public reading at Quebec, and the news of these two events traversed the Colonies together. The matter grew clearer now: 'Wee do hereby give and grant unto you Guy Carleton by yourself or your Captains and Commanders by you to be Authorized full power and authority to levy arm muster command and employ all persons whatsoever residing within our said province and . . . to transport such fforces to any of our Plantations in America if Necessity shall require for the defence of the same against the Invasion or attempts of any of our Enemies Pirates or Rebels and such Enemies Pirates and Rebels if there shall be occasion to pursue and prosecute in or out of the Limits of our said provinces.'[18]

'Pirates,' 'Rebels,'—these were merely other terms for bayonets and halters; 'pursue,' 'transport' signified an attack from Canada on the weakest side of the Colonies, the dreaded stab in the back; and as for the 'fforces,'

[16] § Hawley; June, 9, 1775: 4 Force, II., 944. Designs: Smyth, Précis, p. 107. Hey to Lord Chancellor, Aug. 28, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 12, p. 365. 'Novanglus' (J. Adams): Essex Gazette, Feb. 28, 1775. Threats: Boston Evening Post, Feb. 6, 1775.

[17] Mass. Gazette, Mar. 27, 1775.

[18] § Quebec letter in Essex Gazette, May 25, 1775 (see also 4 Force, II., 425). Can. Arch., 'Commissions' (also in 4 Force, II., 403).

could there be any question what that word meant? 'There is gone down to Sheerness 78,000 guns, and bayonets, to be sent to America, to be put into the hands of the Roman Catholicks and the Canadians,' wrote a friend from London.[19] John Brown got hold of something important while in Canada. Two officers of the 26th Regiment applied to a couple of Indians—one of them a head warrior of the Caughnawaga tribe—to go out with them for a hunt toward the south and east. They went; and the officers pressed on and on until they reached Newbury, on the Connecticut River. Questioned here, the leaders repeated the story of a hunt.

'That cannot be,' people answered, 'for no hunters use bright-barrelled guns.'

Back in the woods, the Indian warrior insisted upon knowing the purpose of the trip.

'It is to find a passage for an army,' the officers finally admitted.

'Where will you get the army?' inquired the Indian.

'In Canada,' they replied.[20]

May the twenty-third, a committee of the Connecticut Assembly reported having 'a personal conference with Mr. Price, an eminent English merchant of Montreal,' then at New York: 'He informs us, that all the French officers of Canada are now in actual pay under General Carlton.' An intercepted letter from Malcolm Fraser of Quebec to friends in New England called attention to the Governor's almost unlimited powers, and repeated that he was gathering troops. Indeed, a party of Canadian soldiers actually arrived at St. Johns and attacked American scouts.[21]

---

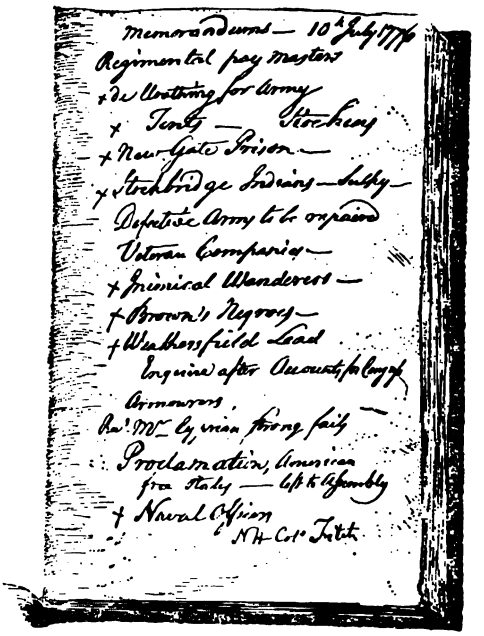
[19] Essex Gazette, May 12, 1775. '78,000,' perhaps a misprint for 18,000.

[20] § Brown's report: Phila. letter in Essex Gazette, June 8, 1775; Brown to S. Adams, Mar. 29, 1775 (Mass. Arch., Vol. 193, p. 41); Letter in N. H. Prov. Papers, VII., p. 525.

[21] § Price: Journ. Mass. Cong., p. 707. Fraser: Essex Gazette, June 8, 1775 (Phila. letter). McCoy (probably it should be McKay): Verreau (Sanguinet), Invasion, p. 33; Easton to Mass. Cong., June 6, 1775: (Journ. Mass. Cong., p. 714); proclamation of Allen and Easton, June 4, 1775 (ib., p. 715).

And this was not all. Something worse was to be expected,—worse than 'the ministerial troops, those sons of violence,' worse than hordes of Canadian 'papists.'

No American was yet aware of the secret instructions forwarded by General Gage at this time to Colonel Guy Johnson, the Indian Agent in central New York, or knew that Lord Dartmouth had the savages in view as allies; but certain very ominous things did come to light. Price



A PAGE OF GOVERNOR TRUMBULL'S MEMORANDUM BOOK

declared that the plan of campaign was to engage Indians as well as Canadians. Mr. Ferris of the New Hampshire Grants, returning from Montreal, reported the same at Crown Point; and not only that, but a fact even more

terrible. If any human being had the reputation in the Colonies of a fiend incarnate, he was St. Luc la Corne, Superintendent of the Canadian Indians under the French régime, and father-in-law of the Major Campbell now in charge of them. He was 'the villain,' as the newspapers recalled, 'who let loose the Indians on the prisoners at Fort William Henry,' and looked on while the savages, in spite of a solemn agreement, dragged the wounded English from their huts, and scalped every one of them. This was the devil commissioned to raise the yelling minions of hell now, it was reported; and he had already shown his temper by advising that some Canadians in every parish be immediately executed, should the *habitants* refuse to join the King's troops. 'Oh George, what tools art thou obliged to make use of!' cried the Colonials."[22]

Very different this northern struggle was to be from the campaign now going on: idle redcoats in Boston, summoned to roll-call four times a day to keep them out of mischief; and idle patriots across the Charles, longing vainly for enemies to shoot and powder to shoot them with. It meant war, and war the most dreadful. The red fiends were undoubtedly gathering. Timid ears already imagined faint echoes of their yells in the forests. Old men retold the story of Hannah Dustin. Young men foresaw many a Jane McCrea, borne past with tresses dabbled in blood. Every gust of the north wind came freighted with terrors. The next dawn might raise the curtain on a scene of death and desolation, fire, outrage, murder, and torture. Yet the Congress would not so much as close a

[22] § G. Johnson to Dartmouth, Oct. 12, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. Ind., Vol. 279, p. 345. Records of Ind. Transactions: ib., Vol. 280, p. 9. Dartmouth to G. Johnson, July 24, 1775: ib., Vol. 279, p. 247 (D. refers to a letter of 5th, and it must be supposed that he had been thinking of the matter for some time before writing that). Price: Note 21. Ferris: Easton to Mass. Cong., June 6, 1775 (Journ. Mass. Cong., p. 714). La Corne: Essex Gazette, June 8, 1775. Parkman, Montcalm, I., p. 509.

door, to keep it all out. The Congress ordered Ticonderoga to be abandoned.[23]

Naturally those on the ground were the first to call for action. They could see with their eyes the pass by the lakes; and besides that, realizing most fully how the lion had been singed, they could also realize most keenly that he was likely to spring.

Ticonderoga had been only a night in American hands, when Allen exclaimed: 'I am apprehensive of a sudden and quick attack. Pray be quick to our relief, and send us five hundred men immediately—fail not!' Scarcely had Bulawagga Mountain ceased echoing back the cheers at Crown Point, when Warner and Sunderland wrote south: 'We suppose Governor Carleton will hear what we have done, before this comes to hand. He is a man-of-war, you can guess what measures he will take. We determine to fight them three to one, but he can bring ten to one, and more.' On the next day the Albany Committee, torpid as it had seemed, awoke with a start. It was now, they realized, an 'alarming crisis'; they were likely to be involved in 'the horrours of war and devastation'; and they 'earnestly' called upon the New York Committee for advice. Two weeks later, Arnold sent a warning to the Massachusetts Committee of Safety: 'I was equally surprised and Alarmed this Day on receiving Advice, (via Albany,) that the Continental Congress had recommended the removing all the Cannon Stores &c at Ticonderoga, to Fort George & Evacuating Ticonderoga intirely, which being the Only Key of this Country leaves Our very extinsive Frontiers open to the ravages of the enemy.' The next day Easton, then among his neighbors at Pittsfield, sat down and wrote this to the Massachusetts Congress: 'It is agreed, on all hands, the fortress must

[23] Crown Point does not seem to have been considered of special value.

be maintained, as it is of infinite importance to the general cause. I have no doubt but very violent attempts will soon be made to wrest it out of our hands.' [24]

Joseph Hawley, 'the Nestor of the Massachusetts patriots,' after taking some time for thought, expressed himself no less emphatically to Dr. Warren: 'I am still in agonies for the greatest possible despatch to secure that pass. . . . If Britain should regain and hold that place [Ticonderoga], they will be able soon to harass and lay waste, by the savages, all the borders of New England, eastwards of Hudson's River and southeast of Lake Champlain and the River St. Lawrence, and shortly, by the Lake Champlain, to march an army to Hudson's River, to subdue the feeble and sluggish efforts of the inhabitants on that river, and so to connect Montreal and New York; and then New England will be wholly environed by sea and land,—east, west, north, and south. The chain of the colonies will be entirely and irreparably broken; the whole province of New York will be fully taken into the interests of administration; and this very pass of Ticonderoga is the post and spot where all this mischief may be withstood and resisted; but if that is

relinquished or taken from us, desolation must come in upon us like a flood. I am bold to say, (for I can maintain it,) that the General Congress would have not

[24] § Allen to Albany Com., May 11, 1775: 4 Force, II., 606. W. and S. to Conn., May 12, 1775: Dartmouth Mag., May, 1872. Alb. Com. to N. Y. Com., May 12, 1775: 4 Force, II., 605. Arnold to Mass. Com. Safety, May 20, 1775: from MS. (also in Journ. Mass. Cong., p. 711). Easton, May, 30, 1775: Journ. Mass. Cong., p. 712.

advised to so destructive a measure, if they had recommended and prescribed that our whole army, which now invests Boston, should instantly decamp, and march with all the baggage and artillery to Worcester, and suffer Gage's army to ravage what part of the country they pleased. Good God! what could be their plan?' [25]

Indeed, as Hawley added, the vaunted successes on the lakes might prove a curse instead of a blessing, were the fort given up: 'By this step General Carleton is alarmed. Whereas, if this step had not been taken, his proceedings might have been slow and with some leisure.'

Obviously, the Colonial authorities had to take the matter up. 'The necessity of securing and maintaining the posts on the lakes, for the defence of our frontiers, becomes daily more evident,' wrote Governor Trumbull to the Congress of Massachusetts; and several other messages of like tenor followed the same route. It is an 'inexpressible necessity' to protect the settlements, was the response; the ground which it is proposed to give up cost 'immense sums of money, the loss of many lives, and five campaigns'; and as for depending on a fort at the south end of Lake George, three-fourths of the raids would pass to the east of that point, and never be heard of till the torch and scalping-knife had done their work. Colonel Henshaw was despatched to Hartford expressly to urge these points.[26]

'You will doubtless agree with us in sentiment,' said Massachusetts to her neighbor on the north, 'that it is a matter of the greatest importance that those places remain in our possession'; and New Hampshire, which had already voted to raise troops for the defence of the

[25] Nestor: Morse, J. Adams, p. 64. Hawley, June 9, 1775: 4 Force, II., 944.

[26] § Trumbull, May 25, 1775: Journ. Mass. Cong., p. 705. Mass. to Trumbull, ib., p 267 (a detailed comparison of the advantages of Ti. and Ft. Wm. Henry). Henshaw: 4 Force, II., 722–724.

frontier and to sell the border towns a few rounds of the King's precious powder, responded feelingly. The Congress of New York, indeed, seemed lethargic; but it wooed slumber in vain. Not only the Albany Committee assured it again that the British were preparing to retake the posts, which would 'introduce our enemies into the very bowels of our Country,' but the authorities of Charlotte County sent down a sharp official note of alarm.[27]

The Philadelphia newspaper that heralded John Brown's arrival with his tidings of triumph, added something to its announcement: 'We trust the wisdom of the Grand Continental Congress will take effectual measures' to secure the pass. This was the harbinger of a storm; and before long the flood of general excitement was beating strong against the doors of Independence Hall.[28]

Arnold, writing most urgently, not only dwelt upon the necessity of holding Ticonderoga, as the key of the region, but shrewdly pointed out that, should the position be given up, the ravages of the enemy and the continual alarms would 'probably cost more than the expense of repairing and garrisoning it.' Ethan Allen told how the people of the Grants had 'put their lives into the hands of their Governments, and made those valuable acquisitions' for the good of the Colonies, and how, if left exposed now to the wrath of Carleton, they would be, 'of all men, the most consummately miserable.' New Hampshire, at the suggestion of Massachusetts, despatched a 'decent and respectful' address to Congress: she 'would not presume to complain or dictate, but most humbly to suggest' the retention of the posts. 'May it please your Honours,' said Massachusetts herself, 'permit us to observe, that in our

---

[27] § Mass. Cong. to N. H. Cong., May 29; June 1, 1775: 4 Force, II., 737, 876. N. H.: Journ. Mass. Cong., p. 307; 4 Force, II., 652, 653, 895. (See N. H. Com. Safety to Sullivan and Langdon, July 8, 1775, in J. Bartlett, Letters.) Albany: 4 Force, II., 712. Charlotte Co.: ib., 1124.

[28] Phila. Journ.: 4 Force, II., 623.

opinion nothing can be more obvious than the infinite importance' of maintaining, holding, and effectually securing Ticonderoga or some spot near the southwest end of Lake Champlain; and her views were made clear not only once but repeatedly. Connecticut sent vigorous despatches to Philadelphia, 'setting forth the advantage of maintaining a post' there, and suggesting a reconsideration of the attitude taken. Needless to add, a series of personal letters from all quarters poured in upon Congress and the individual members of that body. The total pressure amounted to something tremendous. In a little while, Congress found itself 'much more convinced,' than it had been, of the importance of Ticonderoga, and, encouraged by Arnold's bold strokes, braced itself for action.[29]

Without waiting for that, however, the Colonies themselves took steps. Albany, which lay directly in the British line of march, and, since the demolition of Fort Edward, had felt peculiarly exposed, set about raising four companies. On the twenty-fifth of May, the New York Congress, acting on the hint from Philadelphia, invited Connecticut to send forces to the lake. We have troops ready and to spare, was the spirit of Governor Trumbull. Already four hundred men had been ordered north in consequence of Arnold's urgency, and now it was resolved to bring the number up to one thousand, with Colonel Benjamin Hinman to command them,—every man provided with a pound of that scarce article, gunpowder, and three pounds of something hardly more plentiful, bullets; while New York undertook to provision

---

[29] § Arnold to Cont. Cong., May 29, 1775 (4 Force, II., 734). Allen to Cont Cong., May 29, 1775: ib., 732. Mass. Cong. to N. H. Cong., May 29, 1775: ib., 737. N. H. Cong. to Cont. Cong., June 2, 1775: ib., 895. Mass.: Journ. Mass. Cong. pp. 265, 321, 720; 4 Force, II., 721. Conn. to Mass. Cong., May 27, 1775: 4 Force, II., 719. Williams to Dyer, May 25, 1775: Emmet Coll. Gilleland to Cont. Cong.: 4 Force, II, 731. Many other personal letters must have been written. Convinced, etc.: Dyer and Sherman to Williams, May 31, 1775 (Hist. Mag., Jan., 1862, p. 22).

these Connecticut men until forces of her own should take their place. June the first, the Provincial Congress of New York wrote the distressed Committee at Albany: 'You will find that one thousand [Connecticut] men are already on their way to the frontier country'; and in due time Mr. Swart of the Congress heard Arnold and Hinman read each other's instructions at Ticonderoga.[30]

Unfortunately, a hard question of precedence now arose. Henshaw had written from Hartford that the leader of the Connecticut force was to assume control; but that was unofficial, and Hinman's orders were only to 're-enforce the garrisons and command his regiment.' In Arnold's eyes, this did not supersede the authority which he had been wielding for some time with the approval of Massachusetts. Indeed, the Congress of that Colony had just written him that Hinman was to 'reinforce' the army; and finally Hinman concluded, though unwillingly,[31] to accept the second place. This appeared to settle everything, but in reality did precisely the opposite; and soon the necessity of decided action on the part of Congress became more imperative than before.

Never was mortal wight more unlucky than Arnold in this whole campaign. Information that he himself supplied had proved a mine under his feet. It had been his mission to represent authority before men trained to despise all rule save their own, discipline where discipline was unknown, order and property when triumph had presented the flowing bowl to habitual—unconventionality. Without funds, for doubtless the greater part of his meagre one hundred pounds was divided among his

---

[30] § Fort Edward: Mass. Com. to N. Y. Cong., July 3, 1775 (Journ. Mass. Cong., p. 720). Albany Cos.: 4 Force, II., 724 (Henshaw). N. Y. Cong. to Conn., May 24, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1248. Trumbull to N. Y. Cong., May 27, 29, 1775: ib., 846, 847. N. Y. Cong. to Alb. Com., June 1, 1775: ib., 1269. Swart and Hinman's orders: ib., 1048 (Stringer).

[31] § Stringer: Note 30. Henshaw: 4 Force, II., 724. Arnold, Regt. Mem. Book. Mass. Cong. to Arnold, June 1, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1382. Mott to Trumbull, July 6, 1775: ib., 1592.

recruiting officers, he had been obliged to compete for a following among very poor men against the full purse of his rivals. Fidelity to the interests of the United Colonies had roused against him those who belonged to no Colony and hated one of them. Circumstances had compelled him to excite the hostility of a strong combination of purposes and interests, and out of the ill desert of another man, Easton, to forge new hatreds against himself.

While duty kept him in the wilderness, his enemies found themselves free to visit the centres, and no doubt worked vigorously at all the chief springs of public opinion and official action. Easton, full of wrath, hurried to Massachusetts, according to his own account, 'to get a proper regulation at the said fortress,' and also, according to Arnold's Memorandum Book, 'with an announced intention to injure me all in his power.' Safely tucked into his pocket, no doubt, lay a paper signed, May eleventh, by a self-styled Committee of War — James Easton heading the same—which protested against Arnold's claim to command at Ticonderoga, and pronounced his 'further proceeding in the matter, highly inexpedient.' What Easton said on the subject escaped the record; but not so the general character of his operations. Delaplace publicly denied in flat and even contemptuous terms a part of his account; and Easton uncovered his own trail by writing in this wise to the Congress of Massachusetts: 'I will just hint to your honors that I should be willing to serve my country in the capacity I stand in at home, at the head of a regiment on this northern expedition.' Whether he would report fairly and disinterestedly about Arnold, for whose place he was asking, in effect, might easily be divined.[32]

---

[32] § Easton, Petition: 4 Force, III., 278. Arnold, Regt. Mem. Book, May 10. Com. of War: Journ. Mass. Cong., p. 698. Delaplace, July 28, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1087. Easton's hint: Journ. Mass. Cong., p. 713.

How Brown really felt about Easton appeared a few months later, when a fresh illustration of the Colonel's tricky self-seeking came to light. Though he considered him neither fair nor capable, and remarked in Latin, 'His reputation is enough,' he thought it would be 'a little Delicate' to criticise his 'neighest Neighbour.' Besides, in addition to being closely associated with Easton and allied with Allen and Mott, Brown had studied law with a cousin of Arnold's, and had probably heard much of the unpleasant side of Benedict's character; and now, making the circuit of Albany, New York, Philadelphia, Hartford, and Cambridge, he wielded a special influence against Arnold everywhere, no doubt, by reason of his former membership in the Massachusetts Congress and his notable journey to Canada. Mott, Phelps, and their associates had great strength in their Colony; and while they, like nearly all the others, were in the main honest and patriotic, Barnabas Deane had no doubt good grounds for writing to his brother Silas: 'Colonel Arnold has been greatly abused and misrepresented by designing persons, some of which were from Connecticut.'[33]

Allen's influence went the same way, necessarily; and, in the postscript of a letter to the Congress of New York, he added (though not without a gulp, one could see): 'In the narrative contained in the enclosed was too materially omitted the valour and intrepidity of Colonel James Easton. . . . Colonel Easton is just returned from the Provincial Congress of the Massachusetts Bay to this place, and expects he will soon have the command of a Regiment from that province.' Evidently, for the sake of

---

[33] § Brown to Schuyler, Nov. 28, 1775: Schuyler Papers. Brown at Providence: Smith, Pittsfield, I., p. 181; Berk. Hist. and Sci. Coll., I., p. 316. Brown's circuit: Albany Com. to N. Y. Com., May 12, 1775 (4 Force, II., 605); Journ. Cong., May 18, 1775; Trumbull to N. Y. Cong., May 29, 1775 (4 Force, II., 847); Trumbull to Mass. Cong., May 29, 1775 (Journ. Mass. Cong., p. 709). B. Deane, June 1, 1775: Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., II., p. 246.

an ally now grown to so large a stature, Allen felt that he should pursue his memory with special thoroughness, and even chase it into the confines of imagination."[34]

Warned by Easton's 'announced intention,' Arnold notified the Massachusetts Committee of Safety that attempts might be made to injure him for refusing commissions to persons not qualified, and expressed confidence that he would not be condemned unheard. We 'return you our hearty thanks for your exertions in the publick cause,' was the reply; 'you may be assured we shall be so candid as not to suffer any impressions to your disadvantage, until you shall have opportunity to vindicate your conduct.' On the first day of June, the Massachusetts Congress wrote him that they were 'sorry to meet with repeated requests' from him that some gentleman be sent on to take command, and further that they placed 'the greatest confidence' in his 'fidelity, knowledge, courage, and good conduct.' All this came from sincere hearts, no doubt; but their faith in Arnold had probably been undermined far more than they realized, and the news that he had not given way to Hinman struck the edifice at a peculiarly sensitive point."[35]

'Our common danger ought to unite us in the strongest bonds of unity and affection,'—such was the sentiment of the Colony. Connecticut did not demand the place of honor at the lakes; but she now had the greatest number of men there, and her sister Colony on the north—nervously anxious, as in dealing with New York, to avoid all appearance of 'infringing'—saw 'with the deepest concern' that Colonel Hinman 'was not commander-in-chief of those fortresses and their appendages.' Truly the spirit of Massachusetts was noble as well as far-

---

[34] Allen, June 2, 1775: 4 Force, II., 891.

[35] § Arnold to Mass. Com. Safety, May 19, 1775: 4 Force, II., 645. Reply, May 27, 1775: ib., 723. Mass. Cong., to Arnold, June 1, 1775: ib., 1382.

General Schuyler has desired
me, to acquaint you of the State, & Situation
of the Army, on the Northern Department, Six
Days since when I left Crown Point there was
N. that Post Near three hundred Men, without
Empley having received, no Orders to Fortify,
At Ticonderoga, about Six hundred, on the Same
State, at Fort George, upwards of three hundred

sighted, and it well deserved to have a victim smoke upon its altar.[36]

In due course, June the twenty-third arrived at Crown Point, and never had the scene appeared more lovely. The clear waters of Lake Champlain curled and sparkled in the fresh breeze. The oriole swung in his elm; the robin twittered in his maple; the chipmunk gleefully made faces at the slow-footed soldiers. On the west, the New York Highlands reared a turreted wall of deep verdure, and the massive line of the Green Mountains responded through a veil of greyish blue from the east. Good cheer reigned at the post, and with it good order. 'To our great Mortification,' so Arnold wrote Walker at Montreal, the regulars had not come; but there was enough to do. The fort needed many repairs. An intrenchment had to be constructed, timber gathered, oars made, provisions collected. All were alert, all busy; and the Colonel was the busiest and most alert of all.[37]

In the midst of the general bustle, three gentlemen from Massachusetts presented themselves. They formed a committee of the Provincial Congress, and they ordered Arnold to turn over the command to his Connecticut rival. What had Hinman achieved—a newcomer of the same rank—to merit this advancement over him? Certainly nothing; quite the reverse; but Arnold's luck had placed him in the thicket just where Abraham was looking about for a lamb. And this was the smallest part of it. The committee handed Arnold their instructions, and he found that they came to investigate his conduct, with full power to remove him from the service.[38]

---

[36] § Sentiment: Mass to Conn., May 17, 1775 (4 Force, II., 808). Conn. attitude: Conn. Com. Corres. to Mass. Cong., May 16, 1775 (ib., 618). Mass. Com. Safety to N. Y. Com.: ib., 450. Concern: Spooner to Trumbull, July 3, 1775 (ib., 1540).

[37] § Description based upon what the author observed there. Arnold to Walker, May 24, 1775: Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 196. Arnold, Regt. Mem. Book.

[38] Instructions: 4 Force, II., 1407.

An order like that signified a loss of confidence and almost amounted to a dishonorable discharge. It appeared to mean that his case had been judged and condemnation passed. It seemed, in view of the letters received, like ingratitude and even treachery. It was, in short, an earthquake; and, in the darkness of the abyss, an excited imagination could read a blasted reputation, smitten hopes, a ruined life. 'He seemed greatly disconcerted,' said the committee.[39] No wonder.

Had Arnold been a saint, he would—or at least should—have begged an appointment as teamster. Had he been a star-crowned patriot, he might—though precedents were mostly against it—have craved a musket and a knapsack. Had he been Sir Francis Bacon, he would have composed an essay. Had he been Iago, he would have dissembled and plotted. As it was, being impetuous, rash, proud, and arbitrary, he immediately turned his coat of many colors wrong side out, and exhibited at large the dark lining of his brilliant powers.

If he so chose, he could reasonably decline to serve under Hinman; but it was equally untrue and foolish to declare that he would not be second in command to any person. When the committee required his force to pass muster, with the intimation that men now found unfit would be thrown out and receive no pay for previous duty, he might have protested; but it was scarcely proper to disband his regiment. The refusal of the Massachusetts Congress to send funds might compel him to draw on his own purse and pay debts incurred for the service; but of course even that could hardly excuse him for not acting the perfect gentleman. When some of his men, enraged by this handling of themselves and their commander, mutinied and treated members of the other

[39] Report of Com., July 6, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1596.

party with very grave discourtesy, Arnold perhaps could not help sympathizing with them; but he should not have given countenance to the outbreak."

Still, it must be admitted that the accounts of the disturbances, besides being general and confused, are all from the supporters of the committee. When Judge Duer, who fought in the thick of it on that side, undertook to say the worst he could of Arnold, he only wrote that his 'unaccountable pride' led him 'to sacrifice the true interest of the Country'—a somewhat vague and somewhat debatable verdict, and one that could be very widely used among soldiers and public men. But, whatever took place, concord finally returned. Easton obtained the coveted post of colonel, with his neighbor, John Brown, for major; and while Arnold—little dreaming how soon and how brilliantly he was to reappear on the stage—settled up his affairs and retired to New Haven, Colonel Hinman reigned unchallenged in his place."

So reigned King Log. We know little of Hinman's doings, but probably we know the whole. Doubtless he proved a much pleasanter person to get on with than Arnold, for he had no desire to disturb anybody, not even the enemy. His principle, as explained by himself, was to wait for orders. Indeed, he continued to understand his commission as Arnold had construed it: he had come only to reinforce the garrison. 'Not one earthly thing for offence or defence has been done,' was the official report nearly four weeks later. A Tory prisoner who escaped from Crown Point said in Canada, that twenty men could have surprised and captured that post. 'With a pen-knife

---

40 § Arnold. Regt. Mem. Book. E. Mott to Trumbull, July 6, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1592. Duer to Schuyler, July 19, 1775: Sparks MSS., No. 60, p. 1. S. Mott to Trumbull, June 30, 1775: Trumbull Papers, IV., p. 124. Report of Mass. Com.: 4 Force, II., 1596. Arnold to Com., June 24, 1775: ib., 1598. Spooner to N. Y. Cong. and to Trumbull, July 3, 1775: ib., 1540. REMARK XI.

41 § E. Mott and Duer: Note 40. Easton to Mass. Cong., May 30, 1775: Journ. Mass. Cong., p. 712. At N. Haven: Arnold to Price, July 25, 1775 (Emmet Coll.).

Arnold just there— but as I Expected you would
be up in a Short Time I have not given any
orders Respecting the Management of things there
but Shall Wait for your Orders Relative Thereto
I am &c. Yr. Most Obl. Sert.
Benjamen Hinman

FROM HINMAN'S LETTER TO SCHUYLER, JULY 7, 1775

only,' wrote an American officer who reached the north end of Lake George about ten o'clock at night; 'with a pen-knife only I could have cut off both guards [for they were soundly asleep], and then have set fire to the block-house, destroyed the stores, and starved the people' at Ticonderoga. Meanwhile one, if not both, of the vessels, vital elements of the defence, had no commander.[42]

Arnold must have known Hinman by reputation, if not personally. Probably he did not see how the 'true interest of the Country' would be advanced by allowing such a person to command; and perhaps that explained—in part, at least—his wrath and his resignation. Under such leadership a man of outlook and energy could only have gone mad.

But happily this condition of things could not last; or, at all events, it did not. At the very end of May, the Continental Congress, roused to action by Arnold's notice of the preparations at St. Johns, advised substantially what the Colonies had arranged to do. Three weeks later, on the unanimous recommendation of the New York Congress, Philip Schuyler was elected a major-general. After reflecting a week more, the Conscript Fathers ordered him to the lakes; and, after another interval, he took command there. The cloud on the northern border looked very dark now, and most fervently prayed the devout Governor Trumbull: 'May the supreme Director of all events give wisdom, stability and union in all our counsels; inspire our soldiery with courage and fortitude; cover their heads in the day of battle and danger; convince our enemies of their mistaken measures, and that all attempts to deprive us of our rights are injurious and vain.'[43]

[42] § Schuyler to Wash., July 18, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1685. Tory: Maseres to Shelburne, Aug. 24, 1775 (Bancroft Coll., Eng. and Am., Aug., 1775-Dec., 1776, p. 25). S. Mott to Trumbull, June 30, 1775: Trumbull Papers, IV., p. 124.

[43] § Journ. Cong., May 30; June 19. Secret Journ. Cong., June 27. N. Y. Cong. to Delegs., June 7, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1281. July 3, Schuyler wrote from N. Y.: 'I shall leave this to-day' (Cont. Cong. Papers, 153, I., p. 15). Trumbull to Mass. Cong, June 27, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1116.

VII

CANADA REACHES A CRISIS

THE tenth day of April, 1775, witnessed a striking scene in London, for the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs, the Aldermen, and the Livery of that great city presented themselves at St. James's, and waited on His Majesty, King George the Third. Their business was to offer a petition for the dismissal of the Ministers, as the first step towards redress for America; and among their complaints resounded the cry of Canada: 'The Habeas Corpus Act, and Trial by Jury, have been suppressed, and French Despotick Government, with the Roman Catholick Religion, has been established by law over an extensive part of your Majesty's Dominions, in America.'[1]

When the petition had been read aloud (though its contents had been made known in advance), it was handed to the Lord Mayor, 'who delivered it to the King with a half-bent knee and the most profound reverence.' His Majesty passed it to the Lord in waiting, and deliberately drew a paper from his pocket. 'George, be a king!' had been drummed into his youthful ears by his mother, and with more than filial obedience his broad back stiffened obstinately to the task. The petition, he declared, had filled him with the 'utmost astonishment'; and as for heeding it,—'I will steadily pursue' the measures already decided upon, he assured the Mayor. A silence of two minutes followed, a silence of fate. Then the Lord

[1] This paragraph and the next: 4 Force, V., 1853, note; 1854. 'Be a king': Thackeray, Geo. III.

Mayor bowed low, retreated backward to the middle of the room, made a second obeisance, retired to the door, and there bowed once more. The King moved his hat to his Lordship, 'and thus ended the business.' At any rate so His Majesty fancied.

But perhaps it was the Colonies, not Canada, that King George had made up his mind, or at least his back, to override. Perhaps his government would have surrendered the Quebec Act, had that alone been objected to. A few weeks more, and the attitude of the Administration on this matter also was made clear.

The humble traders of Canada, spotted—as they were believed to be—with Colonial uppishness, had felt no glowing confidence in their power to bend the Sceptre; but their grievances pinched; and the cry of pain, though perhaps not wholly genuine, was both natural and convenient. Not only political extinction but commercial ruin was said to wait—and wait impatiently—at their door. What else could be expected, they asked, under laws made by a Council sworn to secrecy, under old French rules, ambiguous and unfamiliar, and under alien methods of justice, tedious and costly? The Indian trade would be exposed to every sort of vexation, and would very likely drift in large measure to New York. The 'late converts to loyalty' would be everywhere favored, and themselves entirely excluded by the government 'from all confidence or even common civility.' It was resolved, therefore, as the result of the agitation and the meetings in October, 1774, to show His Majesty and Parliament 'the Share *we* have of the Trade, the landed Property *we* possess, the miserable State *we* found this Province in, and the flourishing State *we* have brought it to.' A petition for repeal or substantial amendment took shape; and it was agreed, not only to arouse the zeal of all commercial friends in England with urgent letters, but

to give Mr. Maseres a handsome purse, with the promise of a still larger sum in the event of success.[2]

The French-Canadians were plied with all sorts of arguments more or less trustworthy.

The object of repeal, explained their British neighbors, was to save their little properties; to deprive the Governor of his power to send them up-country among the savages, or south to fight the Bostonians; 'in short,' as Carleton sarcastically observed, 'to relieve them from the Oppressions and Slavery' imposed upon them by the Quebec Act. These were arguments the Canadians could feel, could not help feeling. Their farms, their cabins, their affectionate, good-natured wives, their children,—already dear,—grew dearer still at the thought of losing them. The recent war had left dreadful memories. They wished no more such horrors; and it was reported seriously that, as married men could not be forced to do militia service, the young fellows now hurried into this pleasant avenue of escape, till soon there was 'hardly an unmarried Man to be found in all the country.' The prospect of compulsory tithes, the reinstatement of the nobles, and what an Englishman called 'the wantonly and profusely inventing places for creatures and sycophants' of the Governor, though less vital offences, galled them severely. Almon's *Remembrancer* declared later that the famous Act had displeased nine-tenths of the people; and, while no such calculation could be made as yet, the case already stood, perhaps, at about that figure. 'A very little matter would have induced the Canadians to unite in a body to petition for a Repeal,' wrote a gentleman from Quebec. Indeed, some 'Canadian farmers and others, being

[2] § See p. 68. Petition, Apr. 2, 1778: Can. Arch., B, 43, p. 13. (Though later, this merely states the case of 1775.) Intercepted letter of Fraser: Essex Gazette, June 8, 1775. Montreal letter, Oct. 9, 1774: N. Y. Journal, Nov. 10, 1774, p. 3. Petition, Nov. 12, 1774: Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 98. Carleton to Dartmouth, Nov. 11, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 17.

greatly alarmed' by the action of Parliament, begged leave 'to acquaint the gentlemen of the committee for Montreal that any legal steps they should take for the repeal' of the hated act would be approved of; and, further, they denounced the French petition that gave ostensible cause for passing the law as 'contrived and obtained in a clandestine and fraudulent manner, by a few designing men, in order to get themselves into posts of profit and honor.'[1]

On the other side, all species of counter influences were used. One morning, a young boy stopped Monsieur Olry in the street at Quebec and handed him a paper. It was a letter in French urging the Canadians not to join in moving for repeal; and, as report would have it that some students at the Seminary worked for days copying the same document for dispersion through the province, the Bishop's hand appeared to have signed it,—only with invisible ink. The French had no tradition of such interference with the government as the British proposed. Carleton's tremendous powers overawed them. Some were informed that, should the Act be repealed, the Canadian Protestants would have full control and abolish their religion. The clergy sent out circulars intended to reconcile them to it; and no doubt Carleton, as well as the subordinate officials, did everything possible to explain its meaning. Besides, the Canadian shrank from allying himself too closely with the British, because a whisper came from the bottom of his heart that in effect, at least, Quebec was to be a French province again, and no Briton save the Governor was to hold office there. So—baffled, misled, intimidated, muzzled, yet unconvinced—the mass of the people still brooded in silence

[1] § Carleton to Dartmouth, Nov. 11: Note 2. Withrow, Canada, p. 134. Marrying: N. E. Chron., May 2, 1775. Maseres, Add. Papers, pp. 102, 103. Almon, Rememb., 1776, Part I., p. 130. Farmers: Quebec letter, Oct. 24, 1774 (N. Y. Journal, Dec. 1, 1774).

GEORGE THE THIRD

under a smiling face. As the Quebec gentleman put it, 'no one cared to step forth.'[4]

The British petitions, however, adorned with nearly two hundred names, made their way across the wintry Atlantic, and presented themselves at the capital in January, 1775. No less wintry proved the metropolis,—at all events the most important spots of it. Even before the signers had put their hands to the parchments, a letter from London had predicted, with biting humor, that they would go 'to make kites for the great and little babes at Kew and Buckingham House.' About the time they arrived, a Londoner remarked: 'The petitions that are intended to be presented by the Protestants of Quebec, it is now certainly known, are the manufactures of two or three uneasy patriots in this metropolis, and are signed by a very contemptible number indeed, and no doubt will be received by the Sovereign with the contempt they deserve': possibly as safe a venture at prediction as ever a prophet undertook. With some force, no doubt, the petitions touched certain springs of alarm; but, in view of the general poor opinion of their authors, they excited resentment far more, —'bitter resentment,' said the *Annual Register*. 'The proposition has been stirred up to answer factious views,' declared the Earl of Dartmouth.[5]

The documents could not pass, evidently, through the official channel; and on that ground the Secretary of State for the Colonies declined to lay them before Parliament. A weary journey they then began in search of good-will. At many a noble door they knocked in vain. Week after week and month after month, they travelled and waited; but at length, on the seventeenth of May, Lord Camden

---

[4] § Olry: Maseres, Account, p. 264. Abolish: ib., p. 134. Walker, Apr. 8, 1775: Mass. Arch., Vol. 193, p. 83. Letter quoted: Maseres, Add. Papers, p. 103.

[5] § Petition: Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 98. Parl. report: 4 Force, I., 1823–1838. N. Y. Journal, Nov. 3, 1774. Mass. Gazette, Mar. 27, 1775. Annual Register, 1776, p. 9. Dartmouth to Cramahé, Apr. 6, 1775: Can. Arch., Q, 10, p. 42.

ventured to act as sponsor in the Chamber of Peers, and the next day Sir George Savile performed the same charitable office in the lower House. The Opposition were now ready. As Dartmouth phrased it, 'The Attempt made to raise new Difficulties to Gov[ernmen]t on the ground of the Petitions from the old Subjects in Quebec' received the support of their 'whole Strength.' The enlargement of the province, exclaimed Lord Camden, was intended to establish 'an eternal barrier . . . against the further extension of civil liberty and the Protestant religion.' The Quebec Bill, cried another, had 'struck a damp' upon the credit of the country. Barré denounced it as a 'monstrous production of tyranny, injustice and arbitrary power.' The wounds of murdered Habeas Corpus and the jury system were displayed afresh. Savile asked where the regiment of French-Canadian papists would march, and when their task would end. 'They will march till they come to water they cannot cross, and shoot until powder and ball are used up,' he protested, with an eye on the Colonies to the south.[6]

But even this aim failed to hit. The Prime Minister rose. By this time the issue between Great Britain and the Americans had been greatly sharpened; blood had flowed; and he thought he could afford now to be halfway frank. 'I stand up in my place,' he replied; 'I stand up in my place to assert that if the refractory Colonies cannot be reduced to obedience by the present force, I think it a necessary measure to arm the Roman Catholics of Canada.' In the end, King George's back and Lord North's head triumphed once more, and the Earl of Dartmouth had the satisfaction of informing Carleton that

---

[6] § Parl. report: 4 Force, I., 1823–1838. The report gives the substance, not the form, of Savile's remark. Dartmouth to Carleton, June 7, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 211.

a 'Great Majority in both Houses' proved how little the petitions had accomplished.[7]

Long before the vote was taken, this result could be foreseen, without a doubt; and the gentlemen in Quebec and Montreal must have received early notice what to expect.

No longer checked by the hope of repeal, discontent then grew apace. Many, if not most, of the merchants talked of leaving the province; but their affairs could not be wound up in a day, and they growled on. The increasing distrust with which the Governor regarded them, and the growing favor shown, quite naturally, to the ostentatious loyalty of the Bishop and the nobles, vexed them daily. The military party grew more offensive than ever. Even a stanch Tory like Major Caldwell, proprietor of the most important seigneury in Canada, complained sharply when the Governor, suspecting, no doubt, that his coolness barely cloaked sedition, ignored his claims to recognition. At the same time, the French commoners felt a new disgust on observing that no man from their commercial class received a summons to the Council. They figured sourly on the cost of the half-pay and salaries allotted to their ancient oppressors, grumbled over the unpopular appointments to the bench, and resented the arrogance of the regulars. La Corne himself, terrible though he was, had little success in firing the Canadian heart with loyalty,—so Ferris reported.[8]

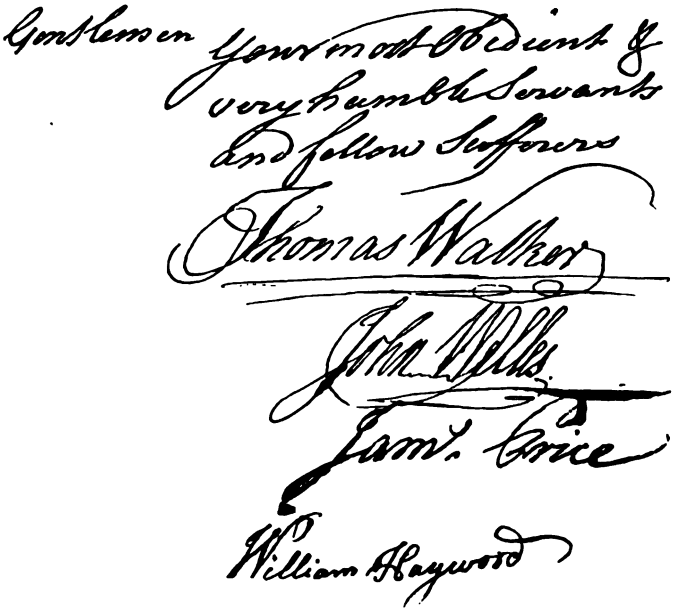
Some quailed as they saw the sky darken. 'I pray God to grant peace on almost any terms; the blood of British subjects is very precious,' wrote McCord to Lieutenant Pettegrew. Not so Thomas Walker, however. 'Few in this Colony dare vent their Griefs; but groan in

---

[7] § North: 4 Force, I., 1836. Dartmouth: Note 6.

[8] ‡ Fraser's letter (Brown): N. E. Chron., June 8, 1775. Caldwell to ——, May —, 1775: MSS. of Marq. of Lansdowne, Vol. 66, fo. 97. Letter quoted by Maseres, Add. Papers, pp. 102, 103. Allen to Mass. Cong., June 9, 1775: 4 Force, II., 939. Ferris: Journ. Mass. Cong., p. 714 (Easton's letter).

Silence, and dream of Lettres de Cachet, Confiscations' and Imprisonments,' he wrote Samuel Adams; but he for one belonged among the few. Not content with offering up 'fervent Prayers to the Throne of Grace' to prosper the Colonial cause, or possibly not sufficiently confident



FROM THE LETTER OF APRIL 8, 1775, TO SAMUEL ADAMS AND HIS ASSOCIATES.

of achieving much there, he declared aloud that the Colonists were brave people, and would fight for their liberty and their rights while they had a drop of blood left.[9]

With equal vigor he proclaimed his own rights. One

[9] § McCord to Pettegrew, Apr. 27, 1775: 4 Force, II., 846. Walker to S Adams, Apr 8, 1775: Mass. Arch., Vol. 103, p. 83. Intelligence received by Carleton, Apr. 5, 1775: Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 149.

day, overhearing a discussion on politics in the market-place at Montreal, he promptly joined the group of disputants.

'We are not judges between England and the Colonies,' maintained a prominent French loyalist named Rouville, while a large number of *habitants* listened.

'Blood,' interrupted Walker, 'Blood will wash off the stains with which the Ministers have soiled the Constitution. We must have blood, and then in a few years everything will be set right. As for you Canadians, it only depends on yourselves, if you wish to be free. This is the moment, if you choose to take advantage of it.'

'These people listening to you and me have never been slaves, any more than yourself,' replied Rouville; 'and our submissiveness to the King and his government is an assurance that we shall always be free.'

'What do you call the King?' demanded Walker sharply.

'My sovereign, my lord, and my master,' answered Rouville, according to his own account.

'An Englishman owns not the King for his master,' was the quick retort; 'the King is not my master, for I don't eat his bread. Were I an officer, I should own him for my master, and obey him as such; but at present I am his subject only, and am ready to obey the laws.'

'No matter what you call him, he is going to be your master,' answered Rouville, turning away. To help fulfill this prediction, he reported the dialogue to Governor Carleton, and soon the general discontent was heightened by his appointment as judge at a salary—people understood—of £700 a year.[10]

On May-day, 1775, the great Quebec Act began to operate; and from this date—so the malcontents had com-

---

[10] § Rouville: Can. Arch., Q. 11, p. 140. Mrs. Walker, Journal. Letter from Quebec: 4 Force, III., 1185. Letter quoted, Maseres, Add. Papers, p. 102.

plained—Governor Carleton, clothed with 'much greater power than a Spanish Vice Roy,' was to hold in his hand 'the Lives and Properties of every Person' in Canada. Now their bitter anticipations were to be fulfilled: '*We* must be reduced to the unhappy Necessity of living as Slaves, or abandoning the Country, and a great Part of *our* Property.'[11]

As the first thin light of dawn glimmered up the St. Lawrence, all the people shuffling hurriedly across the Parade stopped aghast. Forgetting their errands, forgetting the morning chill, they stiffened and stayed as if suddenly frozen. Before them under its canopy stood the lordly bust of King George, a familiar sight for some years past. But now a ridiculous mitre crowned the head; the testy features of white marble were black; and round the neck hung a rosary of potatoes, cut like beads, with a wooden cross at the end of it and a label in French, reading: 'This is the Pope of Canada and the Fool of England.'[12]

Some one notified the authorities, both civil and military; and immediately drums went beating round the town—followed impressively by the grenadiers of the 26th Regiment—with an offer of one hundred guineas for the discovery of the culprits. Fast grew the crowd; and it soon warmed out of its ice. For one reason or another everybody was angry. The military gentlemen charged the British merchants, and especially their committee, with the outrage. Walker was ill at the time, but no doubt his party retorted with the story of his ear; and

---

[11] Quebec letter: N. Y. Journal: Nov. 10, 1774, p. 3.

[12] § This paragraph and the next (accounts differ somewhat, as usual): Carleton to Dartmouth, May 15, 1775 (Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 161); Maseres, Add. Papers, pp. 155-163; letter to Maseres, June 22, 1775 (Bancroft Coll., Eng. and Amer., Jan.-Aug., 1775, p. 482; Mrs. Walker, Journal; Letter to Finlay, May 6, 1775 (4 Force, II, 518); Quebec Gazette, May 11, 1775; Smith, Canada, II., p. 73; Bourinot, Canada under British Rule, p. 48; Verreau, Invasion, p. 335; Hart, Queb. Act, p. 5. White marble: Liv. Journal, Nov. 17. Reward, etc.: Maseres, Add. Papers, pp. 155, 156.

they met all insinuations by adding a sum of their own to the reward offered by the authorities. The French, indignant at the abuse of their language, or fearful of the consequences, raged in chorus. The Jews were accused; and one of them, to refute the charge, knocked down a Canadian. An Englishman's nose was pulled; and then a second Frenchman rolled on the ground. Monsieur Bellestre, a Canadian of some note, got into hot words with a young gentleman lately of Philadelphia, and from words into blows; upon which the new judges had soldiers with fixed bayonets hustle the American to jail, and blew the public fire by illegally refusing him bail. The drums beat in vain; and an attempt to burn the town—if it was not a case of spontaneous combustion—fairly registered the exasperation of the people.

Of course the political excitement boiled now more fiercely than ever. The judges found out their mistake, and offered to accept bail; but the Philadelphian rejected the olive branch: let the world see how British subjects were treated in Canada. 'The English in this country are in a deplorable situation, being deprived of all their liberties and privileges,' lamented Randle Meredith to John Rowe of Boston the next day. The Act 'has had such effect upon me (as an Englishman),' complained another man gloomily, 'that it has much impaired my health, finding myself married and perhaps settled for life under the royal promise of the enjoyment of the rights and privileges, laws and customs of Great Britain, then in a moment by an Act of a British Parliament, deprived of all.' After a time, an opinion of the Attorney-General set the Philadelphian free, but this did not stop the agitation. A Petition at Quebec and a Remonstrance at Montreal fed the flames. People began to think that Walker's prediction of a few days before was coming true: 'Little by little you will discover the aim of the

Minister, which is to deprive you of your Rights and your Property,' and also as if his advice had been sound: 'the only way to save them is to send delegates to the coming Congress; that will secure them.' Stung to action at last, the British merchants of Montreal despatched Mr. Price—a quieter but not less active Friend of Liberty than Walker—as their informal representative at Philadelphia.[13]

The gentry, meanwhile, received the new régime as might have been expected. Very well pleased they could afford to be, since—as a gentleman in Montreal put it—they expected now 'to lord it over the industrious Farmer and Trader, and live upon their Spoils, as they did before the Conquest.' 'Too much elated with the advantages which they supposed they should derive from the restoration of their old Priviledges & Customs,' wrote the Tory Chief-Justice, they 'indulged themselves in a way of thinking & talking that gave very just offence, as well to their own People as to the English merchants.' 'I 'm going to tell the General,' now began to be their song—and indeed the song of Canadians below their rank sometimes—if anything crossed their interest or their touchy pride. 'The Pre eminence given to their Religion,' said Walker, 'together with a Participation of Honours & Offices in common with the English, not only flatters their natural Pride & Vanity, but is regarded by them, as a mark of Distinction & Merit that lays open their way to Fortune. of Liberty, or Law, they have not the least Notion.' Even the Governor suffered from their self-conceit. Monsieur de L'Hory had seemed to him the fittest leader for his proposed Canadian troops; and, with that in view, he placed him in the Council and

---

[13] Carleton to Dartmouth, May 15, 1775: Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 161. Meredith, May 2, 1775: 4 Force, II., 846. Letter to Maseres, June 22, 1775: Bancroft Coll., Eng. and Am., Jan.-Aug., 1775, p. 482. Walker: Intelligence from Montreal (in French) (Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 169). Price: Conn. Com. to Conn. Assembly, May 23, 1775 (Journ. Mass. Cong., p. 707); Montg. to Schuyler, Dec. 26, 1775 (4 Force, IV., 464).

IN OLD MONTREAL

found him an income of £400 a year. Yet, when it came to the question of doing something, the fellow insisted upon having the rank of a colonel in the regular service, and Carleton dropped him in disgust. But the gentry could be reckoned on for one thing besides vanity and folly: 'the noblesse are our bitter enemies,' Price correctly stated; and indeed for another thing—they craved war as earnestly as the peasants craved peace; for war, and that alone, would make them of value.[14]

The attitude of the clergy, while more subtle, was almost equally loyal to the government. Brown, at the time of his Canadian visit, met several priests in a village near Montreal, 'praying over the Body of an old Frier.' A pamphlet containing the Address of Congress 'was soon handed them, who sent a Messenger to purchase several—I made them a Present of each of them one,' reported the envoy, 'and was desired to wait on them in the Nunnery with the holy Sisters, they appeared to have no Disposition unfriendly toward the Colonies but chose rather to stand nuter.'[15]

One accustomed to the ways of the Catholic clergy would perhaps have been less ready to draw the inference; yet it was true that the parish priests, rising from the mass of common people, had no little sympathy with their class, and a letter from Montreal, speaking of the plan to raise a Canadian army, said, 'the Priests we are assured disapprove of it.' But the opinions of the curés had little weight indeed in determining the policy of the Church. 'The bishop is the only person in the province he seems to pay any particular attention to,' said Caldwell of the

---

[14] § Montreal letter in N. Y. Journal, Nov. 10, 1774. Hey to Chancellor, Aug. 28, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 12, p. 365. Anburey, Travels, I., p. 72. Walker to S. Adams, Apr. 8, 1775: Mass. Arch., Vol. 193, p. 83. L'Hory: Caldwell (Note 8.) Price: Conn. Com. to Conn. Assembly, May 23, 1775 (Journ. Mass. Cong., p. 707).

[15] § Brown: Mass. Arch., Vol. 193, p. 41.

Governor; and of course a return for all such favor was expected. First, circular letters directed all the parish priests to send the names of proper men for captains of militia, bailiffs, and town-keepers. Then the Bishop was requested to influence the Canadians to take up arms; and, while he demurred to so martial a step, as not proper for the Church, he addressed a Mandement 'To All the People of this Province' which signified about the same.[16]

'A troop of subjects in revolt against their lawful Sovereign—who is at the same time ours,' declared His Reverence, 'have just made an irruption into this Province, less in the hope of maintaining themselves here than with a view of dragging you into their revolt or at least to prevent you from opposing their pernicious design. The remarkable goodness and gentleness with which we have been governed by His Very Gracious Majesty King George the Third since the fortune of war subjected us to his rule; the recent favors with which he has loaded us . . . would no doubt be enough to excite your gratitude and zeal in support of the interests of the British Crown. But motives even more urgent must speak to your heart at the present moment. Your oaths, your religion lay upon you the unavoidable duty of defending your country and your King with all the strength you possess.' This Mandement, says Têtu, 'ensured to the English all the influence of the clergy.'[17]

At the same time, those mightiest of arguments, events, began to be felt in Canada. One day a letter addressed to her husband was handed Mrs. Walker. She dutifully

---

[16] § Montreal letter in Essex Gazette, Mar. 14, 1775. Caldwell: Note 8. Têtu, Evêques (p. 307), attributes the passage of the Quebec Act largely to the 'extraordinary ascendancy' of the Bishop over the Governor; but this language seems far too strong. Demur: Maseres to Shelburne, Aug. 24, 1775 (Bancroft Coll., Eng. and Am., Aug., 1775-Dec., 1776, p. 25); Gordon, U. S., I., pp. 923, 924. Mandement (in French), May 22, 1775: Têtu, Evêques, p. 326.

[17] Têtu, Evêques, p. 327. See Smith, Canada, II., p. 74.

opened it and read: 'I Breakfast here & expect soon to see you & my friends at Montreal,'—Benedict Arnold, Ticonderoga. Close to the Canadian border, war had begun; and soon both Arnold and Allen crossed the frontier. At first, only distorted news of their doings arrived. Rumors were many, facts but few. Caldwell heard at Quebec that one Allen 'had a Commission from the Congress under Arnold,' and 'headed a Number of freebooters & outlaws that live at a place called the Green Mountains.'[18]

On May the nineteenth, in the evening, a ship from Boston dropped anchor under the guns of Quebec, and at last Carleton received Gage's order to send troops to Lake Champlain. He began at once to plan the business; but the next morning a tired, travel-stained countryman toiled up the bluff, and presented himself at the Castle gate. It was Moses Hazen, a half-pay captain settled very near St. Johns; and he brought the first news both of Arnold's visit there and of the events to the southward. During the next evening, tidings of Allen's raid came by express.[19]

Two days later Carleton left Quebec for the west. The Fusiliers at the capital marched up the St. Lawrence. Captain Strong and the small garrison of Three Rivers hurried off the same way. 'The Consternation in the Towns and Country was great and universal,' admitted the Governor. Alarming stories trod on one another's heels. Arnold had told Captain Hazen, it was rumored, that fifteen hundred or two thousand men followed him; and he certainly did write Walker a week or so later that he had about a thousand soldiers at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, with the expectation of two thousand more

---

[18] § Mrs. Walker, Journal. Caldwell: Note 8.

[19] § Carleton to Dartmouth, June 7, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 283. Mrs. Walker, Journal. Hazen: Liv., Journal, Nov. 21.

'in a few Days.' Allen was reported as commanding three hundred at St. Johns, and nine hundred more a short distance away. Ainslie, the Collector of Customs at Quebec, heard of its being 'openly said' at Albany, that the 'friends of Liberty' would penetrate as far as

LORD NORTH

possible into Canada during the summer. Indeed, it was rumored that 'a complete conquest' of the province was to be made. Word came that the captors of the forts were hanging Tories. They seemed violent and dangerous fellows; and their performances did not look much like friendship and union. The New Hampshire Congress received notice from a prominent citizen, in close

touch with the north, that the Canadians felt greatly alarmed.[20]

Then set in a roll the other way. Arnold, it became known, had remained only a few hours at St. Johns. Allen's reassuring message to the Montreal merchants had its effect. The Continental Congress declared that the forts had been seized merely for the sake of self-defence. On the twenty-fifth of May, the Congress of New York, fearing 'evil-minded persons' might insinuate that the patriots had 'hostile intentions against our fellow-subjects in Canada,' voted that it would consider any attack upon these brethren 'as infamous, and highly inimical to all the American Colonies.' As soon as possible, a soothing Letter to the Canadians received the sanction of the Congress, and two thousand copies were ordered to be distributed among them with all possible despatch. 'We consider you as our friends,' it said, 'and we feel for you the affection of brothers.' Hinman received orders 'to keep up the strictest vigilance to prevent any hostile incursions from being made into the settlements of the province of Quebec'; and, on the first of June, the Continental Congress itself passed a resolution to that effect, ordering a translation of it in French to be distributed among the Canadians.[21]

Three days later, Allen and Easton sent a long peal of their own—or rather, of Allen's own—across the border: 'People of Canada, Greeting; Friends & fellow Countrymen . . . Hostilities have already begun—To fight the King's Troops has become a necessary & incumbent duty—The Colonies cannot avoid it. But pray is it

---

[20] § Carleton: Note 19. Caldwell: Note 8. Ursul. de. T. Riv., I., p. 362. Verreau, Invasion (Sanguinet), p. 28; (Badeaux), p. 165. Arnold to Walker, May 24: Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 196. Ainslie, Journal (Introduction). Précis of Oper. Conquest: Maseres to Shelburne, Aug. 24, 1775 (MSS. of Marq. of Lansdowne, Vol. 66, fo. 113). Wheelock to N. H. Cong., June 28: 4 Force, II., 1541.

[21] § Carleton: Note 19. N. Y.: 4 Force, II., 1252, 893, 1270. Hinman: Trumbull to N. Y. Cong., May 29, 1775 (Journ. Mass. Cong., p. 709). Journ. Cong., June 1, 1775.

necessary that the Canadians & the inhabitants of the English Colonies should butcher one another—God forbid, there are no controversies subsisting between you & them. Nay let old England & the Colonies fight it out & you Canadians stand by & see what an arm of flesh can do—' About a week more, and Massachusetts, after begging the Continental Congress to reassure the Canadians, wrote the other New England governments in a similar strain; while, about the same time, New York addressed the 'Gentlemen merchants of the Province of Quebec' with a view to the establishing of a regular post, and declared that in prosecuting the idea of freedom she included her 'brethren the inhabitants of the Province of Quebeck, as far as would consist with the utmost of their wishes.' [22]

Meanwhile Jay, Samuel Adams, and Deane prepared an Address to the Oppressed Inhabitants of Canada; and the Grand Congress, after calling in 'a gentleman in town,' who could give 'a full and just account of the state of Affairs in Canada,' endorsed it. [23]

'By the introduction of your present form of government, or rather present form of tyranny, you and your wives and your children are made slaves,' it was argued. 'You have nothing that you can call your own, and all the fruits of your labor and industry may be taken from you, whenever an avaritious governor and a rapacious council may incline to demand them. You are liable by their edicts to be transported into foreign countries to fight Battles in which you have no interest. . . . Nay, the enjoyment of your very religion, on the present system, depends on a legislature in which you have no share, and over which you have no controul. . . . We can never believe that the present race of Canadians are

[22] § Allen and Easton: Sparks MSS., No. 29, p. 284. Mass. Cong., June 13: 4 Force, II., 1410, etc. N. Y., June 12: 4 Force, II., 1294.

[23] § Journ. Cong., May 26, 27, 29. The letter was drafted by Jay (Johnston, Jay, I., p. 32). The 'gentleman in town' was probably Price.

so degenerated as to possess neither the spirit, the gallantry, nor the courage of their ancestors. . . . We, for our parts, are determined to live free, or not at all; and are resolved, that posterity shall never reproach us with having brought slaves into the world.'

As for the hostilities on the lakes, 'Permit us again to repeat that we are your friends, not your enemies.' 'The great law of self-preservation' dictated what was done. Besides, those forts were intended 'to cut off that friendly intercourse and communication, which has hitherto subsisted between you and us.' 'These colonies will pursue no measures whatever, but such as friendship and a regard for our mutual safety and interest may suggest.'

Yet good-will deserves a return. 'As our concern for your welfare entitles us to your friendship, we presume you will not, by doing us injury, reduce us to the disagreeable necessity of treating you as enemies. We yet entertain hopesof your uniting with us in the defenceof our common liberty, and there is yet reason to believe, that should we join in imploring the attention of our sovereign to the unmerited and unparalleled oppressions of his American subjects, he will at length be undeceived, and forbid a licentious Ministry any longer to riot in the ruins of the rights of Mankind.' Dickinson and Mifflin had the Address translated, and a thousand copies were struck off, to be scattered in Canada. [24]

And what effect had all this in the north? Old animosities and new enmities; conflicts of race, religion, caste, and party; jealousies, ambitions, disappointments, insults; the terrors of the Church, the authority of government, the dread of despotism, the magical name of liberty; dangers on all sides, menaces from all parties, war actually at the door,—how were the people making up their minds?

[24] § Journ. Cong., May 29.

The British anti-government party, the party of remonstrance and petition, soon found itself broken to pieces. Some, like Walker, still believed that only the success of the Colonies would free them from the 'jealous Fears and Apprehensions' that robbed them of their peace, and like him dared assure people that 'the Bostonians would harm no one, except those who took up arms against them'; and some reflected that the Colonies had it in their power, as a correspondent of Maseres pointed out, 'to harass the Country, destroy the best corn parishes, and ruin the Indian trade,'—the chief resources of the province. But there were others who repented heartily of their opposition to the government, now that opposition seemed to be ending in revolt. 'Grumbletonians' against the Quebec Act, they had intended, as the loyalist Ainslie said, to rouse the country for repeal, not for rebellion. Still others were dominated by timidity, conservatism, fears about their property, or personal influences; and some held aloof deliberately, to see which side of the fence would prove the more agreeable. The old difficulty —that non-importation agreement—still raised a bar between the British merchants and the United Colonies; and, in addition, the Congress had recently forbidden all exporting to Nova Scotia, St. John's Island, or New-

THOMAS WALKER'S HOUSE

foundland, and all furnishing of supplies to the British fisheries on the coast,—another obstacle to trade, should Canada join the league."

To tell the truth, however, this failure of the British in Quebec and Montreal to support the American side as a body counted for little. They possessed no great material strength. 'We have neither Numbers, nor Wealth sufficient to do you any essential Service,' Walker admitted.[25] Ideas were their power. They weighed mainly as an educational force; and now, precisely when they had taken the Canadians through their whole curriculum, the closing-bell of school-work sounded, the hour for action struck.

Yet they still had one or two parting lessons to give, by way of valedictory. Carleton, hastening to Montreal and ordering his few troops 'to assemble at or near St. John's,' endeavored to organize a defence. The gentry showed great zeal, and some of the younger men took post, as a volunteer body, at the front. The British also waved the flag. A deputation waited upon the Governor at Montreal, assuring him they were ready to form in line at a moment's warning for the defence of the city; and upon that he issued commissions to three of the merchants. But the commissions were declined: 'their affairs would not admit of it.' 'They had only meant to take up arms as volunteers, but not to subject themselves to be ordered out away from their families and affairs upon every false alarm.' Neither did they relish the idea of 'going out on a wild goose chase, with full assurance of being overpowered and drawing the resentment of all the colonies' upon them. The Governor felt very deeply incensed, particularly that such an example should be

[25] § Walker: Note 9. Deposition of Deschamp (in French): Can. Arch., B. 184, 1, p. 6. Letter to Maseres, June 22, 1775: Note 12. Ainslie, Journal (Introd.). Têtu, Evêques, p. 327. Journ. Cong., May 17.

[26] Walker: Note 9.

set the French; and he said something that went about as a threat to burn the city and retire to Quebec. 'We will carry as much fire as he,' retorted some of the merchants; and that was no doubt exactly true. [27]

But what of the Canadians, the real Canada? What ideas were circulating under the thatch of their cabins and the thatch of their heads? Was the weight of that province to back up the remonstrances of the Colonies? Was America to be a unit in resisting the Ministers? Were ten thousand Canadian bayonets to wheel into line with the Continentals at the trump of war? Or were these levies, stiffened by regulars and flanked by the Indians, to sweep across the lakes, descend the Hudson, cut the chain of Colonies, and end the revolt? Not only had Carleton reckoned upon them, and North brandished them as thunderbolts at the Americans, but Gage was already laying plans for their march. On the twelfth of June, he recommended to Dartmouth that fifteen thousand men, including Canadians, hunters, and Indians, be employed 'on this side,' ten thousand on the side of New York, and seven thousand, including 'a large Corps of Canadians and Indians . . . on the side of Lake Champlain.' [28]

Apollo himself might have hesitated to declare the omens. Carleton did not pretend to read them. 'I have many Doubts whether I shall be able to succeed' in raising a Canadian battalion, he confessed. At Montreal, on the very first sign of organizing the people, there was great opposition in one of the suburbs, and the officers who

---

[27] § Carleton to Dartmouth, June 7, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec 11, p. 283. Verreau (Sanguinet), Invasion, pp. 31-33. Letter to Maseres, June 22, 1775: Note 12. Hay's report, through Swart: 4 Force, II., 1048. Arnold's information to Trumbull: Journ. Mass. Cong., p. 372. See Arnold to Cont. Cong., June 13, 1775: 4 Force, II., 976.

[28] § Carleton (to Shelburne, Nov. 25, 1767: Can. Arch., Report for 1888, p. 41) said the Canadians could put 18,000 bayonets into the field; but his estimate of the population (150,000: Cavendish, Debates, p. 103) was much too large. Gage, June 12, 1775: Bancroft Coll., Eng. and Am., Jan.–Aug., 1775, p. 275.

undertook to make a list of the men came near being stoned by their wives. It was evident now, the Governor understood, that both gentry and clergy had 'lost much of their Influence over the people.' 'He may indeed be puzzeled a little,' admitted even the unfriendly Caldwell. Still, added Caldwell, 'ever accustomd to Receive the King's orders with Respect & obey them with Alacrity they will I think turn out when Orderd.' 'Their ideas,' the Chief-Justice of Canada had testified before the House of Commons; 'Their ideas are a perfect submission to the Crown.' *Les Ordres du Roi*,—how could instincts, traditions, and habits fail to respond?[29]

The Governor pondered. One thing was certain, he reflected: 'For my Part since my Return to this Province, I have seen good Cause to repent my having ever recommended the Habeas Corpus Act [in criminal cases] and English Criminal Laws. . . To render the Colony of that Advantage to Great Britain, it certainly is capable of, would require the reintroducing the French Criminal Law, and all the Powers of its Government.' But powers as great lay in his hand: why not use them? Why not have military rule, as after the Conquest? That was precisely what the noblesse advised: 'the only thing,' they said, that could possibly reform the people, 'and bring them back to the good old habits.' The Governor pondered long; he was a soldier; he was an honest and able administrator; he believed in strong, efficient rule; and finally, on the ninth of June, with all the thunders of his great authority, he spoke.[30]

---

[29] § Carleton to Dartmouth, June 7, 1775: Note 27. Caldwell to ——, May —, 1775: Note 8. Montreal: Verreau (Sanguinet), Invasion, p. 34. Hey: Cavendish, Debates, p. 145.

[30] § Carleton to Dartmouth, June 7, 1775: Note 27. Maseres to Shelburne, Aug. 24, 1775: MSS. of Marq. of Lansdowne, Vol. 66, fo. 113.

VIII

CONGRESS HESITATES BUT CROSSES

'*BY his Excellency Guy Carleton, Captain-General and Governour-in-Chief in and over the Province of Quebec, . . . Vice-Admiral of the same, and Major-General of His Majesty's Forces, commanding the Northern District: A Proclamation . . . To the end, therefore, that so treasonable an invasion may be soon defeated; that all such traitors, with their said abetters, may be speedily brought to justice, and the publick peace and tranquillity of this Province again restored, which the ordinary course of the civil law is at present unable to effect, . . . I shall . . . execute martial law, and cause the same to be executed throughout this Province, and to that end, I shall order the Militia within the same to be forthwith raised. . . . Given under my hand and seal of arms at Montreal, this 9th day of June, 1775.*'[1]

Long and loud, from one end of Quebec to the other, rolled the thunders of this proclamation; and, as the echoes faded away, all, from the highest to the lowest, looked anxiously for the consequences.

Carleton himself saw little to reassure him. 'I have proclaimed the Martial law, and ordered the Militia to be enrolled; what I shall be able to make of them, or of the Savages, I cannot yet positively say, but I am sure it is become highly necessary to try': so he wrote some two weeks later.[2]

---

[1] 4 Force, II., 940.

[2] Carleton to Dartmouth, June 26, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 309.

Naturally the noblesse and the ultra loyalists applauded the measure; but the moderate liberals condemned it vigorously. 'And now, to crown the whole of our misfortunes, the Governor has established martial law,' exclaimed a British-Canadian to Maseres; 'The Forts which the Provincials have taken possession of are out of this Province. It is true a few of them came about St. John's armed; but they did not in the least molest the Canadians. A very small pretext this for establishing that which is most of all things to be dreaded *Martial Law*, which is rarely executed but in times of war, and on certain assurance of an invasion from some enemy. But we are so situated that we have nothing to fear from the Colonies unless we molest them first, which in common prudence we ought to avoid, unless we had a regular force to defend us.'[3]

How Walker's party would feel could easily be foretold. Besides temperamental opposition and their objections on the ground of their legal rights, they had reasonable fears for their personal safety under a military régime, and, as merchants, they no doubt protested, as they had done before, that it would ruin the province to take even two thousand men from the ranks of labor.[4] In short, a great part, probably the major part, of the British population ranged themselves against the measure, and some, by loud and indignant outcries against the government, set one more brilliant example before their French neighbors.

By this time their previous lessons had been well conned. Of late, days and even hours had counted in the rapid process of education. The face of an afternoon sky hardly changed more imperceptibly or faster than the spirit of

[3] Letter to Maseres, June 22, 1775: Bancroft Coll., Eng. and Am., Jan.-Aug., 1775, p. 482.

[4] Montreal letter: N. Y. Journal, Nov. 10, 1774, p. 3.

and which their Emissaries and Friends he
abroad with great Art and Diligence'; a

MOUTH OF THE OUTLET OF LAKE GEORGE

family resemblance could be traced between
well attested likenesses of 1774.'

The people now, so Ainslie noted in his Jo
brought to believe that the Minister had la
enslave them, & to make them the instrume

families.' Nothing could have excited them more. The captain of the French militia at Montreal said to the Governor: 'The Canadians in this town, we included, will not take arms as a Militia, unless your Excellency will promise us, on your honour, to use your utmost endeavours for the repeal of the Quebeck Bill'; at least, James Finlay stated publicly that he heard these words pass, and people believed him. In April that keen observer, Thomas Walker, had lamented that the *habitants*, whatever their feelings, dared not raise a finger to help the Colonies, 'being of no more Estimation in the political Machine than the Sailors are, in shaping the Course or working the ship in which they sail.' 'They may mutter and swear,' he said, 'but must Obey: however, should Government handle them too roughly, & arbitrarily attempt to force them upon dangerous and disagreeable Service, to which they have already shewn irreconcileable Aversion, they [the government] may perhaps dearly repent it.' That attempt had now been made.[6]

The method of enforcing the decree softened it little. The theory of the Administration was that the peasants owed military service to the gentry, and the gentry to the Crown; and that failure to perform it in a case like the present would destroy the title to their lands.[7] For their own part, the nobles accepted the responsibility. Besides their traditional military hostility toward the Colonies, their desire for war, their new loyalty to the Crown, their ardent expectations, and their dislike of every American institution,—social, political, and religious,—they now had a fresh reason to hate the Colonials: the spirit of independence that had blown upon the

---

[6] § Ainslie, Journal (Introd.). Finlay: Maseres, Add. Papers, p. 106. Walker to S. Adams, Apr. 8, 1775: Mass. Arch., Vol. 193, p. 83.

[7] Smith, Canada, II., p. 74.

expostulations.'

On the other side of the people stood t
nies with a smiling face and open arı
impressions made by these seditious peo
malcontents],' Ainslie had observed, 'the
upon the Rebels as their best friends, a
receive them as the asserters of their righ
'they appear'd to be thoroughly tinctur'
spirit of Rebellion.' And now had come
tion and the orders of the noblesse, comp
turn feelings into acts. The indifferent we
the compromised had to take a stand, as
and, as for the timid, they reflected that
only a few hundreds of redcoats in Can
Americans were expected back with ten o
times as large a force. People whispered
great host would rush from the woods; and
parties were reported here and there on the
the St. Lawrence.'

Besides the clergy and noblesse, most o
declared for the Crown, but all these toget
a few trees resisting a flood. Yet the Canad
disaffected, did not organize and revolt. S
their style. They declared they were a
quiet folk; they did not understand all this
would prove their fidelity by remaining
home

A VIEW OF THE ADIRONDACKS FROM CROWN POINT

Only—should it be necessary to take up arms, they would not obey the gentry; some of their own number or some of the half-pay British officers living in Canada must be set over them. And—for the present, they did not care to engage at all. Loyal, indeed! *Ordres du Roi!* Translated into English, this French politeness all meant, We will not obey. The proclamation had failed to rally an army round the banner of the King, and it was useless for Cramahé, the Lieutenant-Governor, to gnash his teeth on the 'damned Committees' of the British traders, which, he said, prevented the Canadians from taking up arms. Their work had been done, and no threats could undo it.[10]

Truth to tell, Carleton had made a mistake. Reasoning soundly from the information available, he had credited both clergy and noblesse with more power than really they possessed. He had supposed the masses less self-willed and less influenced by the British element than actually they were. But so had Governor Murray erred before him when he wrote: 'could they be indulged with a few privileges w^ch^ the laws of England deny to Roman Catholics at home,' they 'would soon become the most faithful and most useful set of Men in this American Empire'; quite as deeply misjudged the great Pitt, a few years later (1791), when he resolved to separate Canada into a French part and a British part, and no less erred the profound Burke, who, though Pitt's political opponent, rose from his seat in the Commons to praise the wisdom of this design. When the chill of the iceberg is felt, when the night suddenly parts, when the huge, towering mountain of crystal rises before the ship, any-

---

10 § Lawyers: Garneau, Canada, III., p. 2. Maseres to Shelburne, Aug. 24, 1775: MSS. of Marq. of Lansdowne, Vol. 66, fo. 113. Annual Register, 1775, p. 139. Gordon, U. S., I. p. 423. Hey to Chancellor, Aug. 28, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec., 12, p. 365. Cramahé: Letter from Quebec, Nov. 9, 1775 (4 Force, III., 1417.)

body can say where danger lies; but an instant earlier no one could have pointed it out. Only the event could tell what the people would do, and now it had spoken. Even with the proclamation thundering over their heads, the mass of the Canadians at Montreal refused to enter the militia; and the utmost that noblesse and clergy together could accomplish, as Têtu, the historian of the Canadian bishops has admitted, was to keep the majority of the people from turning into active rebels. [11]

The majority! That implies a minority. Were some really preparing to take a vigorous part against the government?

Private letters received in St. John's (now Prince Edward's) Island represented the Canadians as saying that the King had broken his word by taking away the English laws, and therefore they had a right to renounce their allegiance. Not long after the proclamation appeared, two New Hampshire agents reported: They 'Determine Not to take their old Law again, if we will but Joyn with them they will Joyn with us'; and no doubt many such confidences passed over the glasses, with nods and grasps of the hand, when American traders and scouts hobnobbed with Jacques and Pierre at one of the little taverns under the elms. Hints of the same kind appear to have crossed the line and reached the Provincials on Lake Champlain. 'Numbers of Canadians have expected our army there, and are impatient of our delay, being determined to join us as soon as sufficient force appears to support them,'—so Arnold summed up the information that came to him. Jacob Bayley, an influential man on the upper Connecticut, wrote the New York Congress that, according to good information, the

---

[11] § Mistake: Hey to Chancellor, Aug. 28, 1775: Note 10. Murray to Lords of Trade, Oct. 29, 1764: Can. Arch., Q, 2, p 233. Pitt: Bourinot, Canada under Brit. Rule, p. 90. Montreal: Verreau (Sanguinet), Invasion, p. 37. Têtu, Evêques, p. 328. Carleton, June 7: Note 5.

French would take sides with the Americans, if an army should go north. Doubtless active minds and bold spirits had anticipated the march of events and expressed this determination some time before the masses reached it; but now the proclamation gave a fresh stimulus and a mighty backing to their ideas.[12]

To many a Colonial, no shy but meaning glance from a Chloe or a Phyllis could have been more fascinating. The impulse to advance had long tugged at its leash. 'We earnestly pray for success to this important expedition, as the taking those places would afford us a Key to all Canada,' wrote Parson Allen of Pittsfield, as the conspirators moved on to seize Ticonderoga; and that word stuck as firmly to the pass of the lakes as it did to Peter the Apostle. But keys were made to use; and one who stood waiting forever at a door with a key in his hand might be a picture but not a person. We 'beg your advice whether we shall abandon this place and retire to Ticonderoga, or proceed to St. Johns, etc., etc. The

REV. THOMAS ALLEN

[12] § Legge to Howe: Hist. MSS. Comm., Report XI., App. V., p. 388. N. H. Prov. Papers, VII., p. 525. Arnold: Trumbull to Warren, June 19, 1775 (Journ. Mass. Cong., p. 372). Bayley, June 29, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1134.

latter we should be fondest of,'—these woodland notes of Seth Warner and Peleg Sunderland, after the capture of Crown Point, sang the tune of many a brave heart at the lakes."[13]

Arnold's party, while beating down toward St. Johns in quest of the sloop, espied a boat headed the other way, and the coxswain, giving chase, brought the stranger alongside. It proved to be the French post from Montreal, with Ensign Moland aboard; and without compunction the pouch was overhauled. This was not the first instance of the kind. The gallant captors of Crown Point also had taken a mail-bag; but, cracking their humble wits in vain over the 'French & High Dutch,' could make nothing of it. Now, fortunately, it was only an affair of English; and, among other things, 'an exact list of all the regular troops in the northern department' came to light. 'There are in y^e^ 7th & 26th Regiments now in Canada,' reported the Colonel himself, '717 Men including 70 We have taken Prisoners.'[14]

By no means the least important item, this, in the history of Arnold's expedition to St. Johns. Ainslie was harsh enough to describe the affair as 'robbing the Kings mail' and 'stealing a return'; but the Americans could afford to be called names. Feints and ruses would not help the Governor after this. His exact strength was known, and known to be very small. Deducting for the necessary garrisons, the sick and the details, it was clear that he could not concentrate many more than five hundred men for active operations. Canada could be invaded, then, with little fear of the regulars; and, as for the noblesse, 'Governour Carleton, by every artifice, has been able to raise only about twenty,' heard Arnold.

---

[13] § T. Allen: Hist. Mag., I., p. 109. Warner: Dartmouth Mag., May, 1872.

[14] § Journal: N. F. Chron., June 1, 1775. Arnold to [Mass. Com. Safety], May 19, 1776: coll. of Mr. F. A. Arnold. Warner and Sund., May, 12, 1775: Dart. Mag., May, 1872.

Reports like these were quite enough to set the impulse aflame.[15]

And arguments enforced impulse. To carry the war north would keep it from coming south. Indeed, thought Ethan Allen, it might do more. 'Such a plan,' he believed, 'would make a diversion in favour of the Massachusetts-Bay,' and that was a point which every patriot could feel. 'England cannot spare but a certain number of her troops,' urged Allen; 'and it is as long as it is broad; the more that are sent to Quebeck, the less they can send to Boston.'[16]

Something else, too, might be gained, and that an advantage of the highest importance.

'A good appearance of troops from England would soon remove' the passivity of the Canadians, thought even the despondent Hey. Gage held the same opinion. 'The Canadians have enjoyed too much quiet and good living since under our Government,' he wrote; 'But a good Force alone is wanted in Canada to set them all in motion.' Bayley heard the like through 'an Indian to be depended on.' 'If we lie easy, and in a supine state, and Governour Carleton exerts himself against us vigorously, as we know he will, and who, by a legal Constitution, can oblige our friends to assist him, he will, by slow degrees, discourage our friends, and encourage our enemies, and form those that are at present

---

[15] § Ainslie, Journal (Introd.). Carleton could not, in fact, concentrate quite 500 at this time (his letter of June 26, 1775: Note 2). For the State of the British force in Canada, June 2, 1775, see War Office, Orig. Corres., N. Am., Vol. 12. Noblesse: Arnold in Trumbull's letter to Warren, June 19, 1775 (Journ. Mass. Cong., p. 372); Arnold to Cont. Cong., June 13, 1775 (4 Force, II., 976).

[16] § Allen to Mass. Cong., June 9, 1775: 4 Force, II., 939. Id. to N. Y Cong., June 2, 1775: ib., 891.

indifferent, into combinations against us. Therefore, the possible way to circumvent him and the scheme of the ministry, is to nervously push an army into Canada.' As the language showed, this was Ethan Allen still: 'but a rough draft,' like its author, and 'wrote in great haste,' but yet Allen at his best; and it was the Grand Congress who received this plain advice 'from your Honours' ever faithful, most obedient and humble servant.' Others reinforced his opinion. 'It is pretty certain,' wrote a gentleman at Fort George, near the end of June; 'it is pretty certain that General Carleton has hanged two or three of them for refusing [to take up arms], and speaking to discourage others; so that it is on the whole believed, that through all the stratagems of tyranny, Carleton will dragoon a number of the Canadians and Indians into the service, and it is generally believed he is making preparations to come against us.' For all this, a cure lay close at hand: give him enough to do at home; and whether the belief had good foundations or poor, the remedy looked attractive.[17]

Neither could logic pause there. Were this done, the pressure on the Canadians would come from the other side, and not only the friendly but the neutral would soon find themselves in the American camp.

Six days after Ticonderoga fell, Elisha Phelps grasped this idea. 'Now, gentlemen,' said he, taking the General Assembly of Connecticut by the hand, as it were, 'I must beg leave to offer my humble opinion, which is, that not less than 3000 men be here immediately, and to push on to St. John's and Canada, and secure them forts and, in doing that, secure the Canadians and Indians on our

---

[17] § Hey to Lord Chancellor, Aug. 28, 1775: Note 10; see Murray, Present War, I., p. 530. Gage to Sec. State, Aug. 20, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. Ind., Vol. 420, p. 256. Bayley to N. Y. Cong., June 29, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1134. Allen to Cont. Cong., May 29, 1775: ib., 732. Letter, Ft. George, June, 29, 1775: ib., 1135.

side, and secure the frontier from the rage of the savages.' Ethan Allen had ideas on this point also: 'It is my humble opinion, that the more vigorous the Colonies push the war against the King's Troops in Canada the more friends we shall find in that Country'; while, as for the rest, 'Striking such a blow would intimidate the Tory party in Canada. . . . They are a set of gentlemen that will not be converted by reason, but are easily wrought upon by fear.' 'I still retain my sentiments,' observed Easton to the Massachusetts Congress, 'that policy demands that the Colonies advance an army of two or three thousand men into Canada and environ Montreal. This will inevitably fix and confirm the Canadians and Indians in our interest.' Had the Colonel been a stickler for niceties, on second thought he would perhaps have struck out 'I' and inserted, 'the people around me'; but the Massachusetts Congress was then in the mood to value his personal opinion, so that his letter did very well as it stood. Besides, the argument seemed almost an axiom; and, if it looked so clear before the great proclamation came out, how much truer it rang afterward.[18]

A bit of honest sentiment barbed this idea of policy. The Colonies had friends in Canada. Not a few people there had risked a good deal in scattering the seeds of liberty, and planting the shoots of resistance. These friends were now in danger. Word came to Price, the Montreal delegate, who was turning homeward, 'not to proceed, as the English merchants in Canada conceived it unsafe for him'; and this hint was made known in Congress. Arnold gave him the same caution. Ever since the delivery of Arnold's Ticonderoga letter, Walker's house had been constantly under surveillance. If *lettres de cachet* had been dreamed of in April showers,

[18] § Phelps: Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., I., p. 176. Allen to Cont. Cong.: Note 17. Easton, June 6, 1775: Journ. Mass. Cong., p. 714.

Sirs

22d June 1775
6 o'clock PM

The Congress just rise, below is their determination with respect to Superior Officers & Rank —

1st Genl Washington
2d Genl Ward
3d Genl Lee
4 — Genl Schuyler
5 — Genl Putnam

} Major Genls

Brigadier Generals Viz.

1st Lowrey
2. Montgomery. for New York
3d. Woorte
4th Heath
5. Spencer
6 Thomas
7 - Sullivan. Member of Congress
8 — Green. Rhode Island

FROM JOHN HANCOCK'S LETTER TO WASHINGTON

what visions haunted British whigs and American sympathizers in the heat of the summer solstice? And were such loyal friends to be deserted at the first hour of need? It was a worthy sentiment, and Allen gave it solid footing, to boot: 'the Colonies must first help their friends in Canada, and then it will be in their power to help them [the Colonies] again.'[19]

Glad enough would they be to serve the cause of liberty, all believed; and what might not be accomplished, were they given the power to do so? The Ministerial party of Canada would be overwhelmed. The menaces of the Quebec Bill would dissolve like a blue mist. The perennial nightmare of a Popish invasion would vanish forever. The Colonies could 'work their policy' to the end, and Canada would complete the chain of united resistance to the oppressor.

England, on the other hand, would lose the best and safest place for landing her armies; would lose a rich and overflowing granary; would lose a host, not only of soldiers, but of laborers; would lose horses and wagons and boats and a multitude of other needful things, not easily to be obtained anywhere else on this side of the ocean. And, further, who could be gloomy enough to doubt the political fruits in England itself? 'If we once had that Province secured,' wrote Leffingwell to Silas Deane, 'we should convince the people of England of the weakness of the ministers' plan'; and Deane himself, staggering about under his formidable soubriquet, rang that song in the ears of Congress incessantly.[20]

Very few notes indeed of the discussions within that

---

[19] § Stringer to Cont. Cong., June 21, 1775: 4 Force., II., 1048. Arnold to Price, July 25, 1775: Emmet Coll. Mrs. Walker, Journal. Allen to Mass. Cong., June 9, 1775: 4 Force, II., 939.

[20] § Value of Canada: Prevost to ——, Dec. 26, 1775: (Can. Arch., B, 71, p. 235). Leffingwell, June 4, 1775: Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., II., p. 258. Deane to Mrs. D., Oct. 2, 1775 (ref. to May and early June): Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., II., p. 308.

august body were recorded; but one could easily imagine what was said on this matter.

No doubt the inevitable 'But' made itself heard. So far, Congress had shrunk persistently from taking the offensive. How it construed the events at the lakes has been seen, and its public action represented fairly well its inner mind. 'This to prevent the Canadians marching down into the New England Colonies,' wrote George Read privately of the Ticonderoga exploit, the very day Congress went on record. 'As this Congress has nothing more in view than the defence of these colonies, *Resolved*, That no expedition or incursion ought to be undertaken or made, by any colony, or body of colonists, against or into Canada': so spake the Conscript Fathers on the first day of June; and this was still, said many, the only safe doctrine. Defence was constitutional; aggressiveness would be revolt. The Canadians had sent no delegates to the Congress, and did not stand as one of the United Colonies. Crossing their boundaries, the Colonials would change from oppressed into oppressors; and to invade with armed force a peaceful royal province and then drive it into rebellion would be treason of a double dye.[21]

'No,' came the answer; 'it is no more aggressive and no more treasonable to fight the redcoats in Canada than to fight them in Massachusetts. The first blow, like the second, would be for defence: to paralyze the arm which Lord North has raised against us in the presence of Parliament and in the sight of the world. Must we wait until the stroke fells us, before we think of preventing it? What did Colonel Arnold write the other day about moving into Canada? Was it not this?—"a due regard

---

[21] § See, e. g., Murray, Present War, p. 529; Russell, Amer., II., p. 523; Ramsay, Am. Rev., I., p. 22); Botta, War of Indep., I., p. 401. W. T. Read, G. Read, p. 102. Journ. Cong., June 1.

to our own defence, as well as the advantage of the inhabitants of that country, makes it necessary." How ran the Suffolk Resolves, warmly endorsed by the first Continental Congress and by the people? Was it not thus?—"From our affection to his majesty, which we have at all times evinced, we are determined to act merely on the defensive, so long as such conduct may be vindicated by reason and the principles of self-preservation, but no longer." As for the talk of oppressing the Canadians, it is the starkest bugaboo; and the best way to prove it so, is to advance. All men have desired freedom; are not the Canadians men?' "

But at least, such a move would *seem* aggressive; it would have the look of rebellion; it would disturb the moderates; it would alienate political supporters in Great Britain; it would alarm all the Englishmen owning property in Canada; it would rouse the government; it would irritate the King.

'The King? He has already proclaimed us rebels,' it was easy to reply. 'Our friends in England? They have accomplished nothing for us; they leave us to help ourselves; and if we *act* in the cause which they profess as much as we do, they should thank rather than blame us: they who worship Liberty should honor those who fight for her. Indeed, we have been fully warned to count no longer on help from the mother-country. More than twelve months ago, did not a gentleman in London send this advice?—"Having but a few friends left [since the patronage of the Crown has almost silenced opposition], and even those left without power to do you any essential service you must rely upon nothing but your own wisdom and virtue to disappoint the wicked purposes of your powerful enemies." When the Glasgow merchants, for

---

[22] § Arnold to Cong., June 13, 1775 (P.S.): 4 Force, II., 976. Suffolk Res.: Journ. Mass. Cong., p. 691.

one example, sent Parliament what was called "a very spirited Petition" in our favor, did they not have Lord Campbell, their member, assure the Minister that it was intended only to gain them popularity in America, and did not signify opposition? As for the government, it has already tried to arm the papists and the Indians against us, and there is little to expect from England, save what we compel her to grant. Besides we have gone too far to waver. What says Dr. Warren?—"We must now prepare for everything, as we are certain that nothing but success in our warlike enterprises can save us from destruction." Colonial troops will respect property in Canada as honestly as in Massachusetts; why not? Possibly the advance may, for a moment, disturb the timid and hesitating among us; but a speedy success can be reckoned upon; and so brilliant a stroke will solidify the people, as well as unite the governments, of the entire continent.' [23]

But it would seem inconsistent. Yesterday we stood up before the world and forbade any step into Canada; to-day can we order that province invaded?

'A man or a nation that prefers apparent consistency to real, the name to the thing, can be bound with a rope of sand. We forbade—and we still forbid—any act of hostility against the Canadians; but sending an army among them by the desire of some and the consent of all, would not be hostility. The addition table does not clash with the division table. There will be no inconsistency': so the objection could be answered.

The total weight of all the facts, all the arguments, and all the feelings was tremendous. Congress might as well have undertaken to resist the rule of three. And besides the willing castle, the door, and the key, a hand to slip the bolt was offered. 'If the Honourable Congress should

[23] § London letter, Apr. 27, 1774: 4 Force, I., 248. Glasgow: Letter from London, Mar. 10, 1775 (4 Force, II., 114). Warren to S. Adams, May 14, 1775: Frothingham, Warren, p. 484.

stroy or take all Vessels, boats or floating Batteries preparing by said go
or by his order on or near the waters of the Lakes.

Resolved That if General Schuyler finds it practicable, and th
it will not be disagreeable to the Canadians he do immediately take
possession of St Johns, Montreal and any other parts of the Country, and pu
in any other measures in Canada which may have a tendency to prom
the peace and security of these Colonies.

Resolved That if general Schuyler shall have occasion for a larg
quantity of ready money and ammunition for carrying on such expediti
than he can in convenient time procure from the provincial Convention
of the Colony of New York, that he do in such case apply to the Gover
of Connecticut for such supplies as may be necessary, and can b
furnished by that Colony; and that governor Trumbull be desi

think proper to take possession of Montreal & Quebeck,' wrote Arnold ten days before his fall, 'I am possitive 2000 Men might very easily effect it.' He then sketched a plan of operations. St. Johns and Chambly should be cut off with seven hundred men; three hundred more should guard the boats and the line of retreat; and a grand division of one thousand should appear before Montreal, whose gates, on the arrival of the Americans, were to be opened by friends there, 'in consequence of a Plan for that purpose already entered into by them.' In a brief time, St. Johns and Chambly 'must fall into our Hands'; Quebec, unless troops should arrive, would follow their example; and such a success would be 'a means of restoring that solid peace and harmony between Great Britain & her Colonies, so essential to the well-being of both,'—not to mention the advantages of controlling, in case of need, the 'inexhaustible Granary' of Quebec wheat, with its annual surplus of five hundred thousand bushels, and of frustrating, 'in a great measure,' the intention of making an attack from the north. [24]

It was a brilliant, bold, rash idea; but its author had no fears. 'I beg leave to add,' said he in a modest, casual way, 'that if no person appears who will undertake to carry the plan into execution (if thought advisable) I will undertake, and with the Smiles of Heaven, answer for the Success of it, provided I am supplied with men, &c, to carry it into Execution without Loss of Time.' A list of requisites and a political justification followed, and Captain Oswald was despatched with further particulars. Nothing seemed wanting but a vote of Congress.

Arnold fell; but that changed only the man. Schuyler took his place with higher rank and ampler powers; he was confidentially ordered to confer and report as soon as pos-

[24] This paragraph and the next: Arnold to Cong., June 13, 1775 (Cont. Cong. Papers, No. 162, I., p. 121). Rash: see Schuyler's explanation to Wash., Chapter XV.

sible on 'the subject of Colonel Arnold's letter' to th Congress; and in addition he received certain private in structions.[25]

For one thing he was to repair, as soon as conveniently h could, to the posts of Ticonderoga and Crown Poin inquire into the condition thereof and of the troops the stationed there, and learn how they were supplied wit provisions and other necessaries. For a second, h was to examine into 'the state also of the sloop an other navigation on the lakes.' Further, the 'best in telligence' possible was to be obtained 'of the dispos tion of the Canadians and Indians of Canada.'

But these things were only preliminaries. He was 'give orders for the necessary preparation of boats an stores for securing to the United Colonies the command those waters adjacent to Crown Point and Ticonderoga to 'exert his utmost power to destroy or take all Vessel boats or floating Batteries preparing by said governo [Carleton] or by his order on or near the waters of th Lakes'; and finally, as the natural culmination of h errand, Congress directed him, should he find it 'pract cable' and not 'disagreeable to the Canadians,' 'immediately take possession of St. John's, Montreal an any other parts of the Country, and pursue any oth measures in Canada' which might have a tendency ' promote the peace and security' of the Colonies.

Like General Carleton, Congress now stood with loi girt up for a bold, a decisive step. It was time; f General Gage had proclaimed Samuel Adams and Jol Hancock—with all their adherents, associates, and ab ters—'Rebels and Traitors, and as such to be treatec Indeed, it was high time; for the spark of Lexington h blossomed into the flames of Bunker Hill. Events we now moving like Niagara, and Congress could not hai

[25] Secret Journ. Cong., June 27, 1775.

on the brink. In spite of its purposely vague language, the Resolution was intended and was received as an order to invade Canada. A nervousness could be detected in the wording; there was a last look at the ground behind, a last shiver before the plunge; but the decision had been made, and the time for action had arrived.[26]

[26] § Gage, June 12, 1775; 4 Force, II., 968. Understood: Schuyler to Cong., Aug. 2, 1775 (Cont. Cong., Papers, No. 153, p. 89); Id. to Alb. Com., Nov. 2, 1775 (4 Force, III., 1524); Lossing, Schuyler, I., p. 343.

IX

THE ARMY ASSEMBLES

PHILIP SCHUYLER represented the best Dutch blood and the wealthiest landed aristocracy of New York; and, when it was proposed to elect him a Continental major-general, Richard Montgomery said truly, 'His consequence in the province makes him a fit subject for an important trust.' As the proprietor of a fine mansion at Albany and a fine estate at Saratoga, he was known and honored throughout that region. He, in turn, knew the country and its people; and, as a share of military experience, besides a long training in business management, had fallen to his lot, he seemed a most fitting person to command the northern army.[1]

Many shrank from laying the yard-stick upon Schuyler, for they began by admiring him; but, when driven to set down the measurements, what they found was an honest, intelligent, courteous, gallant country squire, kindly, high-minded, and public-spirited, thoroughly scornful of everything false or mean, abundantly qualified to shine in gilt buttons and a cocked hat on training days, just the man to lead a quadrille with slightly overdone politeness at a county ball, and equally capable of damning a tenant—with a red face and redder language, perhaps—

[1] § Montg. to R. R. Liv., June 3, 1775: Liv. Papers, 1775–77, pp. 31, 33. Schuyler's Saratoga estate was not at the Springs, but near the present R. R. station of Schuylerville. It was 32 miles from Albany (Carroll, Journal, p. 55). He had acted as Commissary in the British service during the late war (Tuckerman, Schuyler, p. 91).

for pilfering or disrespect, of turning him out of house and home for retorting, and of sending him a leg of mutton and a cord of wood as soon as the fellow began to starve and freeze.[2]

His constitution, good for better than threescore years and ten, yet given to frequent sudden outbreaks of

GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

capricious illness; his tall person, slight yet able to make fine spurts of energy; his florid, mobile, puckering face; his keen, squinting, snapping dark eyes; his sagacious but rather quizzical nose; his dark-brown hair, so breezy it almost seemed electrified; his clear voice, which readily

[2] The sketch of Schuyler is based upon his portraits, his correspondence, and Lossing's Schuyler, I., p. 66; II., p. 479, etc.

grew sharp; and his general effect of sensitiveness, wi fullness, and tiltedness, overlying real gravity and vim, all instantly announced him as the petrel, not exactly storms perhaps, but certainly of thunder-showers.

Placed in a world where everybody had been well bo and well bred, he would have been a piquant and mer kind of saint, with only the failings necessary to make h a 'gentleman' also; but, in contact often with comm and sometimes with ignoble characters—occasionally co missioned in the Continental service—he despised the too much to hide his opinions, preserve his manners, a carry his point.[3] Probably he never used a word extraordinary dimensions, far less a series of them, wit out cause; but the cause might be some independent S of Liberty, endowed with a good memory if not a go character. Given a limited field—not vastly larger, sa than his own estates—he could plan and execute in masterly style; but his propeller travelled rather near t surface; and, when forced by emergencies, it spent a litt over-much of its energy in foam instead of propulsio Perhaps, too, his ardent facility of expression could n have grown so round, without eating more or less into h self-control and his personal weight. At all events, t executive power of a Greene, a Wayne, a Sullivan la quite beyond his reach.

Yet Schuyler well merited admiration, after all; an gratitude besides. The country called him, and h responded without grudging or self-seeking. She aske much, and he offered all,—his name and influence, h property, his best efforts, his comfort, health, and peac of mind. It was not the General's fault that he lacke the breadth of beam and weight of metal for the heavie burdens and the mightiest battles. He did what h

[3] Graydon's letter: Dunlap, New Netherlands, I., p. 480.

could, and that was much. He proved himself a noble and patriotic citizen. Therefore his name shines, and therefore let it shine for aye.

It was easy to see how Schuyler's task would present itself. Prompt action was essential. Hinman himself admitted that. Under his régime things were going badly, so far as they were going at all. After being in undisputed command for two weeks, he confessed his inability to make a satisfactory return of his forces, guns, ammunition, and stores on account of the 'present unsettled circumstances.' In reply to what Schuyler described as a pointed letter, he acknowledged that he could 'say but little' about Carleton's movements; and as for informing the Canadians of our friendly intentions, they were 'so very cautious,' and the passes 'so well guarded' that it was 'almost impossible to get any information to them.' 'I find myself very unable to steer in this stormy situation,' added the poor fellow; 'Sometimes we have no flour, and a constant cry for rum, and want of molasses for beer, which was engaged to our people.' Some three hundred men lay idle at Crown Point, and about six hundred at Ticonderoga, though Hinman realized that without new fortifications the ground could not be defended. Supplies were being wasted or embezzled. One day the cook at Ticonderoga found himself with only a single barrel of flour. The sloop had neither pilot nor captain; roads and bridges were becoming impracticable; and King Log was only able to 'wait, Sir, with impatience' for Schuyler's arrival, and meanwhile 'hope for better times.' Never was a master hand more needed. 'I shall have an Augean stable to cleanse there,' said the General himself.[4]

[4] § Hinman to Schuyler, July 7, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1605. Schuyler to Hinman, June 28, 1775: ib., 1123. Arnold's report, by Schuyler's request, July 11, 1775: ib., 1646. Indefens., etc.: Hinman to N. Y. Cong., July 3, 1775 (ib., 1538). No fortifs.: Schuyler to Hancock, July 15, 1775 (ib., 1665). Flour, etc.: Id. to Id., July 11, 1775 (ib., 1645). Stable, etc.: Id. to Wash., July 15, (ib., 1668).

And the situation in Canada cried no less loudly. 'Without Loss of Time,' had been the proviso of Arnold's offer to move north. Were the invasion to be neglected much longer, the delay might be 'fatal,' reported Bayley's trustworthy Indian a fortnight later. In Governor Trumbull's opinion, it would soon be 'high time' to secure the province; which meant that it was time already. Ethan Allen and all the others of importance on the ground had been urging the advance this long while. Nobody could doubt that Carleton would bar higher every day the pass at St. Johns. It was evident that his power and ability must weaken steadily the 'Friends of Liberty' in Canada. Any hour, reinforcements might arrive from England, or Gage might send aid from Boston; and who could doubt that the Governor was toiling with every nerve to build water-craft and regain control of the lakes?[5]

Evidently, then, if the orders of Congress were to be executed, boats, men, equipment, and organization must be provided, and provided in the quickest possible time. Everything depended upon 'despatch,' said Schuyler himself. A day, an hour might be decisive a little later. The boats must be made; and, as that operation would very likely require more time than anything else, it needed to be undertaken first. Trees and water-power abounded near Ticonderoga; but the timber would have to come into contact with moving strips of steel, notched on one edge, called saws. The General must have known—for doubtless on some fishing or hunting trip he had passed that way—that old French mills, worth repairing, stood on the Outlet of Lake George. But, without counting overmuch upon these, he would immediately despatch to the ground a few millwrights and ship-carpenters, with a squad of journeymen, some boxes of

[5] § Arnold to Cong., June 13, 1775: 4 Force, II., 976. Bayley to N. Y. Cong., June 29, 1775: ib., 1131. Trumbull to Schuyler, July 24, 1775: ib., 1721.

tools, a few saws, quantities of nails, and some bags of oakum. Precise, detailed orders would be made out, so far as possible, at once; and then, in view of the lack of executive organization, he or his lieutenant, Brigadier-General Richard Montgomery, would follow up these orders at the base of supply, and attend personally to the raising, equipping, and forwarding of troops, while the other would seek the front without delay.[6]

No doubt a chance for many long letters full of politely turned phrases and elegant prolixity lay in the situation. No doubt social amenities asserted their claims. No doubt the politics of New York demanded steering; and Schuyler, a member of the Provincial Congress, counted for much. No doubt the Tories in Tryon County were buzzing. But Schuyler stood now as a major-general of the United Colonies, with a commission second only to Washington's in moment and urgency; and before him lay orders both definite and important. Naturally he reasoned

[6] § Despatch: Schuyler to Cong., June 30, 1775 (Lossing, Schuyler, I., p. 344). Mills: Parkman, Montcalm, I., p. 477; Schuyler to Franklin, Aug. 23, 1775: 4 Force, III., 242.

that, as an executive, his true policy was to achieve, at all hazards, the essential thing, and then cover as many other points as possible.

But no; Schuyler did not reason in this way. Such a course would no doubt have possessed certain merits; but it would have lacked politeness,—not to say, dignity. Father Knickerbocker was no pert Boston lawyer; he could neither hustle nor be hustled. Hudson River patroons were no Connecticut artisans; great bodies like them had planetary motions to fulfill. Schuyler himself lived on that stream. Six days after the Continental Congress ordered him to the north, he delivered to the New York Congress (July 3) a requisition for troops, lead, powder, bullet-moulds, tents, oakum, pitch, oars, saws, and various other things, adding—as if with a courtly wave of the hand—'an assortment of articles in the artillery way'[7]; but he avoided the disagreeable Yankee trick of standing by and prodding people until they did their work.

About a fortnight after the Congress had received this paper, General Schuyler reached the lakes. His reception might have been predicted. Arriving after nightfall at a post near Ticonderoga, he found that the sentinel, hearing of his approach, had gone off to awaken the guard, 'in which he had no success'; and a second guard also lay buried in 'the soundest sleep.'[8]

So far as concerned the grand plan of campaign, he himself summarized the case in this wise: 'except thirteen or fourteen batteaus, that were built at Fort George, not one earthly thing was prepared. I had saw-mills to repair, timber and every other individual thing to procure, gun-carriages to build, vessels of force to construct.'

---

[7] Schuyler to N. Y. Cong., July 3, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1536; Id. to Hancock, July 21, 1775: ib., 1702.

[8] Schuyler to Wash., July 18, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1685.

Neither had the polite method of taking things for granted been working well at New York. Nothing that his requisition called for had arrived. 'The pitch, oakum and nails I wish to have sent with all possible despatch,' he had specified; but they had not been seen. There was not even a definite report about them; nor about anything else, except that Mr. Curtenius, the Manhattan Commissary, had concluded in the course of a week that it would cost too much to send the oars. 'Everything is wanted; I am destitute of every material for making the necessary preparations,' he admitted to Trumbull three days later.[9]

So, then, buried in the forest primeval, with Montgomery on the edge of it not far away, Schuyler had to begin struggling for supplies at the far mouth of the Hudson; and even now, instead of sending a competent man to expedite the business, he thought it safe to rely upon letters.

On the twenty-seventh of July, he assured the Provincial Congress that it was 'indispensably necessary that not one moment's delay should be made' in forwarding the stores mentioned in the requisition; and at length some of the articles happily arrived. August the fifteenth, he begged for the rest, and in particular for the artillery stores, with 'not one moment's delay.' Six days later, the New York Congress wrote that the articles wanted had been sent, and must have been delayed on the way; but, after ten days more, they explained that Mr. Curtenius, considering the order for artillery stores too general, had done nothing about it, and 'supposed' that somebody else had 'procured what was necessary'; yet these 'various articles in the artillery branch,' about which nobody made sure at

[9] § Schuyler to Alb. Com., Nov. 2, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1524. Id. to N. Y. Cong., July 3, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1536. Id. to id., July 21, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1704. Id. to Cong., July 21; ib., 1702. Id. to Trumbull, July 21, 1775: ib., 1704.

either end of the line, were so essential that Schuyler said he could not 'make a substitute for any' of them. 'Some bullet moulds,' ordered at the same time, the Congress went on to say, 'will be sent you by Captain Goforth. They would have been sent sooner, had not the Commissary been obliged to get them made here.' Possibly Schuyler felt inclined, at this point, to invoke the rule of three, and figure out the length of time necessary to complete his order for these articles, if two months were required to manufacture 'some.' Yet they were by no means luxuries: 'We cannot do anything without the bullet moulds,' he wrote.[10]

When the troops raising at Albany were known to be in need of blankets, instead of despatching an approximate number at a venture, the authorities at New York wrote up for a 'return . . . of the number of blankets wanting,' which meant nearly or quite a week's delay. Indeed, trusting to a letter might cost far more time than that. One despatch of Schuyler's—and that a pressing one—took fifteen days to make the journey down, and was not answered by the New York Congress for over a week.[11]

Still more surprising proved another case. In his requisition, Schuyler called for enough tents to shelter about three thousand five hundred men, six men to each. A large part of them, at least, were urgently needed by the Connecticut regiment, for the troops, crowded into unhealthy barracks, were not only suffering but sickening; yet no tents for these men arrived. Hinman, apparently, did not discover the difficulty; but Schuyler,

---

[10] § Schuyler to N. Y. Cong., July 27, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1735. Id. to id., Aug. 15, 1775: 4 Force, III., 141. N. Y. Cong. to W. Liv., Aug. 21, 1775: ib., 540. Id. to Schuyler, Sept. 1, 1775: ib., 571. Schuyler to N. Y. Cong., Aug. 23: ib., 243.

[11] § Montg. to N. Y. Cong., Aug. 8, 1775: 4 Force, III., 67. Loss of time: N. Y. Cong. to Schuyler, Aug. 8, 1775 (ib., 525); Schuyler to N. Y. Cong., July 16, 1775 (4 Force, II., 1671).

on reaching the ground, sent word to the Connecticut authorities. Without delay, Trumbull despatched an express to New York (July 25), asking whether the need could not be supplied there, as Schuyler suggested. 'This Colony,' he explained, 'is so far exhausted of materials for making tents, that it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to furnish them in any tolerable season.' In any case, the expense would fall upon the Continental

ROGERS ROCK, LAKE GEORGE

treasury; and, with their customary politeness, the New Yorkers undertook to do the business.[12]

Weeks passed. On August the twenty-first, Trumbull begged them to forward the tents 'in the most speedy manner possible, the season being far advanced,' and added: 'You are pleased to mention our remitting the money for them. You may rely that, if the expense is not seasonably defrayed by the Continental Congress, this Colony will not fail of doing it though they have

[12] § Needed: Schuyler to Trumbull, July 18, 1775 (4 Force, II., 1685); Id. to Hancock, July 28, 1775 (ib., 1745). Trumbull to Schuyler and N. Y., July 24, 25, 1775: ib., 1721, 1726. In N. Y. Cong., July 28: ib., 1807.

already, without grudging, advanced near £150,000, this currency.' In reply, the authorities of New York reported that all the tents they had 'and all the materials that could be procured' had been forwarded with troops of their own. It looked unpromising for the Connecticut men in the rains and heavy dews. For some time Schuyler had been 'trembling' for them, anticipating 'dreadful havoc' as the consequence of exposure; but happily, after a little more delay, those polished Rip van Winkles awoke, rubbed their eyes, and did precisely what should have been done more than a month earlier: ordered sail-cloth and duck purchased, workmen engaged, and the tents despatched in small lots as fast as completed. Slumber so profound has no memories; and, on the first day of September, the Congress assured Schuyler, 'We have lost no time in getting tents made.'[13]

Hinman's regiment numbered almost one thousand, and Easton's nearly two hundred. In addition to these troops, Congress proposed that Schuyler should have only 'those called Green Mountain Boys' and 'other men in the vicinity of Ticonderoga.' Albany had set on foot the raising of four companies, and two hundred and five of these volunteers were on duty at Fort George when Schuyler arrived there; but the Congress of the Colony stopped the enterprise. The tale of the Green Mountain Boys, though longer, had an equally unsatisfactory dénouement. Ethan Allen burned to see his brave legion recognized in the service, with his own swinging sabre at the front, and begged as much of the very Colony that had set a price on his head, as 'the first favor' he had ever asked of it. The favor was granted, and Schuyler issued the necessary orders at once for levying the proposed five

---

[13] § Trumbull to N. Y. Cong., Aug. 21, 1775: 4 Force, III., 224. N. Y. Cong. to Trumbull, Aug. 25, 1775; ib., 432. Schuyler to N. Y. Cong., Aug. 23, 1775: ib., 243. N. Y. Cong., Aug. 29: ib., 564. N. Y. Cong. to Schuyler, Sept. 1: ib., 571

hundred; but, as they were to form an independent corps and elect their own officers, 'disputes and jealousies' among themselves produced a deadlock. Finally, however, 'the old farmers,' as Allen styled them, got together in Dorset at the end of July, and by a nearly unanimous vote, leaving the colonelcy vacant, selected Seth Warner to command the regiment as the lieutenant-colonel, probably deeming him a better military leader than Allen. But this did not raise the men, and Schuyler gave up all hopes of them for the present.[14]

Massachusetts, with the British in Boston to look after, could do little elsewhere; but Connecticut, besides aiding at Cambridge and the lakes, had cheerfully sent Wooster's command to help defend New York in case of need, and the Continental Congress finally despatched a thousand of these men up the Hudson, under Colonel Waterbury, to reinforce the northern army.[15]

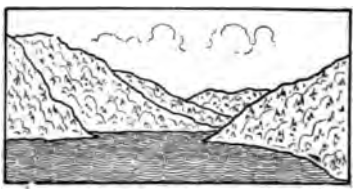
Meanwhile, Schuyler had been looking at home for troops. About the time of his election as major-general, New York had voted to raise four regiments, and he called speedily for some of these. Soon after taking command at the lakes, he notified the Provincial Congress that he felt 'very anxious to have the New York troops' with him. About a week later, the pitch of his voice rose: 'I do most, most earnestly entreat' for soldiers. Another week passed, and Ethan Allen reported, 'No troops from New York, except some officers, are yet arrived.' Eleven days more went by, and Hinman observed

---

[14] § Return of July 15 (4 Force, II., 1667):—Hinman: at Ti., 478; Cr. Pt., 293; north end of Lake George, 98; Ft. George, 104=973; Easton: at Ti., 40; Cr. Pt., 109; at Ft. George, 25=174; N. Y. troops at Ft. George, 205. Journ. Cong., June 23, 1775. Secret Journ. Cong., July 1, 1775. N. Y. Cong. to Alb. Com., June 7, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1280. Allen to N. Y. Cong., June 2, 1775: 4 Force, II., 891. N. Y. Cong., July 4, 1775: ib., 1336. Schuyler to Hancock, July 3, 21, 1775: ib., 1535, 1702. Allen to Trumbull, Aug. 3, 1775: 4 Force, III., 17. Vt. Hist. Soc. Coll., I., p. 9. Schuyler to Hancock, July 21, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1702.

[15] § Johnston, Record, p. 39. Schuyler to Cong., July 15, 1775: Cont. Cong. Papers, 153, I., p. 37. Secret Journ. Cong., July 1, 17, 1775. Wooster to Hancock, July 22, 1775: Cont. Cong. Papers, 161, II., p. 249.

invidiously, 'The Province of New York abounds with officers, but I have not had my curiosity gratified by the sight of one private.' Some of these troops had, however, appeared at Albany, though with empty powder-horns; and more were coming. August the eighth, four companies of the First New York regiment scrambled into the waiting sloops at Manhattan, under the nose of the British man-of-war *Asia*, for their inspiring voyage up the Hudson; and two weeks later, as the whip-poor-wills began their vespers, Lieutenant-Colonel Ritzema, leading their van, saluted at Ticonderoga. Yet so loosely had affairs been managed, that after more than a week of August had gone by, Captain H. B. Livingston, a very wide-awake officer, with his company almost full, had to inquire to what regiment he belonged.[16]



A SKETCH IN THE HIGHLANDS

And, after all, these men proved too often little more than a burden, for they came unprepared to fight.

'Our Troops can be of no service to you; they have no arms, clothes, blankets or ammunition; the officers no commissions; our Treasury no money; ourselves in 'debt,' the New York Committee of Safety had moaned. Common self-respect forbade Livingston's company to march, for it had received 'no hat, shirt, waistcoat, breeches, stockings or shoes,' not to mention the trifle of weapons.

---

[16] § N. Y. regts.: Mag. Am. Hist., 1881, p. 403. N. Y. Com. Safety, July 15, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1730. Schuyler to N. Y. Cong., July 21, 1775: ib., 1704. Id. to id., July 27, 1775: ib., 1735. Allen to Trumbull, Aug. 3, 1775: 4 Force, III., 17. Hinman to Trumbull, Aug. 14, 1775: ib., 135. Montg., Albany, Aug. 10, 1775: ib., 80. At N. Y. and Ti.: Foxcroft to Todd, Aug. 10, 1775 (Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 221); Ritzema, Journal, Aug. 8, 21. H. B. Liv. to N. Y. Cong., Aug. 8 4 Force, III., 67.

Clinton advanced with six companies; but only three of them had arms in good order, and one had none at all. Lieutenant-Colonel Van Cortlandt arrived at Albany with four companies. Three of the four had no blankets; many of the men lacked 'shirts, shoes, stockings, underclothes'; they were, 'in short, without anything fit for a soldier except a uniform coat; and not more than thirty guns, with four Companies, fit for service.' Not one tent could be found for them, and there were no barracks. Lacking arms enough for a proper guard, Van Cortlandt had to keep them together, when on shore, with clubs and canes. But mostly they stayed penned up in the boats; and there they cried in desperation, 'Give us guns, blankets, tents, et cetera, and we will fight the devil himself; but don't keep us here in market-boats, like a parcel of sheep or calves!' As for money, the New York Congress had none, and Schuyler appealed to Connecticut for aid; but enough could not be got from any source. Van Cortlandt's men clamored for 'cash' among other things; and for a long time H. B. Livingston drew from his own pocket all that he paid his men.[17]

Without a doubt, shrewder planning and more activity could have saved no little precious time,—possibly a full month; yet assuredly some of the difficulties wore horns of no ordinary sharpness. Little powder, for example, could be found anywhere in the Colonies. For some time past, Orders in Council had prohibited the export of 'Gunpowder, or any sort of Arms or Ammunition' from Great Britain. Two weeks after the capture of Ticonderoga, the Albany Committee stated that the New Englanders had carried off almost every pound of powder that

---

[17] § N. Y. Com. Safety to Schuyler, July 15, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1730. H. B. Liv. to N. Y. Cong., Aug. 8, 10, 1775: 4 Force, III., 67, 79. Doubtless the men had something to wear, but nothing fit to march in. Clinton: H. Liv., Jr., to N. Y. Cong., Aug., 29, 1775 (ib., 452). Van C. to N. Y. Cong., Aug. 28, 1775: ib., 447. Schuyler to Hancock, June 30, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1138.

could be spared; yet the posts on the lakes were so poorly supplied that, when Congress awoke to the situation at the north, it had to beg ammunition of Philadelphia for them. 'We are credibly informed,' said Trumbull at the end of May, 'that there are not five hundred pounds of powder in the city of New York,' and at the middle of August that place was entirely destitute of so necessary an article. 'For God's sake,' cried the New York Committee of Safety to the Delegates of the Colony at Philadelphia, 'For God's sake, send us money, send us arms, send us ammunition!'[18]

SABBATH DAY POINT, LAKE GEORGE

Meanwhile, the greatest exertions were made to supply the lack. In June, Congress urged the gathering of saltpetre and sulphur; and, besides appointing a committee to manufacture the former, explained to the public how it could best be made. In August, the *Essex Gazette* published a recipe for producing saltpetre; and the Earl

[18] § Council: 4 Force, II., 277; Dartmouth's circular, Oct. 19, 1774: Emmet Coll. Alb. Com., May 23, 1775: 4 Force, II., 841. Secret Journ. Cong., June 26, 1775. Trumbull to Mass. Cong., May 29, 1775: Journ. Mass. Cong., p. 709. N. Y. Cong. to Montg., Aug. 12, 1775. 4 Force, III., 529. N. Y. Com. Safety, July 15, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1788.

of Effingham declared later in the British House of Lords that by this time 'a saltpetre work was become a necessary appendage to a farm.' Franklin offered a plan, by which the sweepings of the streets and the rubbish of old buildings were to be 'made into mortar, and built into walls, exposed to the air, and once in about two months scraped, and lixiviated, and evaporated.' A bounty of three shillings a pound was offered by Rhode Island for any quantities produced in the Colony, and Robert R. Livingston set up a powder-mill at Rhinebeck on the Hudson, the last of June, with four mortars and a dozen 'pounders.' For some time, Schuyler had a sort of monopoly of this establishment; but his needs outran all the sources of supply.[19]

Arms gave almost as much trouble. 'Badly, very badly armed, indeed,' Schuyler described the men at the lakes generally; and no doubt it was trying to find guns of all varieties of bore, and many guns out of repair. Yet that was not so bad as to find no arms at all.[20]

Early in July, the Congress of New York voted to convene all the blacksmiths in town, and ask whether they could produce gun-barrels, bayonets, and ramrods; and, further, to send across the ocean for 'four complete sets of Lock-Smiths to make Gun-Locks'; but, in spite of that heroic vote, it frankly admitted, five or six weeks later, 'Arms cannot be had here.' Ten shillings were offered each soldier who would furnish himself with a suitable musket; but even this did not fill the void. Despairing of enough guns, Massachusetts decided to furnish 'good Spears' to her troops, and even to let the manufacturer work on them Sundays,—an appalling sign of urgency.

---

[19] § Journ. Cong., June 10, 1775. Essex Gazette, Aug. 24, 1775. Earl: 4 Force, VI., 301. Franklin: 4 Force, II., 956. Bounty: 4 Force, III., 232. Rhinebeck: R. R. Liv. to N. Y. Cong., June 26, 1775 (4 Force, II., 1106). Monopoly: N. Y. Cong. to R. R. Liv., Aug. 18, 1775 (4 Force, III., 535).

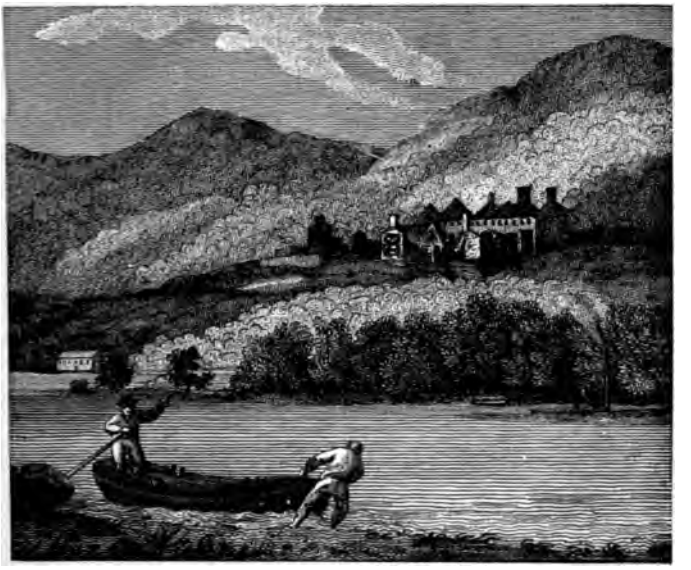
[20] § Schuyler to Hancock, July 21, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1702. Id. to N. Y. Cong., Aug. 23, 1775: 4 Force, III., 243.

Indeed, Colonel Porter received orders to go personally, 'procure a Scythe, and carry it to a Blacksmith to be fixed for a Spear' in such a manner as he should think fit, and bring it before the Congress 'when fixed'; while the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, after requesting Franklin to obtain the model of a pike, recommended that arm, on the authority of Marshal Saxe, for the double purpose of tent-pole and weapon.[21]

As Congress appointed a committee to search for lead ore, there was evidently no adequate stock of the metal in sight. Drums and fifes, armorers and armorers' tools, broad-axes for hewing lumber, cartridge-paper and every sort of artillery stores, counted in the list of wants. Roads and bridges needed constant repairs. 'The troops sicken alarmingly fast,' reported Schuyler; a quarter of Easton's regiment fell out; yet no hospital had been provided, nor even medicines. In fact, Dr. Church informed Samuel Adams in August that the drug stores of Massachusetts were empty; and probably the neighboring Colonies had no better stocks. To transport the barrels of pork and flour all those muddy and rocky leagues through the wilderness—about sixty-five miles besides the water-carriage—was no slight labor. Still heavier were hogsheads of molasses; yet spruce beer seemed essential to counteract the effects of salt meat, and save the men from drinking the ill-reputed water of Lake Champlain. The horses and oxen almost gave out, for a drought had 'scorched up every kind of herbage.' The stock of flour ran so low that Schuyler had to stop Waterbury's regiment at Albany 'to prevent their starving'; quantities of the painfully won supplies were lost through carelessness on the road or wastefulness—mainly

[21] § N. Y. Cong., July 6, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1342. N. Y. Cong. to Montg., Aug. 12, 1775: 4 Force, III., 520. Bonus Fernow, N. Y., I., p. 17. Mass. Cong., June 19, 24, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1425, 1443. Pa. Com. Safety, July 6; Aug. 26, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1771; III., 510.

the result of inexperience—in distributing them; money became so scarce that the Albany committee put out a thousand pounds in paper on its own account; and, in round terms, if any possible difficulty failed to be mentioned by some one, it was apparently by an oversight.[22]



TICONDEROGA IN 1818

War is the grand opera of nations, the supreme act of the State, the final result of special abilities, technical training, studious equipment, and elaborate organization; and it was now as if the good people of Beaver Meadow, hearing of the King's intention to hunt

[22] § Ore.: Secret Journ. Cong., July 31, 1775. Schuyler to N. Y. Cong., July 3, 27, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1536, 1735. Troubles: H. Liv., 4 Force, III., 452; Schuyler, 4 Force, II., 1645, 1702, 1762, III., 17, 135: Hinman, 4 Force, II., 1538; S. Mott, 4 Force, III., 18; Church to S. Adams, Aug. 22, 1775: S. Adams Papers. Beer: Anburey, Travels, I., p. 139. (See N. Y. Cong., June 29: 4 Force, II., 1332). Water: Trumbull, Autob., p. 28.

there, should undertake to give *Parsifal* on a week's notice.

Under all these trials the men behaved as well as could reasonably have been expected. Schuyler felt disappointed that well-to-do and high-bred citizens did not compose the ranks; but he might have reflected that, no matter how glorious the cause of Liberty, those who enjoyed a rough existence or could get nothing better to do were the persons most likely to present themselves. They were far from bad, however, as a whole. Quite a number of them felt inclined to swear occasionally; but, on the other hand, a Connecticut officer ordered 'the good & holsome Laws [against profanity] Put in Execution for the Futer,' piously observing, 'I dont see How any of us Can Expect y^e^ Blessing of God when his Holy Name is so Often Prophan^d^.' Another forbade 'all wrestling and gaming of every kind in camps'; and a soldier recorded with astonishment how, at a critical point, the teamsters drove all day 'as if it had not been Sunday.' Men could scarcely be heathenish under such conditions. But they did complain bitterly of what seemed needless hardships; and, when Van Schaick reported that everything was lacking, it was only a corollary to add, as he did, that 'scarce anything' could be heard in the camp at Albany save 'mutinies.' Some deserted,—of course; and certain unruly ones had to be given a taste of 'Moses' law, i. e., thirty-nine' stripes,—but this also was to be expected.[23]

More serious was the outcropping of old Colonial jealousies. The Connecticut men 'think they are not well used,' wrote David Welsh to his Governor; for now they were looked after by a New York commissary, and he,

---

[23] § Journ. Capt. Jos. Smith, Aug. 20. Barlow, Ord. Book, Aug. 27, Van Schaick to N. Y. Cong., Aug. 29, 1775: 4 Force. III., 451. Desertions: Schuyler to N. Y. Cong., Aug. 10, 1775 (ib., 177). Stripes; Letter, Aug. 25, 1775 (ib., 434.)

instead of issuing the rations promised by the Connecticut Assembly, decided that bread and pork were enough. Nor did it end with that. 'Several of the companies have no brass kettles to this day,' complained Welsh; 'Several companies have no frying-pans'; 'The rum that comes, as far as I have seen, is worse than none,'—a temperance lecture *malgré lui;* 'I think there has not been one pound of soap bought for the army'; 'A small matter of coffee and chocolate' and a little sugar for the sick, but none for them that can keep about'; scarcely any vinegar, 'and that, all said, not worth anything'; 'And why all the places of profit should be filled with men in York Government, I don't know, and our people be obliged to do all the drudgery. . . . Is it because we have no man capable of anything but drudgery? Sir, unless you or somebody else sees to it, I don't think we shall have one hundred and fifty men here by the middle of September or October from New-York Government. The advantage of their situation is such that it will make them rich. Are we to be wholly ruled by the Committee of New-York? Is it for their unfaithfulness in the common cause? . . . One of our men will do as much as six of them.' Over against which—no doubt equally fair—could be set Ritzema's description of the New England troops as destitute of order or discipline,—'Milites Rustici indeed.'[24]

Another result of the Colonial régime seemed no less unfortunate. Schuyler gave it out in orders that all the Connecticut men should sign the Continental Articles of War, but found after a time that nothing of the sort had been done. The officers admitted that they had not urged the matter upon the soldiers, but explained that 'they found it would raise a defection in their minds which

---

[24] **Welsh, Aug. 5, 1775**: 4 Force, III., 46. **Conn. rations**: Hinman, Conn., p. 165. **Schuyler's comments**: letter to Hancock, July 21, 1775 (4 Force, II., 1702). **Ritzema, Journal, Aug. 21.**

would injure the cause.' In short, the soldiers felt that instead of being freemen, volunteering to serve their Colony for a limited time but not ceasing to be sovereign citizens, they would find themselves, if they should sign for the Continent, involved in a service 'the end of which was uncertain,' and would be, 'perhaps, on no better footing than that of Regulars,'—in other words, mere slaves and minions. For the same reason, they sniffed suspiciously at the plan to muster them in due military form; and the commander had to yield at all points.[25]

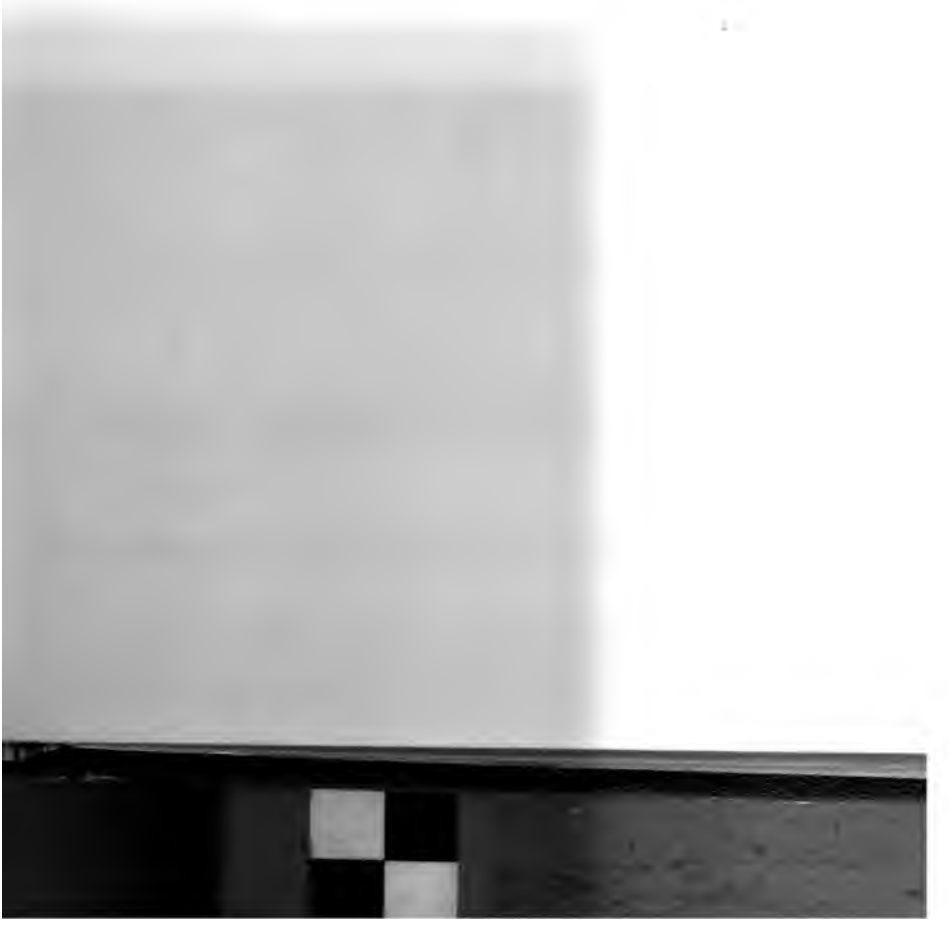
When Montgomery cited Schuyler's consequence in the province as a ground for electing him to a high command, he added, 'But has he strong nerves?' By this time the General's letters had begun to answer that question. Sometimes he wrote in the simple, straightforward, sensible style that no doubt represented the genuine and untroubled man. Sometimes, even when there was not a moment to waste, the gilt buttons of the major-general almost hid the cloth: 'I am happy to learn I shall soon be furnished with that necessary article, without which every kind of business goes on not only tardily, but disadvantageously; I lament it was not in your power to afford me a larger supply of the still more necessary article in military operations,'—in other words, he was pleased to know that some money was coming, but sorry as much could not be said of powder. Sometimes, his temper broke down into petulance or even peevishness: 'If those [deserters who have] gone are like some that remain, we have gained by their going off'; 'without an artillery officer it will be almost needless to have cannon.' And once he wrote President Hancock what—in view of the orders given him by Congress—

---

[25] § Bedford to Hancock, Aug. 30, 1775: 4 Force, III., 460. Trumbull to Schuyler, Sept. 29, 1775, and Hinman to Trumbull, Oct. 12, in Trumbull Papers. Conn. Hist. Soc.

A GENERAL VIEW OF THE RUINS OF FORT TICONDEROGA IN 1901

At the left may be seen the ruins of the Grenadier Redoubt, which stood almost vertically above the water.



would have seemed a twofold impertinence from any one less thoroughly recognized as a gentleman: 'If Congress should think it necessary to build vessels of equal or superiour force to those building at St. John's, a number of good ship-carpenters should be immediately sent up; although this year they would be of no service but that of transporting troops, even if we had them here, on account of the want of powder.'[26]

Still, in spite of everything, the troops gathered. Most of them, turning their backs on rough but quaint and picturesque Albany, followed the Hudson, crossed and recrossed the diminishing stream, and marched briskly on through the shadows and odors of a wide pine belt. An opening suddenly revealed, then, a long, dark sheet of water in a setting of green mountains, and they hurried down about a mile of easy descent, passed the ground where Dieskau fell, shuddered in spirit over the horrors of Fort William Henry, glanced at Fort George, and embarked on a lake almost beautiful enough to console the first white man that saw it, poor Jogues, for the gauntlet and fire of the Iroquois. Here they gazed at the massive walls, verdure clad, that had ravished the eyes of Champlain, when he came up in his frail shallop and taught those same redmen the sound of a Frenchman's gun; and, farther down, they wondered at the tremendous cliff where, as it was told, Rogers, the famous partisan, escaped from the Indians by a leap that none of them dared imitate. Some, if not all, passed a night on 'green feathers' at Sabbath Day Point; and then, leaving Lake George, they traversed ground made pathetic by 'Mrs. Nabbecromby's' flight and Lord Howe's fall, listened a moment to the roar of the Outlet, pondered

---

[26] § Montg.: Note 1. Schuyler's letters of July 10, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1621; Aug. 10: 4 Force, III., 177; Aug. 2, ib., 11. Orders: Secret Journ. Cong., June 27, 1775.

of Fort Edward, and then, saying good-
baggage and tents, pushed on by the right-l
Wood Creek, with four days' provisions in
sack. The weather was often rainy, the pa
and slippery,' not one bridge the whole wa
hemlock boughs for shelter; yet it all seeme
'Americans engaged in so glorious a cause
them phrased it. Near Skenesborough they
the Indians bound Putnam to the tree; a
another how the fire was actually kindled t
brave 'Old Put' alive. And so they, too, ar
headquarters. One march over such ground
enough to make them veterans."

Money, such as it was, now became plentif
gress, besides forwarding one hundred thou
dollars to the northern army, authorized Schu
for two hundred thousand more, should they b
during its recess. Carpenters arrived at the
July; and the saws, nails, oakum, and pitch c
Axes gleamed and rang in the vast swaying
the forest. Mighty giants of trees fell with a
banished the deer for miles around. Huge
into the Outlet, shot down the black current,
straws in the rapids, flew end-over-end throug
falls, and finally assembled with elephantine gr

eddy below. The two little mills, each with one saw, twanged their nasal music up and down, purring in the clear wood or snarling at the knots; while the busy men flung now and then a loud halloo or a cheery bit of song into the echoing woods. Urged by Schuyler, the carpenters hammered and sawed from the rising to the going down of the sun, with but a scanty time for lunch; and

THE WESTERN BARRACKS, TICONDEROGA, IN 1901

so, little by little, two flat-bottomed vessels sixty feet long, and a fleet of bateaux with bottoms and garboard streaks of oak and sides of white fir, glided into the water. There was inspiration as well as good-fellowship in such a life."

Little by little, too, the army got into harness. Schuyler's judgment and patience might possibly nod or snap, but his activity and zeal never slept; and a wave of calm

[29] § Journ. Cong., Aug. 1. W. Liv. to N. Y. Cong., July 29, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1753. Vessels, etc.: Schuyler to Franklin, Aug. 23, 1775 (4 Force, III., 242). Id. to Alb. Com., Nov. 2, 1775; ib., 1524. Bateaux: Id. to Hancock, Nov. 11, 1775 (ib., 1520); Kalm, Travels, III., p. 16.

good cheer came over the hills to him in the counsel of Washington: 'I am sure you will not let any difficulties, not insuperable, damp your ardor. Perseverance and spirit have done wonders in all ages.' Montgomery, who came up from Albany after a while and took charge of the details, had been a captain in the regular British army, and knew the campaigner whether his name began with Tommy or with Jonathan. 'Good soldiers,' he announced, would be 'cherished with the fond attention of an indulgent Parent,' but 'the vicious, the disorderly and the disobedient' would in due course be visited with deserved punishment. 'Men having shown their reluctance in the Department wherein they may [be] usefull,' it was given out in orders, 'the Commanding officer of that Regt will take Care that they do not go on the Expedition, as it is much suspected they have entered into the Service from mercenary views [rather] than from a generous Zeal for the Glorious Cause of America.'[30]

By the twenty-fifth of August, a New Yorker felt able to report, very possibly with a friendly bias, that the men were 'under as strict a discipline as any of the Regulars.' With 'the greatest plenty of salt and fresh provisions,' 'a gill of rum and as much spruce beer as they could drink every day,' they could look forward cheerfully to 'a smart brush' with the red coats. At noon, when the hot August sun poured his drowsy beams upon the camps, the breeze from the lake drew softly over them; and at evening the air of the forest, laden with cool woodland odors, crept down from the hills to visit and refresh the tents. It was a rough yet pleasant schooling for something very different, and the soldiers grew more and more confident. 'As for my own part,'

---

[30] § Wash., Aug. 20, 1775: Writings (Ford), III., p. 86. Montg., Gen. Orders, July 19, 1775: MS. in the possession of Miss Sarah W. Adam; Montg.'s Orderly Book, Aug. 24: Lib. of Cong. REMARK XII.

wrote an officer, 'there is nothing gives me the least uneasiness.'[31]

Meanwhile the great issues—the security of the Colonies and the destiny of America—sharpened the call for their valor. On the fourth of July, the city of London directed its representatives in Parliament to demand, 'Who are the advisers of those fatal measures which have planted Popery and arbitrary power in America?' but only to meet with another rebuff. Two days later, the Continental Congress really, though as yet unconsciously, decreed American independence by a Declaration 'setting forth the causes and necessity' of taking up arms, one count in which was the 'certain intelligence,' that Governor Carleton intended to fall upon the Colonies with Canadians and Indians, if he could persuade them to it. Another two days passed, and the Congress assured the people of Great Britain that 'the powers vested in the governor of Canada gave us reason to apprehend danger from that quarter, and we had frequent intimations that a cruel and savage enemy was to be let loose upon the defenceless inhabitants of our frontiers.' Within three weeks more, an appeal to the warm-hearted people of Ireland revealed again the fears and the determination of the Colonies. On the other side, the King's face grew each day harder, and the plans of his government less pacific.[32]

Every motive urging the patriots to action was intensified; and on Lake Champlain to act was to advance. Time had been lost; but that signified now only the greater need of despatch. Equipment still lagged; but that only meant now that resolution and energy should make up the want. 'When the sword is short, we take one step forward,' said Hoche.

---

[31] Letter to N. Y., Aug. 25: Boston Gazette, Sept. 25, 1775. REMARK XIII.

[32] § London: 4 Force, II., 1072. Journ. Cong., July 6, 8, 28.

X

THE COUNSELS OF THE FOREST

THE traveller must beware not only of the foe that prowls but of the foe that glides; he must fear not only the enemy that leaps upon him with a roar, but the enemy that thrusts a fatal sting from flowers and grass in silence; the panther is terrible, but the serpent is dreaded even more.

The scarlet lines of British troops and the white flash of British steel made no pleasant sight in the dreams of the Colonists; but perhaps, at least on the frontier, the prospect of trouble with the almost invisible savages cut into their slumber still more deeply. To be killed, said Madame Magloire, one could endure; but to be killed with a dull knife——! and the knives of Indians, far worse than dull, had their edges twisted into every contortion that savage cruelty could imagine, to prolong and agonize the tragedy of death. The frightful gauntlet, the bloody scalping-knife, pitch-pine splinters burning in the flesh, slow fires kindled on the body, gaping wounds crammed with salt, slashed feet driven over gravelly roads, a whole infernal gamut of tortures too horrible or too indecent for description, and then, beyond the worst of them, the torments of the heart added to those of the nerves, when husbands, wives, and children were compelled to witness one another's torments,—all these were no bygone tales, but living realities, almost passing before their eyes, to the Americans of 1775.

Peculiar dangers, too, as well as cruelties belonged to

Indian warfare. True sons of the forest, the savages had a key to every secret path of the wilderness, and for them each tree of the mountain was a sign-post. Few indeed of the palefaces equalled them as scouts. Nobody could foretell when a sleepless, bloodshot eye might be tracking his footsteps, or waiting in the branches of a hemlock to shoot him down as he passed. Striking like a snake from the covert of leaves, but without the warning hiss or rattle, the Indian kept his foes in deadly fear even while busy far away; and after fear, tired by long watching and reassured by the stillness, had fallen asleep, in the very moment of confidence, when the breeze in the pines whispered only of peace, he struck like the lightning, and marked the spot forever with a name of blood. Quiet was a trap and silence a delusion; information might only bait a snare; and victory proved too often but the shadow of a coming disaster.

No doubt the day had passed when the result of a set contest between white and red could be uncertain; yet the Indians—especially if somewhat united—could still muster large as well as infernal cohorts. The league of the Iroquois in central New York—the fierce Mohawks, the brave though milder Oneidas, the warlike Senecas and their less known allies—made the name of the Six Nations a factor still in any calculations of American war. In the central council-house, guarded sternly by the Onondagas, hung many a belt of wampum that told of triumphs in war and in statecraft; and the proud hope of adding to the score burned hot within many a painted brave. Brant, the civilized but no less terrible Mohawk, was now in his prime; and, while he lived, the Dutch west of Albany, hearing the cry, 'Brandt, brandt!' felt happy if it proved to mean a fire in the village, not a raid of this dreaded enemy.[1]

[1] Bonney, Gleanings, I., p. 53.

Less martial and less mighty, the Seven Natio
Canada were linked in bonds of alliance to the Iroq
Less martial, yes; yet not for that reason tame or
hearted. Even the 'Christianized' Abenakis of St. Fr
were not yet far from savagery. Montcalm had lc
with amazement there, only a few years before, on so
faces painted with white, green, yellow, black, and
vermilion, scalp-locks bris
with feathers or with wam
pendants dangling low
every nose and weighing
lobe of every ear to the s
der, hunting-shirts daubed
vermilion, and necks hung
wampum; and, in spite o
silver bracelets, the gorget
medals, the good steel kniv
their bosoms, and the
French muskets in their h
these lambs of the fold
seemed very passable w
For all their childish fi
they were able warriors;
when Rogers took their v
by surprise one morning, he found hundreds of En
scalps hanging from the poles above their doors. T
thought Joseph Reed, were 'the savages we had the
reason to fear.'[2]

A DEERFIELD DOOR, HACKED BY THE INDIANS

At Caughnawaga, on the south side of the Riv
Lawrence about nine miles above Montreal, dwelt
still dwells—another of the Seven Nations. C
Piquet, one of the political French preachers, establ

[2] § Journ. Cong., July 13, 1775. Baker (4 Force, II., 1735) gave the
of all. See Parkman, Montcalm, I., pp. 371, 480, 485; II., p. 255. W. I
J. Reed, I., p. 119.

a mission on a commanding ridge at the mouth of the Oswegatchie, where Ogdensburg has now built its thriving warehouses. Many from the Six Nations, particularly Mohawks and Onondagas, were drawn to it; and some of these, with other Iroquois, removing to the Rapids of Lachine, founded the 'Castle' of Caughnawaga. Some, or perhaps—as John Brown stated—all the chiefs of this tribe were 'of English extraction Captivated in their infancy'; and the blood of their leaders, no less than their central position, gave this little band of less than two hundred effective warriors a certain leadership, it would appear, in the statecraft of the northern confederacy. But each of the tribes had its governor, so Captain Baker stated; and, meeting in conference, they selected a chief magistrate, to exercise a vague authority over the whole body.[3]

North and west of these loose but important leagues—the Iroquois and the Seven Nations—raged an almost unknown sea of painted red-men. The wild Ottawas and the broken yet still warlike Hurons were the surf at its edge. Beyond these, a whole pageful of uncouth names represented possibilities of savage invasion that no sagacity could fathom; and the foulness of Indian warfare deepened and blackened toward the west into the stark horror of absolute cannibalism.[4]

As for the aborigines themselves, the clash of arms between England and her Colonies darted strange notes of perplexity, of menace, and—above all—of excitement into their very hearts. When the red flag and the white met in battle, they understood it, for had not the Mohawk lifted the scalp of the Huron? But what could it mean

[3] § Parkman, Montcalm, I., pp. 64, 171, 478, etc. J. Wheelock on Can. Inds., May, 1779: Wheelock Papers. Caugh. is said to be Iroquo's for 'At the Rapids': Hist. Mag., 1864, p. 373. Brown: Mass. Arch., Vol. 193, p. 41. 200: J. Liv., Aug. —, 1775 (Emmet Coll.). The chiefs asserted that they had 300. Baker: Note 2.

[4] Parkman, Montcalm, I., pp. 478, 479, etc.

that Englishmen were levelling the musket at Englishmen, that the great King of the British sent warriors to mow down his own children?

What will become of the tender shoots of civilization among us, in such a chaos? asked the more enlightened.

CAUGHNAWAGA IN 1903

How can our feeble alliances, always in danger of breaking asunder, bear the strain of these contending friendships and interests? reflected the statesmen. How can the rash young braves be kept from turning a difficult into a hopeless problem? reasoned the elders. What will become of our trade, without which we cannot live? said the prudent. Shall we not find ourselves at last between the upper and the nether millstones? asked the sages.

'Blood, booty, scalps, brandy, revenge!' shrieked the young men when they dared.[5]

In May, news came to the Massachusetts Congress that the Indians on a hunt near Brownfield, in the district of Maine, seemed strangely excited. 'They can't hunt, eat, nor sleep,' said a squaw; 'keep calling together every night; courting, courting, courting, every night, all night. O, strange, Englishmen kill one another! I think the world is coming to an end!'[6] Might not this excitement of the wild folk, spreading electrically through the forest like the mysterious quiver of its leaves before the tempest, betoken a storm of savage fury, soon to break the bonds of a great fear, and burst upon the whites in a whirlwind of blood and fire?

In studying the problem of the woods, the Colonials found themselves face to face with a very unpleasant fact. The Indians were in reality wards of the British. For a long time they had been accustomed to depend upon the government. In Canada, as we have seen, St. Luc La Corne had been their Superintendent under the king of France, and Campbell, La Corne's son-in-law, held that office now. Among the Iroquois, Sir William Johnson had lorded it mightily from the rude baronial mansion on the hill near Johnstown, and his rare talent for both winning and commanding the Indians was reinforced by a marriage—or what they doubtless regarded as a marriage—between him and Molly Brant, sister of the Mohawk chief. Sir William had recently departed the scene; but Sir John, who occupied the Hall, Colonel Guy, who became the Indian Superintendent, and Daniel Claus, a son-in-law, who acted as the Deputy-Superintendent, might all of them together fill his place, perhaps; and

[5] § Based upon *a priori* reasoning and a variety of hints, many of which will appear later.

[6] Brownfield Com. to Mass. Cong., May 16, 1775: 4 Force, II., 621. 'Courting' appears to mean gathering in council.

certainly they would aid the King to the extent of their power. In the west, the bond held more loosely, no doubt, yet perhaps was no less real.'

Both the hands and the ears of the Indians were open to their Superintendents; and one reckoned easily enough the influence of those arguments, persuasions, threats, promises, and presents, which the British government could well afford to supply. To be sure, the manufactured articles needed by the Iroquois came chiefly through New York, and many of the other tribes were partly, if not mainly, supplied by the Colonies; but, should the American seaports be stopped and the feeble manufacturing of the Provincials be checked by war, while the way to England through Canada remained open, resentment and interest alike would draw the Indians more and more closely to the government.

Besides, the redoubtable Iroquois felt none too friendly toward the New Yorkers. Little by little, yet rapidly, they had seen Fort Orange, a wretched pile of logs, grow up into the busy and aggressive town of Albany. They had watched the settlers push out and speedily change from trembling pioneers into rich and haughty magnates. Hendrick, the famous chief of the Mohawks, though he died fighting for the Colonists, complained that ere long, should an Indian find a bear in a tree, before he could kill the animal some white man would appear and say it was his. Constant encroachment had been the rule, as the natives thought; and the dangerous Mohawks had felt the pressure most. Nor had the *suaviter in modo* softened the *fortiter in re*. Hard men were those Dutch merchants of Albany oftentimes, and not always over-

[7] Johnstown: Elmer, Journal, p. 110; Bloomfield (N. J. Hist. Soc. Proc., II., p. 116). West: the correspondence of the governors of Quebec gives a long series of hints. Marriage: cf. Haldimand to Johnson, Sept. 9, 1779 (Can. Arch., B, 107, p. 351) with Lossing, Schuyler, I., p. 353. Sir John: Carleton to Germain, July 8, 1776 (Bancroft Coll., Eng. and Am., Aug., 1775-Dec., 1776, p. 461). Guy and Claus: Ind. Trans., Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. Ind., Vol. 280, p. 9.

nice; and, between the tricks of the speculators in land and the extortions—not to say, lies—of the traders, many a sullen Iroquois found himself well lined with grudges. The Canadian Indians, to be sure, had not these inflammable recollections; but, if they did not hate the Colonials, they feared the British, which, at this crisis, amounted to about the same thing. Not very powerful at best, they stood between the regulars and the Canadians; and, if those two parties agreed upon a line of march, their own route lay clearly in the same direction.[8]

More or less informed of these dangers, the Colonial authorities felt anxious from the first. All the leverage they possessed was made to do its work. 'We pray you to use every effort to preserve and improve the present peaceable dispositions' of the Indians, wrote New York to her sister Connecticut, when troops were to occupy the lake forts; and, while Arnold bore sway in that quarter, the Continental Congress ordered him to secure and preserve their friendship. General Schuyler, who had been adopted by the Mohawks, and was called a chief under Indian names by the Mohawks and Oneidas, had no little influence with the savages, and exerted it all. 'Old Put,' a hero among Indians as well as whites, addressed a letter to the Caughnawagas.[9]

A few years before, Eleazar Wheelock, a heroic minister, had gone up the Connecticut into New Hampshire, and, among the tall pines of Hanover plain, laid the foundations of Dartmouth College. The son of the head sachem at St. Francis, the brother of a Caughnawaga sachem, and a considerable number of others from the northern tribes were in attendance there in the spring

[8] § Ft. Orange: Parkman, Jesuits, p. 229. Id., Montcalm, I., 171, 172, 320, 390.

[9] § N. Y. to Conn., May 24, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1248. Journ. Cong., June 16, 1775. Schuyler: Lossing, Schuyler, I., pp. 66, 387. Putnam: Brown to S. Adams, Mar. 29, 1775 (Mass. Arch., Vol. 193, p. 41).

of 1775; and the Continental Congress, poor though it felt, appropriated five hundred dollars to continue the work of educating them and so maintaining this bond. In March, Wheelock sent James Dean, one of his helpers, into Canada 'to strengthen and perpetuate the Friendship lately commenced' between his College and the northern Indians; and as Dean, brought up and naturalized among the Six Nations, was considered a great orator by the Caughnawagas; Wheelock felt well convinced that this connection would prove 'our strongest bulwark.' Fired with apostolic energy, the missionary pushed his

way—on foot, a great part of the distance beyond Crown Point—through the snows and ice of that raging season to Caughnawaga, and a fellow-evangelist, Walcott, labored at St. Francis.[10]

Among the Iroquois, Samuel Kirkland had been preaching for six years. Notwithstanding his cloth, as he once remarked, he interpreted the proceedings of Congress to the Oneida sachems, and for doing that Guy Johnson forbade him to speak so much as a word to the Indians; but he continued, in the triple character of envoy, interpreter, and preacher, to wield a great influence among them. Much was due to him, said Washington; and Congress, besides appropriating three hundred dollars for his travelling expenses, recommended

---

[10] § Chase, Hanover. Wheelock to Trumbull, Mar., 16, 1775: Wheelock Papers and 4 Force, II., 152. Narrative, ib., 1594. Journ. Cong., July 12. Wheelock to N. H. Cong., June 28, 1775: Wheelock Papers. Dean to Wheelock, Apr. 4, 1775: Emmet Coll. See also 4 Force, III., 1924; Hist. Mag., 2nd Ser., VI., pp. 239, 240.

his employment among the Six Nations at the public charge, 'in order to secure their friendship and to continue them in a state of neutrality.' Other dissenting ministers worked in the same peaceful direction, and England recognized their influence by ordering them, one and all, to leave the Iroquois.[11]

In June, Bayley addressed the northern tribes with a piquancy that must have gone to their hearts: 'We only want to live as we have heretofore; we do not want to fight, if they would let us alone. You are as much threatened as we; they want you to kill us, then they will kill you, if you will not serve them. Dreadful wicked men they be; . . . But I know you will be friendly, and you may depend upon us. . . . We [Colonials] are now all brothers, and we will be so with you; for one God made us all, and all must meet before God in a little while.'[12]

Massachusetts took formal steps to influence the Indians. In April, a curious appeal, drafted by Samuel Adams, went in Kirkland's hand to the dreaded Mohawks: 'Brothers, they have made a law to establish the religion of the Pope in Canada, which lies so near you. We much fear some of your children may be induced, instead of worshiping the only true God, to pay his due to images made with their own hands.' Andrew Gilman, Gentleman, received instructions to cultivate peaceful relations with the St. Francis Indians. Great pains were taken to hold the good-will of the tribes living east of the Penobscot. The attention of the Continental Congress was earnestly invited to the danger from the Iroquois; and Jonathan Edwards's parishioners, the Stockbridges, bravely struggling to civilize themselves among the Berkshire hills, were enlisted in the patriot cause as

---

[11] § Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., II., p. 330, note. Kirkland to Albany Com., June 9, 1775: 4 Force., II., 1309. Wash. to Cont. Cong., Sept. 30, 1775: 4 Force, III., 852. Secret Journ. Cong., July 17, 1775.

[12] § Bayley, June 23, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1070.

minute-men, and rigged out with a blanket and a yard of ribbon apiece.[13]

Touching indeed, as well as important, was the course of these people, once able to muster a thousand warriors but now only a handful. On the eleventh of April, after a council of nearly two days, their chief sachem—as the voice of his tribe—despatched this message to the Congress of the Colony[14]:

'Brothers: You remember when you first came over the great waters, I was great and you was little—very small. I then took you in for a friend, and kept you under my arms, so that no one might injure you. . . . But now our conditions are changed; you are become great and tall; you reach up to the clouds; you are seen all round the world; and I am become small, *very little;* I am not so high as your heel. Now you take care of me, and I look to you for protection. . . .

'Brothers: whenever I see your blood running, you will soon find me about you to revenge my brothers' blood. Although I am low and very small, I will gripe hold of your enemy's heel, that he cannot run so fast and so light, as if he had nothing at his heels.' So then, if you please, I will 'take a run to the Westward and feel the minds' of the Six Nations, who have 'always looked this way for advice concerning all important news that comes from the rising of the sun. . . . If I find they are against you, I will try to turn their minds.'

'Brothers,' replied the Congress, 'though you are small, yet you are wise. Use your wisdom to help us. If you think it best, go and smoke your pipe with your Indian brothers towards the setting of the sun, and tell

---

[13] § Adams, Apr. 4, 1775: 4 Force, I., 1349; Wells, S. Adams, II., p. 282, Gilman, June 25, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1444. Eastern Inds.: ib., 942, 1501, etc. Mass. to N. Y. Cong., June 13, 1775: ib., 1319. Stockbridges, Apr. 1, 1775: 4 Force, I., 1347.

[14] § 4 Force, II., 315. With reference to the Stockbridges, see Dewey Berkshire, and Pope: West. Boundary. They have been called Mohegans.

them all you hear, and all you see, and let us know what their wise men say.'[15]

In May the embassy set out, but for some reason concluded to go north instead of west. At the lakes, Arnold gave the envoys a letter of introduction to Walker, and Allen—'By Advice of Council'—gave them an epistle to the Caughnawagas; and then, as they bent their steps toward Montreal, accompanied by the same Winthrop Hoyt that had guided John Brown on his journey to Canada, they received further aid from the British; for they were seized by the regulars, tried by a court-martial on the charge of coming to inflame the Indians against the troops, and condemned to be hung. Excitement rose high in Caughnawaga Castle. Said the sachems to Carleton: 'If you think it best for you to hang these, our brothers, that came a great way to see us, do it; but remember, we shall not forget it.' Finally, the visitors were released, but that mercy could not extinguish all the resentment, and their mission was so much the more effective. Not without reason, probably, did Ethan Allen count 'the imperious and haughty conduct' of the British troops as an influence favorable to the Colonies.[16]

Many were the arguments brought to bear on those half-ripe minds. Let the whites destroy one another, and we shall get our lands back, suggested some of the shrewdest; and, as that idea worked for neutrality, the Colonials did not complain of it. This is a war of brothers, urged Cazeau, a Canadian ally of theirs, and

---

[15] 4 Force, II., 937.

[16] § By accident the letter of the Inds. miscarried, and the reply of the Mass. Cong. did not go until June 8. Apparently (as the text assumes) the Stockbridges sent off the embassy without waiting for it. Arnold to Walker, May 20, 1775: Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 192. Id. to Cont. Cong., June 13, 1775: 4 Force, II., 976. Allen to N. Y. Cong., June 2, 1775: ib., 891. Id. to Caugh., May 24, 1775: Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 193. B. Deane to S. D., June 1, 1775: Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., II., p. 246. In Can. Stock. to memb. Mass. Cong., June, 22, 1775 (4 Force, II., 1060); Verreau (Sanguinet), Invasion, p. 40. Arnold., Regt. Mem. Book, June 5. Allen to Mass. Cong., June 9, 1775: 4 Force, II., 939.

when it is over, if you have taken sides, both will hate you. Walker reasoned in the same way. As for the American Congress, it did not shrink from employing Indians against British forces that used them, but it preferred to eliminate the savages from the contest, and its efforts pointed in that direction.[17]

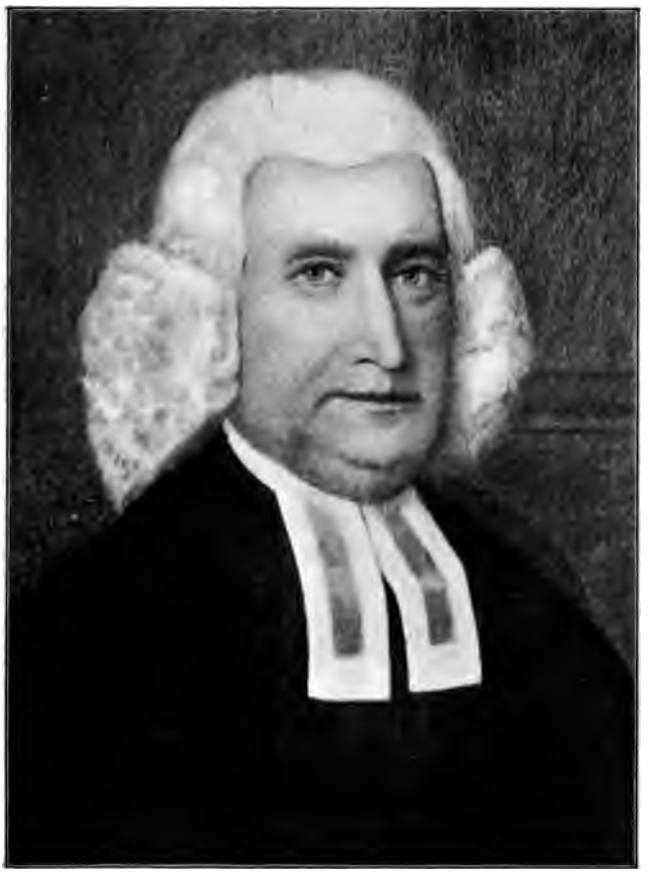
'Brothers and friends, open a kind ear!' in this wise it addressed the Iroquois; 'Brothers, listen! . . . This is a family quarrel between us and Old England. You Indians are not concerned in it. We don't wish you to take up the hatchet against the king's troops. We desire you to remain at home and not join on either side, but keep the hatchet buried deep.' A pictorial version of taxation without representation, well adapted to the aboriginal mind, was presented, and this keen hint planted at the same time: 'Brothers, observe well! . . . If the king's troops take away our property, and destroy us who are of the same blood with themselves, what can you, who are Indians, expect from them afterwards?'

A warning against the tales of the British followed: 'Brothers, . . . This island now trembles, the wind whistles from almost every quarter—let us fortify our minds and shut our ears against false rumours—let us be cautious what we receive for truth, unless spoken by wise and good men.'

'Let this our good talk [that is, the belts of wampum which represent it] remain at Onondaga, your central council house,' requested the Congress, adding, 'We depend upon you to send and acquaint your allies to the northward, the seven tribes on the St. Lawrence, that you have this talk of ours at the great council-fire of the Six Nations.' More important still, Congress established

---

[17] § Cazeau: Garneau, Canada, II., p. 447. Walker to S. Adams, Apr. 8, 1775: Mass. Arch., Vol. 193, p. 83. Journ Cong., July 12, 1775. Wash. to Schuyler, Aug. 20, 1775: Writings (Ford), III., p. 86. REMARK XIV.



REVEREND ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

three Indian departments to look after supplying the savages with all needed goods, especially, 'arms, ammunition, and cloathing'; to treat with them on the basis of neutrality; and, by appointing what were called in Parliament 'respectable' traders, to prevent extortion on the one side and resentment on the other.[18]

But the main argument for the Indian seemed almost sure to be force. 'They have no personal prejudice or controversy with the United Colonies,' observed Ethan Allen, 'but act upon political principles, and consequently are inclined to fall in with the strongest side.' The victories on the lakes appeared to be more hopeful influences than speeches or belts. 'The King's troops cannot save their populous towns from devastation,' wrote Allen and Warner; and the Indians might well dread that 'a blow at the root' would follow, should they take up the hatchet without provocation. 'Environ Montreal,' said Easton; 'This will inevitably fix and confirm' them, especially as both their lives and supplies would then lie solely in the hands of the Colonies. 'Secure the Government of Quebeck,' echoed Trumbull, 'and thereby the whole Indian strength in our interest and favour.' This method Congress was following.[19]

How was such a complexity of inducements and pressures working on the strange mind of the savage? Many an anxious eye, scanning the mysterious face of the woods day by day and hour by hour, noted signs of something taking place behind it; and various indeed were the reports and interpretations.

Walker deemed the chiefs wise enough to keep out of a quarrel which could only injure them; but Wheelock,

---

[18] § Journ. Cong., July 12, 13, 1775. House of Lords, Mar. 5, 1776: 4 Force, VI., 301.

[19] § Allen to Mass. Cong., June 9, 1775: 4 Force, II., 939. A. and W. to Dyer and Deane, July 4, 1775: Bancroft Coll., Amer. Papers, II., p. 411 (413). Easton to Mass. Cong., June 6, 1775: 4 Force, II., 919. Trumbull to Schuyler, July 24, 1775: ib., 1721.

despite his ardent faith in the Lord and the College, had many fears. 'What an easy prey we may be,' he exclaimed, 'to such a northern army of savages, etc. as we are threatened with.' Allen declared that gaining the sovereignty of Lake Champlain had 'united the temper of the Indians' to the victors; yet he and Warner agreed that 'Governor Carlton, with the influence of Guy Johnson and others, but above all by rich Presents' might seduce them. John Brown reported in March that the Caughnawagas, 'a very sinsible Pollitick People,' had not only sent Putnam 'assurence of their Peaciable Desposition,' but promised to 'take part on the Side of their Brethren the English in N. England,' if compelled to fight, and five chiefs, who visited Ticonderoga early in June, used extremely good words; yet, in the course of the latter month, reports came that they had had a war-dance, and taken up the hatchet for the King. The eastern red-men, who were described as 'hearty in the cause,' represented the Canadian tribes as 'all of the same mind'; but the Continental Congress had found reason to believe, not long before, that Carleton expected the savages to help recover Ticonderoga and Crown Point for him. Captain Baker was told by the Indians in July that the Seven Nations would not fight the Yankees, but the murder of a white near Cherry Valley—a familiar harbinger of trouble—seemed the beginning of a different story.[20]

---

[20] § Walker to S. Adams, Apr. 8, 1775: Mass. Arch., Vol. 193, p. 83. Wheelock to Trumbull, Mar. 22, 1775: Wells, Newbury, p. 73. Id. to ——, Mar. 16, 1775: Wheelock Papers. Allen to N. Y. Cong., June 2, 1775: 4 Force, II., 891. A. and W.: Note 19. Brown to S. Adams et al., Mar. 29, 1775: Mass. Arch., Vol. 193, p. 41. (See also Wheelock to J. Trumbull, June 19, 1775: Wheelock Papers.) Arnold's report: Trumbull to Warren, June 19, 1775 (Journ. Mass. Cong., p. 372). Caugh. hostile: Trumbull to Mass. Cong., June 27, 1775 (4 Force, II., 1116); Stringer to Cont. Cong., June 21, 1775 (ib., 1048). Oneidas: 4 Force, II., 1116; Hollister, Conn., II., p. 227. Schuyler to Cont. Cong., June 28, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1123. E. Indians: Lane to Mass. Cong., June 9, 1775 (ib., 942). Cont. Cong.: N. H. Deleg. to N. H. Com., May 22, 1775 (ib., 669); Journ., May 30 (Arnold's letter of May 23). Baker, Report, July 26, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1735. Sachems: Alb. Com. to Schuyler, July 26, 1775 (ib., 1746). Murder: Chief to Cherry Val. Com. (ib., 1766). The refs. add some facts to the text.

Formal assurances of goodwill were given by the savages. 'Brothers, You tell me that I must sit still, and have nothing to do with this quarrel,'—so ran the answer of the Caughnawagas to their brethren, the Stockbridges; 'I am glad to hear you; I shall do as you tell me. . . . There are seven brothers of us—we are all agreed in this.' Chief Louis went down to Cambridge and affirmed that when British officers put 'two Johannes a-piece' (about sixteen dollars) into the hands of the young men, the chiefs took the money away from them and gave it back, warning their juniors, 'If you offer to engage, we will put you to death.' Swashan, a St. Francis chief, who visited Washington's camp a few weeks later, described the Canadian Indians as 'determined not to act' against the Colonials. Solomon, King of the Stockbridges, announced in Pittsfield that the Mohawks had not only permitted his tribe to aid the whites, but sent word by a belt that five hundred braves would hold themselves ready to join it. And yet, after these and other signs of Indian friendliness, a very intelligent gentleman from Canada warned Governor Trumbull that the Caughnawagas greatly feared the regulars, and the Americans ought to 'provide against the worst'; while, as for the Iroquois, the New York Committee of Safety heard 'from good authority,' about the middle of July, that a thousand or twelve hundred of them were already halfway to Montreal.[21]

Gradually, out of this chaos of reports and promises, the chance of having to eat one's own ears emerged with three distinguishable faces.

News from London represented that sterling arguments

---

[21] § Caugh. reply, June 15, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1002. Roseboom, July 15, 1775: ib., 1670. Exam. of Louis, Aug. 3, 1775: 4 Force, III., 301. Swashan: Essex Gazette, Aug. 24. Solomon: T. Allen to Pomeroy, May 9, 1775 (Field, Pittsfield, p. 75). Report to Trumbull, July 6, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1504. N. Y. Com. Safety to N. Y. Deleg., July 15, 1775: ib., 1788. The refs. add facts.

Governor Stansbury Genr. Harvey. Most Obedient Humble Servants
Eleazar Wheelock

Hon, Revd: & hon, Sirs,
With great respect
Your most obedient
& very humble Servants
Eleazr Wheelock

each stamped with the King's gracious features, were pouring in a golden flood through the British posts in the northwest, and Price announced that La Corne had sent an embassy with war-belts in that direction. As a measure of prudence, the New York Congress cut short the journey of Captain Patrick Sinclair, just then on his way to govern at Michilimackinack, but apparently no great harm, after all, was likely to be done in that quarter.[22]

The northern Indians, though evidently uncertain, appeared more and more to have the same friendly disposition as the Canadians, with whom the reports commonly bracketed them; and it seemed as if a successful campaign above the border would be enough to ensure their good-will. Indeed, as a matter of fact, dimly reported to the Provincials, they took the ground, in reply to a summons from the Governor, that they did not understand the matter and must have time to consider it fully before acting,—a politic form of declaring their neutrality.[23]

The Iroquois, however, both nearer and more powerful, threatened to be also more unfriendly. During the latter part of May, Indian chiefs gave notice at Philadelphia that Guy Johnson was endeavoring to excite his wards against the Colonies; Kirkland sent a verbal message to the same effect; and, before June went out, this intelligence was considered certain at Fort George. Warm notes passed between the New York authorities and that 'High-flying Tory.' The Indian Superintendent, fortifying his house and invoking Brant's aid,

---

[22] § Essex Gazette, Sept. 28, 1775. Va. Gazette, July 11, 1775. Price: Conn. Com. to Conn. Assem., May 23, 1775 (Journ. Mass. Cong., p. 707). Sinclair: N. Y. Cong., Aug. 3, 1775 (4 Force, II., 1815). Harm: Wheelock to Trumbull, June 19, 1775 (Wheelock Papers).

[23] E. g., Brown, Aug. 14, 1775: 4 Force, III., 135. Neutrality: Claus, Narrative (No. Am. Notes and Queries, I., 1. p. 24); G. Johnson to Dartmouth, Oct. 12, 1775 (Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. Ind., Vol. 279, p. 345).

blustered that attempts were secretly hatching to attack him; and, although the Albany people ridiculed his 'terrible ideas,' the natives became excited. 'We shall support and defend our Superintendent,' said a leading Mohawk chief. This was ominous. Not less so the complaint of the Iroquois that their supplies of gunpowder from New York had been stopped, and a glimpse of three Indians riding home from Oswego post-haste, each with a bag of that article on the shoulders of his pony. In short, about the middle of July, the Tryon County Committee sent word to Schenectady and Albany that eight hundred or nine hundred Indians were ready to begin their bloody forays. Not only powder, but full barrels of rum, had been provided, and £3,000 for presents, it was said. Johnson himself professed a warm attachment for 'the innocent inhabitants' of New York, and proclaimed besides: 'My duty is to promote peace'; but Washington, reading between the lines of his bland assurances, inferred that 'no art or influence' would be left untried by him to rouse the savages against their white neighbors.[24]

Such was the truth. 'We therefore earnestly desire you to whet your Hatchet, and be prepared with us to defend our liberties and lives,' Massachusetts had written to the Mohawks in April; some of Edwards's more or less regenerated Stockbridges were actually under arms; Indians could be seen in Washington's camp; and such facts enabled General Gage to write the government:

---

[24] § Cont Cong.: N. H. Delegs. to N. H. Com., May 22, 1775 (4 Force. II., 669). Kirkland: S. Mott to Trumbull, June 30, 1775 (Trumbull Papers, IV., p. 124); 4 Force, II., 1140. Ft. George, June 29, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1135. N. Y. and Johnson: 4 Force, II., 638, 664, 665, 1275, 1669, etc. Alb. Com. to Johnson, May 23, 1775: ib., 672. G. Johnson lived at Guy Park, near the present Amsterdam: Lossing, Schuyler, I., p. 349. Mohawk, May 20, 1775, to Schenect.; ib., 841. Gunpowder: ib., 1666. Tryon Co.: ib., 1666. Rum: Roseboom before Alb. Sub-Com, July 15 (ib., 1747). Presents: Wheelock to N. H. Cong., June 28, 1775 (ib., 1181, 1541; Wheelock Papers). Johnson to N. Y. Cong., July 8, 1775: 4 Force II., 1669. Id. to Schenect. Com, May 18, 1775: ib., 638. Wash. to Sch., July 28, 1775: ib., 1747.

'we need not be tender in calling upon the Savages, as the Rebels have shown us the Example.' Accordingly, early in May, he sent Guy Johnson secret instructions, the tenor of which could be divined from the consequences.[25]

On finding his designs blocked by the New Yorkers, Johnson left home, the latter part of that month, with two hundred and fifty Tories and Mohawks; and, after halting at Fort Stanwix for a council, went on to Oswego. There, on the high plateau east of the river, where Montcalm had broken triumphantly through the star-shaped enclosure of palisades named Fort Ontario, he soon assembled fourteen hundred and fifty-eight redskins and one hundred whites. After a long council, both Iroquois and Hurons agreed warmly to accept his presents and arms, and to support the King's troops in 'the annoyance of the Enemy.' Then Johnson determined to embark for Montreal, with as many of them as he could transport—two hundred and twenty picked warriors and rangers—and, if it was possible, 'inspire their dependants in Canada with the same Resolutions.' [26]

Leaving Oswego on the eleventh of July in a sloop and four or five boats, this party threaded the shadowy passages of the Thousand Isles, plunged through the rapids of the St. Lawrence, and set up their wigwams at Lachine, over against Caughnawaga, within sight and

---

[25] § Mass., Apr. 4, 1775; 4 Force, I., 1350. Gage to Secy. State, June 12, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. Ind., Vol. 420, p. 224. Secret instr.: Johnson to Dartmouth, Oct. 12, 1775: ib., Vol. 279, p. 345; No. Am. Notes and Q., I., 1, p. 23.

[26] § For Johnson's operations: Extracts from Records of Ind. Trans. (Pub. Rec Off., Am. and W. Ind., Vol. 280, p. 9); Précis of Oper. (ib., Vol. 290, p. 1); Johnson to Dartmouth, Oct. 12, 1775 (ib., Vol. 279, p. 345); Dartmouth to Johnson, July 24, 1775 (ib., p. 247); Account of presents (Can. Arch., M, 104, p. 202); Claus's narrative (No Am. Notes and Queries, I., 1, p. 23); Johnson to Haldimand, Jan. 11, 1783 (Can. Arch., B, 106, p. 204); Carleton to Dartmouth, June 7, 26, 1775 (Pub. Rec. Off., Colon Corres., Quebec, 11, pp. 283, 309); Id. to Id., Aug. 14, 1775 (Can. Arch., Q, 11, pp. 222); Quebec letter, Oct. 1, 1775 (4 Force, III., 925); J. Liv. to Schuyler, Aug. —, 1775 (Emmet Coll.); Brown to Trumbull, Aug. 14, 1775 (4 Force, III. 135). Ft. Ontario: Parkman, Montcalm, I., p. 410. REMARK XV.

sound of the grey tumbling waters of the long Sault. A message to the Seven Nations went forth at once, and within two weeks nearly seventeen hundred of them gathered. Influenced by arguments, presents, and the contagion of excitement, they now 'readily agreed to the

same measures engaged by the Six Nations,' though Johnson confessed that their minds had been 'corrupted by New England Emissaries, & most of them discouraged by the backwardness of the Canadians.' The war-song was sung, the war-belts and hatchets were given and taken, and Johnson, roasting an ox and broaching a pipe of red wine, invited the Indians to eat the emblematic but nutritious 'Bostonian' and to drink his emblematic but intoxicating 'blood.'[27]

Without loss of time, he next called upon the Governor 'to put the Indians as soon as possible in motion as they were unaccustomed to remain Long Idle.' But here came a pause. The British government, three thousand miles away, could possibly think of the savages as valiant though undisciplined warriors, merely liable to be over-much in earnest on occasions, and might not squirm when Shelburne in the House of Lords denounced the plan to turn them loose on the Colonies as a 'barbarous measure' and a 'cowardly attempt'[28]; but a

---

[27] § See also Schuyler to Wash. and to Hancock, Dec. 14, 15, 1775: 4 Force, IV., 200, 282.

[28] Nov. 10, 1775: 4 Force, VI., 133.

glimpse of Lachine would have told it a still harsher tale. Within a few days, the blue flame of alcohol began to mount under their volatile wits. Canadian nobles themselves placed the cup of brandy at their lips and said, Drink! Piece by piece, clothing was exchanged for liquor; and with it fell off what rags of civilization had been picked up. Nakedness, paint, debauchery, madness, wild firing of guns, yells, bedlam, pandemonium, hell, took possession of their camp, and they became more troublesome—perhaps more dangerous—to friends than to foes.

When Johnson urged they be set at work, the Governor demanded to see them, and one look was evidently enough. Depending mainly, as he told Johnson that he did, on the Canadians, he could not risk the consequences of sending such warriors against their neighbors. Hoping still to see the Colonials reconciled to the mother-country, he deemed it bad policy to skin some of them alive and roast others. Motives of sheer humanity reinforced this prudence. The friendship of the Indians he no doubt considered 'absolutely necessary,'[29] and he thought they might be used rightfully in defence of the province; but he flatly refused to scatter this nest of scorpions, this den of serpents, these red firebrands of Gehenna upon the women and children of the frontier.[30] When a party under Remember Baker fired on some Indians, Johnson begged again for permission to move; but Carleton replied sternly that 'no one thing had yet happened to make him alter his Opinion.' In vain Johnson appealed to Gage's instructions; in vain the savages complained that the hatchet would cut them, unless they

---

[29] Carleton to Dartmouth, Aug. 14, 1775: Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 222. See Brant's statement: Lossing, Schuyler, I., p. 357.

[30] Carleton to Dartmouth, Oct. 25, 1775: Bancroft Coll., Eng. and Am., Aug., 1775-Dec., 1776, p. 133.

dulled its edge on some foe. About a hundred of them were sent over to St. Johns; five hundred in all remained in the camps near Montreal; and the rest, as August wore away, gradually disbanded, assuring Johnson of their willingness to return, whenever scalps could be taken.

Meanwhile the Colonials, though ill-informed as to the details of these movements, took their precautions. In June, some Oneidas advised holding a conference at Albany; and, since Johnson's departure could be regarded as extinguishing the old council-fire, a good reason for such an innovation could be offered the Indians.[31]

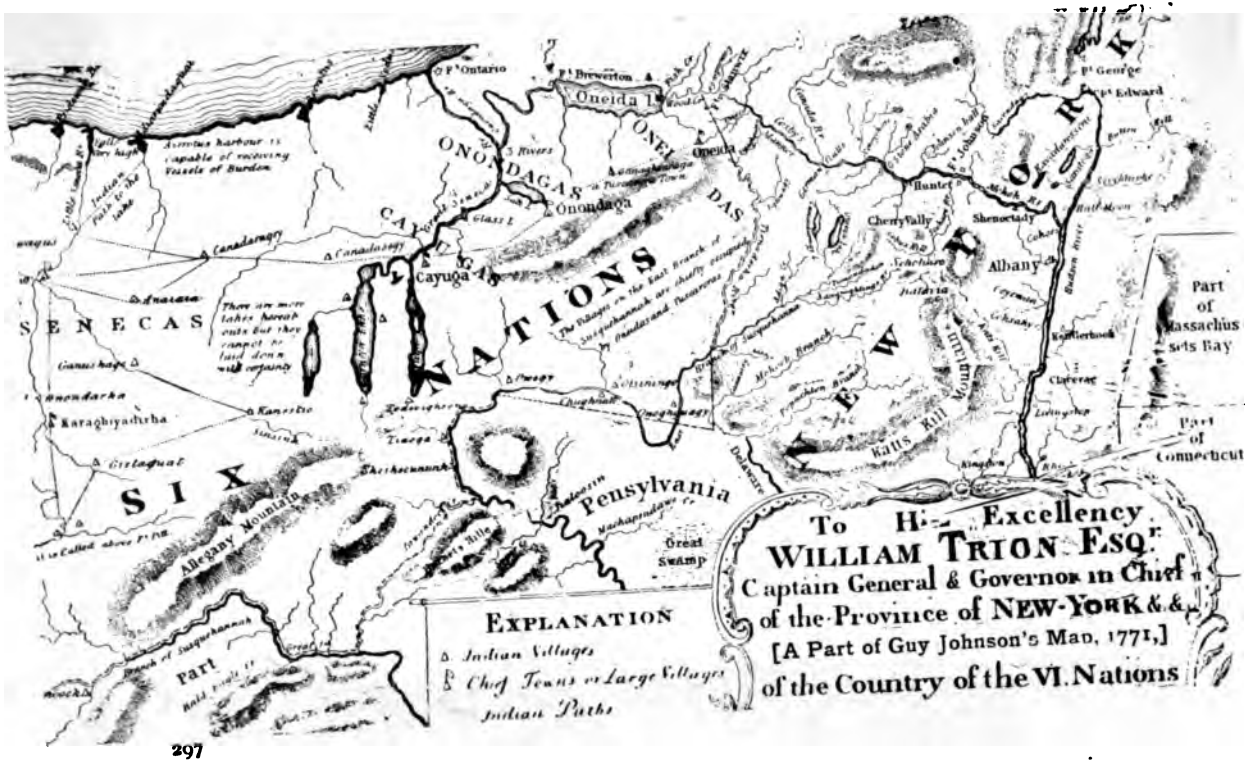
Congress acted on the hint. 'We judge it wise and expedient,' added the Great Fathers in their Talk to the Iroquois, 'to kindle up a small council fire at Albany, where we may hear each other's voice, and disclose our minds more fully to each other.' Accordingly, Colonel Francis and Mr. Douw, of the Commissioners, met Indian delegates at German Flats on the fifteenth of August, and proposed in the name of the 'Twelve United Colonies, dwelling upon this island of America,' that invitations be issued. And then Kanaghquaesa, an Oneida sachem, standing up like a pine of the forest, with all solemnity made answer[32]:

'Brother Solihoany and our Albany Brother, Commissioners from the Twelve United Colonies, you have now opened your minds. We have heard your voices. Your speeches are far from being contemptible. But, as the day is far spent, we defer a reply till tomorrow. As we are weary from having sat long in council, we think

---

31 Oneidas: Schuyler to Cont. Cong., June 29, 1775 (4 Force, II, 1133).

32 § Journ. Cong., July 13, 1775. For the council at Albany and its preliminaries, see 4 Force, III., 473–493; Schuyler to N. Y. Cong., Aug. 23, 1775: ib., 243; Barlow, Journal, Aug. 22, 25; Boston Gazette, Sept., 11, 1775, p. 2; Lossing, Schuyler, I., p. 388; Jones, N. Y., I., p. 373; Journ. Cong., July 13; Nov. 23.


SIX NATIONS
SENECAS
ONONDAGAS
CAYUGAS
ONEIDAS
Oneida L.
Onondaga
Cayuga
Canadasaga
Anasaca
Karaghyadirha
Kanestio
Pensylvania
Allegany Mountains
Albany
Cherry Valley
Shenectady
Part of Massachusetts Bay
Part of Connecticut
Kaats Hill
Great Swamp
EXPLANATION
Indian Villages
Chief Towns or Large Villages
Indian Paths
To His Excellency
WILLIAM TRION Esq.r
Captain General & Governor in Chief
of the Province of NEW-YORK &c.
[A Part of Guy Johnson's Map, 1771.]
of the Country of the VI. Nations

it time for a little drink; and you must remember that Twelve Colonies are a great body.'

The drink appears to have been equally great; and on the morrow Tiahogwando of Onondaga accepted the proposal of the day before, though he returned the belt which signified an invitation to the Canada tribes. 'Brothers, possess yourselves in peace,' he explained; 'We of the Six Nations have the minds of the Caughnawagas, and the Seven Tribes in that quarter, at our central council house.'

August the twenty-third, Schuyler, Chairman of the Indian Commissioners for the Northern Department, accompanied by Francis, Douw, Kirkland, Dean, the Albany Committee, and a number of leading citizens, met the heads of the Indians at Cartwright's Tavern, invited them, after due preliminaries, 'to take a drink, and smoke a pipe,' and proposed to open the council on the second day thereafter.

'We are glad to see you,' answered Kanaghquaesa gravely. 'We thank God that we meet in love and friendship. We will cheerfully take a drink, and smoke a pipe with you, and will be ready to proceed to business on the day which you were pleased to appoint for that purpose.'

Two days later the public bellman ding-donged the rounds of Albany, and all with time to spare gathered at the Dutch church. In a large, square body of seats, about seven hundred Indians sate with all dignity by themselves. Representing the party of peace among the Iroquois, they represented also the party of civilization. Most of them wore ruffled shirts, Indian stockings and shoes, and blankets richly trimmed with silver and wampum; and on some of the shaven heads laced hats could be seen, hiding the scalp-locks as Louis the Fourteenth's manners did his heart. 'They made a very

beautiful show,' noted Sergeant Barlow in his diary; 'They were the likeliest brightest Indians that ever I saw.'

After the visitors had laid certain grievances before the Albany Committee, the business with Schuyler and his colleagues was opened. First, the great pipe of peace travelled slowly round; and then the Commissioners told, in a long speech, how a certain father, misled by proud and ill-natured servants, had added and still added to the pack of his little son, until the child, 'so faint he could only lisp his last humble supplication,' finding that entreaties were of no avail, threw off the pack, saying to himself, 'It will crush me down, and kill me [to carry it longer]—and I can but die, if I refuse'; and how, upon that, the wicked servants brought a great cudgel to the father, urging him to take it in his hand and beat the child: 'Thus stands the matter betwixt old England and America.' Finally, a white belt was passed to the grim savages in ruffled shirts, and the Commissioners unfolded the desire of their hearts: 'to sit down under the same tree of peace' with them, to water its roots, and to cherish its growth together.

For three long days the savages wrestled with this proposition. Then Little Abraham made answer, and, on coming to the pith of the question, said:

'Now, therefore, attend, and apply your ears closely. We have fully considered this matter. The resolutions of the Six Nations are not to be broken or altered; when they resolve, the matter is fixed. This, then, is the determination of the Six Nations: not to take any part, but, as it is a family affair, to sit still and see you fight it out.'

The rest of the Indians testified their approval by silence, nods, or grunts; and the promise of a valuable present, in the shape of laced hats, blankets, calico, and

what Barlow called 'other Furniture,' sealed the happy bargain.[33] All seemed well content with peaceful neutrality.

Not so the Stockbridges, however. No mere friendship, no mere interest allied them to the whites, but the apostolic devotion and saintly teachings of Jonathan Edwards; and they had a word of their own to add. 'Depend upon it,' said Chief Solomon to the Commissioners, 'Depend upon it, we are true to you, and mean to join you. Wherever you go, we will be by your sides. Our bones shall lie with yours.'

So far, well,—very well; but the marplot had been at work. To men like Remember Baker, a bold partisan almost the equal of Rogers himself, scouting became a passion; and, after making a trip for Schuyler's sake, he undertook one, soon after the middle of August, for his own. With five men he paddled up into Missisquoi Bay, beyond the boundary of Canada, 'in the silent watches of the night,' hid his boat—a new one—in the bushes, and, when day appeared, set out for a journey of investigation. Pushing on through swamps and woods, he approached St. Johns, reconnoitred the fort and shipping, and then—happily undiscovered—retraced his path. With every sense alert, the party crept on through the jungle, for the ground was low and marshy round the bay. A gust of wind rustling a maple, or the scream of a catbird in the alders, would halt them now and then; and, poised like a wildcat sniffing the air, they would study the thicket on all sides. But quiet returned in a moment; and only the beams of sunlight, sifted through the tremulous foliage and weaving indecipherable messages on the ground, appeared to be alive.[34]

---

[33] Worth £1800 or £2000 (Liv., Journal, Sept. 2).

[34] § On the Baker episode: Verreau (Lorimier), Invasion, p. 246; Schuyler to Ind. Commrs., Aug. 31, 1775 (4 Force, III., 493); letter, Ti., Sept. 14, 1775 (ib.,

Suddenly, as the party reached a point of land, they saw Lorimier and five Caughnawaga Indians paddling along under the bushes within half musket-range, towing Baker's boat. The owner hailed them, and demanded his property, adding, 'The Indians and the Americans are friends'; but the men below, a hostile scouting party, made no sign of giving up their prize. Now Baker knew that strict orders had been given not to molest the Canadians nor the savages; but it would have been awkward to lose his boat, the fellows were certainly thieves, and redskins were vermin, anyhow, to a white ranger. He threatened to shoot. 'If you fire, we shall,' was the only reply. 'Fire!' he cried to his party; and blood spurted from two of the Indians.

His own piece did not explode, however: the flint was too sharp and caught on the steel; and, as he stooped to hammer it, his head projected beyond the tree that covered him. Just then Lorimier and his crew let fly into the woods at a venture, for they could see nobody. A buckshot marked a little sign on Baker's forehead and went on with its leaden message to the brain. Both parties fled; but later the Indians returned with reinforcements, discovered the dead scout, and bore his redoubtable head in triumph to St. Johns.

Schuyler left Albany for the north before the Council broke up, and, on hearing of this untoward event, sent word to the other Commissioners in great distress. Without delay, the facts were laid before the visitors, and they were assured that it was 'far from General Schuyler's intention to pluck one hair from an Indian's head,

---

709); Mrs. Walker, Journal; Macpherson to Schuyler, Aug. 30, 1775 (Schuyler Papers); Ainslie, Journal, Introd.; I. Allen, Vt., p. 62; Quebec Gazette, Aug. 31, 1775; Griffin, affidavit, Aug. 25, 1775 (4 Force, III., 709); letter in Boston Gazette, Sept. 25, 1775. The affair seems to have occurred on or about Aug. 22 (Quebec Gazette). Baker's head went from St. Johns to Montreal: Verreau (Berthelot), Invasion, p. 228. For Baker: Hall, Vt., p. 450; I. Allen, Vt., *passim*; Chittenden, Ti., p. 23.

or to spill one drop of Indian blood.' Yet all trembled: would not the savages fall into a rage, and go mad for vengeance?[35]

Happily, a few lives at long range signified little to them just then, and they accepted the explanations and assurances in good part. 'We take the liberty now,' they added, 'to instruct you how to settle this unhappy affair. You are first to pull the hatchet out of the head of the deceased, dig up a pine tree, and then throw the hatchet into the hole; this is to be done with a white belt. By a second belt you must say, 'We cover the dead bodies and the hatchet in the same grave, never to be found again! The second belt must be large.' Truly an ingenious method was this, to extort a fine without appearing to sell the blood of their friends!

And then came the second great success of the Council. Four envoys were despatched to the Caughnawagas, begging them not to lay Baker's conduct 'too much to heart,' since he had acted without the orders or even the knowledge of the 'Great Warriours,' and also inviting them to send a few people to the central council-fire without delay, in order to learn about the treaty just made at Albany.

It certainly looked as if the Colonials, aided by Carleton, had got the better of Guy Johnson. Yet Bougainville had well said, 'Of all caprice, Indian caprice is the most capricious.' Nobody could tell how the two factions—one for wampum and the other for scalps—would finally settle their difference. The course of the northern tribes had already shown how little the Indians could be reckoned upon. Should the Colonial troops invade Canada, the Governor himself would call upon them; and a thousand or two of those unrivalled scouts and fierce warriors would make a heavy counterpoise in

[35] § Sch. from Ti., Aug. 31, 1775: 4 Force, III., 493. Baker episode before the council: 4 Force, III., 494, 495.

the scales of fortune. Meanwhile, the ruffled shirts vanished into the forest; and, to the credit of Indian self-restraint or Colonial generosity, fifteen gallons of wine and some spirits remained in Mr. Douw's hands.[36]

---

[36] § Parkman, Montcalm, I., p. 430. Journ. Cong., Jan. 12, 1776.

XI

A CAMPAIGN OF GOOD INTENTIONS

THE general must look even more closely to the rear than to the front, says Hamley, and so Schuyler had found; but, after all, it was not enough to gather an army and establish safe communications: the enemy and the advance needed to be kept in mind.

Carleton had firmly shut the door of his province, but interesting sounds from beyond leaked through its crevices. Schuyler had barely reached Lake Champlain when a Canadian, lately at St. Johns, assured him that 'unless compelled by force' the people of the north would not take sides for the King. A few days more, and a letter from Trumbull informed him that Captain John Bigelow of Hartford had been sent into Canada by the Assembly to escort the ladies of Skenesborough to their friends, and on his return had reported it as 'certain' that the royalists of that country could not count upon a single one of the *habitants;* on the other hand, 'they were praying, almost to a man, for our people to come into their country.' 'Accounts from all quarters agree that the Canadians are friendly to us,' wrote the General himself to Hancock at about the same time.[1]

Five or six days after this, Captain Halsey of the sloop sent word that three Frenchmen and as many Indians, who met him in two canoes toward the north end of the

[1] § Sch. to Wash., July 18, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1685. Trumbull to Sch., July 17, 1775. ib., 1676. Sch. to Hancock, July 21, 1775: ib., 1702.

lake, predicted that 'the Canadians would be neuter; perhaps act in our favour.' On the first of August an Indian chief, arriving from Canada in Washington's camp, described the *habitants* as well disposed to the Colonies; and no doubt Schuyler had the benefit of this information. That very evening, two persons from St. Johns sailed up the lake above Crown Point with Samuel Mott. When questioned under oath before the General, they declared that 'about three thousand Canadians rose to defend themselves in a body, and disarmed one of their countrymen who had a commission from Governour Carleton' to enroll them in the army. Later in the month, a French gentleman appeared at the Ticonderoga camp, and put the boys in fine spirits by insisting that 'the greatest part of the Canadians would join' them, and promising that he himself would kill five fat oxen in their honor.[2]

Over against all this and more, only a single opinion could be set. Brook Watson, a prominent London merchant on his way to the Lord Mayor's chair, passed up from Philadelphia to Canada on a business trip. 'A sincere friend to America and its rights I truly am,' he proclaimed; and not a few, influenced by his ponderous egotism, interpreted this Delphic oracle in the sense he intended them to give it. On the fourth of July, Watson indited an epistle from Lake Champlain near St. Johns to the New York Congress. 'Should the colonies send their troops into that Province,' he wrote, 'or should they go without orders, the Canadians and the Indians, their friends, will naturally fall upon your back settlements with fire and sword. Then the King's Troops on one side, and the Canadians and Indians on the other, what are the Colonists to expect but slaughter?' 'For God's sake,'

[2] § Sch. (Halsey) to Hancock, July 27, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1734. Chief: 4 Force, III., 301; Wash. to Hancock, Aug. 4, 1775: Writings (Ford), III., p. 58. Mott to Trumbull, Aug. 3: 4 Force, III., 18. Affid., Aug. 2: Cont. Cong. Papers, 153, pp. 93, 98. Letter, Aug. 25, 1775: Boston Gazette, Sept. 25, 1775, p. 2.

exclaimed the sincere friend, 'exert every faculty to prevent so great an evil'; and the opinion of a weighty personage like him seemed worthy of attention.[3]

FROM FADEN'S AMERICAN ATLAS OF 1776

But the proof of a fiend has always been a certain odor of brimstone about the time of his disappearance, and by this test Watson's oracle had its inspiration from below.

---

[3] § Watson to N. Y. Cong., July 4, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1571. Egotism: based on a number of of Watson's letters.

On arriving at Crown Point with two Canadian gentlemen, he presented a paper from the Continental Congress, which directed the commanding officer to give him a passage across the lake. Accordingly, Lieutenant Ira Allen, Ethan's youngest brother, with some of the Green Mountain Boys, undertook to conduct the party. As they approached Canada, the British magnate probably felt it safe to loosen the other side of his tongue. At all events, Allen came to a certain conclusion about him; and, when Watson tried to prevent the men from priming and making ready for Indians, as they approached the doubtful shore, he refused to yield. The three passengers drew pistols; but that was a vain move. Allen's genial, handsome face grew threatening; and the consequence was that Watson soon landed in a swamp three miles from any house. His mask was now off,—at least an edge of it; and the fact that his companions were Canadian nobles did not help him. How far this incident made its way no one recorded, but apparently it became well known. 'That worthy and steady friend to the Colonies, Brook Watson, whose zeal is only to be equalled by his sincerity,'—was Montgomery's description of him later. Testimony like his could weigh little against the pile that flatly contradicted it.[4]

But Schuyler wished the fullest possible information, and sent John Brown on a scouting expedition toward Caughnawaga.

It was a daring trip. Leaving Crown Point early Monday morning, July the twenty-fourth, with a Canadian and three Provincials, Brown found a good breeze astern, and soon made the north end of the lake. Then began his troubles. Landing on the west side, the party had to march for three days in a swamp, lodging at night as

[4] § I. Allen, Vt., pp. 60, 61. Allen: Hall, Vt., p. 454; engraved portrait. Montg. to Sch., Nov. 13, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1602.

they could. 'I am not Able to inform any mortal What We underwent with firtugue and want of water in this journey Some Days no Water at all and other Days none but mud,' wrote one of the number. Much of the travelling had to be done by night. Now and then it rained in sheets, till they were as wet as water could make them. One whole day they passed in a hen-roost. The swamp, vile as it was, became a precious refuge sometimes; and where the swamp ended, bushes had to answer. Once about fifty men surrounded the house where they were; but they escaped by a back window. At another time, a boy came upon them in the bushes, gave an alarm, and 'Set the whole Nabourhood in a Russule,' upon which Brown 'went out Boldly and Spake with the People,' giving his comrades time to slip away. For some forty-eight hours, on his return, the enemy pursued him; but finally, after studying the temper of the country four days, he reached Crown Point in safety and made his report.[5]

Nothing could have been more positive than his testimony, and its earnestness deepened into pathos. 'It is impossible for me to describe the kindness received from the French,' he said, 'as also their distressed situation, being threatened with destruction from the King's Troops, by fire and sword, because they refuse to take up arms against the Colonies. They wish and long for nothing more than to see us with an army penetrate their country. They engage to supply us with everything in their power.' A man trusted by Samuel Adams and Joseph Warren could claim the confidence of Schuyler: if not, why was he sent? And, indeed, the mere fact that he returned, proved the good-will of the Cana-

[5] Sch. to Hancock, July 26, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1729. Brown to Trumbull, Aug. 14, 1775: 4 Force, III., 135. Wells, Journal: Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., VII., p. 241. Ti. letter, Aug. 23, in Boston Gazette, Sept. 18, 1775, p. 2.

dians, 'without whose protection I must have fallen into the hands of the enemy,' he confessed.[6]

Not a few reports told also of the danger gathering like a thunder-cloud in the north.

Some, though alarming, were vague. 'Burgoyne, we learn, has gone to Quebec,' wrote the New York Committee of Safety; 'If Ticonderoga is taken from us, fear, which made the savages our friends, will render them our enemies. Ravages on our own frontiers will foster dissensions among us ruinous to the cause. Be prudent, be expeditious.' A rumor went abroad in Canada that four thousand regulars 'were coming into the river' St. Lawrence, and it spread as far as Ticonderoga. So did a story that Carleton himself had announced the approach of reinforcements, and Ethan Allen felt satisfied that there was truth in the news. 'Witness,' he said, 'the sailing of the transports and two men-of-war from Boston, as is supposed for Quebeck. . . . I fear the Colonies have been too slow.' July the eighth, a gentleman in London sent word to a friend of his in Philadelphia that a thousand Highlanders had gone to the aid of Carleton, and nineteen hundred more were enlisting for him, adding, by way of encouragement, 'if you submit, sixty of you are to be hanged in Philadelphia, and the same number in New York.'[7]

One of the stories met an early death: 'No troops have been detached from Boston,' said Washington. But, on the other hand, positive reports of Carleton's hostile preparations gathered like a snowball.[8]

On the twenty-first of July, Schuyler sent Hancock

---

[6] § See Brown and Ti. letter: Note 5.

[7] § N. Y. Com. Safety to N. Y. Deleg., July 15, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1788. Rumor: S. Mott to Trumbull, Aug. 3, 1775: 4 Force, III., 18). Carleton: J. Liv. to Sch., Aug. —, 1775 (Emmet Coll.). Allen to Trumbull, Aug. 3, 1775: 4 Force, III., 17 London letter: 4 Force, II., 1607; Boston Gazette, Oct. 9, 1775, p. 2.

[8] Wash. to Sch., Aug. 15, 1775: Writings (Ford), III., p. 84.

word, not only that fortifications had already been rising for at least a fortnight at St. Johns, but that lumber for vessels was preparing. Within a week he received news that 'a picket fort, surrounded with a ditch' had become a reality there, and regulars had come south almost as far as Crown Point. Mott's travelling companions told how the soldiers had 'hewed and framed two very large and strong vessels at Chambly, to carry about sixteen carriage-guns each, which, before they put together, they had carted up with one hundred teams to St. Johns.' The intention of the British was to destroy, it was stated, 'all the Settlements this Side of the Line,' though as yet there were less than five hundred at St. Johns. About a week later, Remember Baker reported that he had visited this point a few days before, and found two schooners 'or Other war Like Vessels a Building there,' a fort erected, and cannon in place. 'I counted five Battoes in the water & four on the Land,' he added: evidently the substantial earnest of a fleet. Brown contributed an account of two bateaux mounting nine guns each, and said that 'two large row-gallies, of sixty or eighty feet length'—plainly Baker's warlike vessels—were nearly completed, and would have twelve guns apiece. 'Now, Sir,' exhorted Brown, 'Now, Sir, is the time to carry Canada. It may be done with great ease and little cost'; and this he could urge a few days later with still greater emphasis, for letters from the north reached him, promising the co-operation of four thousand men, if the American army would only 'come on.' 'We have all the encouragement from the Canadians and Indians, that we can desire,' epitomized an officer; adding, 'Our men are very fierce to push forward.'[9]

---

[9] § Sch. to Hancock, July 21, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1702. Id. to Id., July 27, 1775: ib., 1734. Mott: Note 7. Affidavits, Aug. 2. Cont. Cong. Papers, 153, pp. 93, 98. Baker to Sch., Aug. 10, 1775: Dreer Coll. On Aug. 3, Baker had

My Brothers whom I greatly esteem & respect will accept of what alone I have in my power to give — my warmest wishes for their Happiness' —

with pies { Robert Walkm / Edwd Mott / J. S: Tilard } Richd Montgomery

Augst 30th 1775

Crown Point

Schuyler for his own part declared for action over and over again. 'This, then, is the time to gain intelligence with certainty by going to St. John's with a respectable body,' and at the same time 'prevent the regular Troops from gaining a naval strength,' he announced on the third day after climbing Ticonderoga point. July the twenty-sixth he promised, 'the moment I have sufficient craft and carriages for a few guns, I will pick my men and give them the best of the arms, and proceed to St. John's'; 'the necessity of such an operation becomes daily more evident to me.' The next day, no manœuvre appeared 'more necessary than an immediate movement to St. John's.' Already his sailing craft would carry five hundred and fifty men at a single trip, and a good force of carpenters was now making the chips fly fast. By August third, Schuyler's fears of being detained through a lack of provisions had subsided. Yet that month grew old and grew older, without discovering a sign of action. Brown's thrilling report seemed to have no effect. August seventeenth, Schuyler left the army for a visit at Saratoga, and then went on to Albany, without even giving the order to make ready for an advance.[10]

No doubt the lack of complete supplies for offensive operations had much to do with this inaction; but, even if the General dared not attack the regulars, something quite important lay within his reach. On the York side of Lake Champlain, just thirty miles from St. Johns, Iron Point (*Pointe au Fer*), a broad cape of firm, dry meadow-ground fanned with health-giving breezes, pushed out into the sparkling waves. Only the year before, 'a very strong stone and lime wall house, with

---

reported to Sch. that the Indians had told him of these vessels (Sch. Papers). Brown: Note 5. Boston Gazette, Sept. 18, 1775, p. 2 (letter from Ti., Aug. 23).

[10] § Sch. to Hancock, July 21, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1702. Id. to Id., July 26: ib., 1729. Id. to Id., July 27: ib., 1734. Id. to Trumbull, Aug. 3, 1775: 4 Force, III., 17. Id. to Wash., Aug. 27: ib., 442.

strong ball-proof brick, sentry boxes at each corner,' had been erected there. Forty-four port-holes waited for cannon; and some ordnance, with a little digging of dirt, could make the White House really formidable.[11]

Even more favorably situated, a natural plug in the Richelieu River some fifteen miles above St. Johns, Nut Island (*Ile aux Noix*) had invited the Provincials from the very day Ticonderoga fell. 'The bridle of Canada,' General Haldimand called it. Here 'a very strong Fortification could be raised at a small Expence,' wrote Captain Marr, Carleton's engineer; and 'it would be very possible to prevent any Vessel or Number of Vessels to pass this Post.' Indeed, the strength of the 'bridle' had been proved. Still visible and still valuable were the intrenchments thrown up there by the French during the recent war, as well as the pickets driven into the river-bottom from the island to the shores; and, according to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, they had stopped Amherst and all his army. Yet this point of vantage had not been appropriated by Carleton; and a boom here, defended with a few cannon, would certainly check his light vessels.[12]

Now if Schuyler could safely maintain a post at Crown Point, he could do the same farther north; while, if he could not, that place ought to have been abandoned. In both cases the serious danger was the same: a hostile fleet. Occupying Iron Point through July and August, he could have encouraged the friendly Canadians and watched incessantly for chances to damage the British; while, planted at Nut Island, he would have had the bit fairly in his adversary's teeth, unless Marr and Haldimand were mistaken.

[11] § Gilleland to Cont. Cong., May 29, 1775: 4 Force, II., 731. Carroll, Journal, p. 84. Robbins, Journal, Apr. 27.

[12] § Haldimand's Memorandum Book: Can. Arch., B, 229, p. 38. REMARK XVI. Marr, Remarks on Quebec: Can. Arch., M, 384. Parkman, Montcalm, II., p. 249; Carroll, Journal, pp. 85, 86; Robbins, Journal, Apr. 27. Valuable: Haldimand to Germain, Oct. 15, 1778 (Can. Arch., B, 54, p. 30). Not occupied: Baker to Sch., Aug. 10, 1775 (Dreer Coll.).

Since my last I have received the intelligence
contained in the inclosed affidavits. Facts of such a
nature, that I think it my indispensable duty to
send this by Express; that you may judge of the
propriety of my making the attempt, you have
positively ordered me in the resolutions of the 27th of
June and 3d July; and for which I am preparing
with unremitting diligence. I do most earnestly

FROM SCHUYLER'S LETTER TO CONGRESS, AUGUST 2, 1775

In truth, however, Schuyler had the means of doing even more. Carleton's military strength might soon be formidable, but thus far he seemed to have only five or six hundred regulars near St. Johns. At the lowest calculation, Schuyler far out-numbered his enemy. No doubt he wanted more gunpowder, but so did Washington. The cartridge-paper ordered at New York had not arrived, but something to answer the purpose for a few days could surely be found at Albany. If he was not fully in trim for battle, neither were the British. As Napoleon once remarked, war cannot be made without accepting risks. Yet Carleton was permitted to keep at work upon the Canadians, build his fort, and prepare to sweep the lakes; and Schuyler rode off to Saratoga. 'It seems that some evil planet has reigned in this quarter,' observed John Brown bitterly. 'Are we not to hear of an Expedition into Canada?' wrote James Warren to Samuel Adams in despair.[13]

In a letter 'entreating' Schuyler to rejoin the army as soon as he possibly could, Montgomery went so far as to say: 'It will give the Men great confidence in your spirit and activity—how necessary this confidence is to a General I need not tell you . . . be Assured, I have your honour & reputation highly at heart.' Such words from a loyal subordinate and true friend, familiar with the strictest rules of military etiquette, and extremely polite as well as warm-hearted in his personal conduct, signified that Schuyler had been voted lacking in spirit and activity by the army.[14]

What did it mean? Doubtless he felt worried and tired; but that did not explain his course. Had he really

---

[13] § Sch. to Wash., Aug. 27, 1775: 4 Force, III., 442 (350–400 at St. J.; 150 200 at Chambly; about 50 at Montreal, besides Johnson's Tories and Indians; 1700 Amers. ready to move.) About 2400 Amers.: Ti. letter, Aug. 23, in Boston Gazette, Sept. 18, 1775, p. 2. Brown: Note 5. Warren, Aug. 4, 1775: S. Adams Papers. Troops: REMARK XVII.

[14] Montg. to Sch., Aug. 25, 1775: Sch. Papers.

given up the idea of entering Canada? 'The enemy's naval strength will be such as, in all probability, will prevent our getting down the Sorrel River to St. John's,' he said on the third day of August; and few men have cared to move against 'all probability.' Indeed if he only waited, it was bound to be a certainty, and—he waited. That, however, represented only one phase of his complex thinking. Schuyler had not finally given up the idea of invading Canada; neither had spirit and activity failed him. But, as he clearly revealed in his letters, he felt doubts about the 'propriety' of advancing, and was rather expecting his 'superiours' to countermand their order.[15]

His superiors! Washington only urged him not to let his ardor be damped. As for Congress, it had placed but two conditions on the order to advance: the move must be 'practicable' and 'not disagreeable to the Canadians'; the second condition had been fulfilled by circumstances, and the first sufficiently well by Congress and the General. Indeed, on another part of the orders no condition whatever had been placed: Schuyler was to 'exert his utmost power to destroy or take all Vessels, boats or floating Batteries preparing by said governor [Carleton] or by his order on or near the waters of the Lakes.' On the second of August, the General still considered himself 'positively ordered' to move north; and, as the days passed, no directions to the contrary arrived. Under such circumstances, doubts did not become an officer.[16]

But Schuyler had been a politician much longer than a major-general, and both nature and training had unfitted

---

[15] § Sch. to Trumbull, Aug. 3, 1775: 4 Force, III., 17. Id. to Cong., Aug 2, 1775: Cont. Cong. Papers, 153, p. 89. Id. to Wash., Aug. 27, 1775: 4 Force, III., 442 ('unless prevented by my superiours'). Id. to Id., Aug. 6, 1775: Lossing, Sch., I., p. 3 5.

[16] § Wash. to Sch., Aug. 20, 1775: 4 Force, III., 213. Secret Journ. of Cong., June 27, 1775. Sent. of Canadians: Sch. to N. Y. Cong., Aug. 20, 1775 (4 Force, III., 212). Id. to Cong., Aug. 2: Cont. Cong. Papers, 153, p. 89.

him to march straight on, deaf as a hatchet, through a jungle of entangling perplexities. His mind lost its way in the mazy question of propriety and the still mazier question how Congress might, could, should, and would handle the problems it involved. The gunpowder, gun-carriages, and intrenching tools that he lacked came to be mainly psychological. At the same time, being a man of moods, beset on one side by people eager to advance, he became occasionally impatient for action. At such times he wrote the pressing letters to New York; but then, his resolution 'sicklied o'er' with doubt, he sagged away, and very possibly, without realizing it himself, found the lack of supplies and the bare possibility of being 'prevented' by his superiors a welcome excuse for deferring a momentous and hazardous move.

But another star mounted the heavens, as Schuyler rode down the firmament to Saratoga. Scarcely did Montgomery find himself in command at the lake, before he declared that, in view of the British preparations, the Americans must hasten to 'crush their naval armament' before it could 'get abroad'; and, without instructions to do so, he gave orders, under the pressure of necessity, to sail for St. Johns on the second of September. The fact that he did this proved that Schuyler could have done as much. The fact that he found himself compelled by the situation to act thus, without authorization and reluctantly, was evidence that Schuyler should have moved. And the fact that Schuyler, so sensitive about his military prerogatives, concurred almost eagerly in this decision, suggested at least that he realized these points, and felt relieved to have the tangle of doubts cut through, at one stroke, by a soldierly will.[17]

---

[17] § Montg. to N. H. Com. Safety, Aug. 19, 1775: 4 Force, III., 177. Letter from Ti., Aug. 25, 1775: Boston Gazette, Sept. 25, 1775, p. 2. Sch. to Wash., Aug. 27, 1775: 4 Force, III., 442. Sch.'s sensitiveness: note the quarrel with Wooster (Chapter XXVII.) REMARK XVIII.

Charlotte County ss.

Peter Griffin, Soldier in Capt. Babcocks Company, and Colonel Easton's Regiment, saith that on Saturday the twelfth instant he set out from Crown point with Lieutenant Watson, in a Scout down lake Champlain; that on Sunday last he fell in with Captain Remember Baker in the Schooner Liberty; that he was Chosen by Capt. Baker to go with him to Canada; that on Monday last at day light, he, with a little St. Francois Indian, were landed by Capt. Bak a little below Windmill point, on the west side of the River Sorel; that thence they proceeded on the west side of the River, to a place at St. Johns, about Five Hundred Yards from the Fortifications, in the woods, where they arrived at about 6 o'clock in the afternoon; that he saw the

A PORTION OF GRIFFIN'S AFFIDAVIT

Circumstances, apparently encouraged by Montgomery's resolution, immediately proved that still more could be done. August the eighteenth, he sent Brown to the north on another tour of investigation, but, as it chanced, did not have to wait for his report. Sergeant Griffin, one of Easton's men, had for some time been scouting on the lake. Sunday, the twentieth of August, he fell in with Captain Baker; and the next morning at daylight Baker, then on his fatal journey into Canada, set him ashore, with 'a Little St. Francis Indian,' on the west side of the Richelieu River close to Lake Champlain. About six o'clock in the afternoon, he reached the edge of the woods five hundred paces or so from Fort St. John, and all night he lay some ten rods from the British sentry. One of the vessels, the length of which appeared to be fifty or sixty feet, 'was planked up to the wale, and pitched black,' he found; while the other, mostly hidden by the first, 'appeared to him to be planked.' At daybreak he crept away, and on August the twenty-fifth he certified to these facts under oath before General Montgomery at Ticonderoga. Brown, for his part, sent an opinion the moment he met Griffin, as he chanced to do: the army must proceed 'or we lose all, i. e. the command of the lake, which is tantamount.' [18]

Despatching this report at once to Schuyler, Montgomery decided not to wait for a reply, and advanced the date of departure from the second of September to the twenty-eighth of August. At once the tedious camp, now full of malaria in spite of the breezes, woke up. A feverish bustle took the place of languor. Even the yellow invalids, quaking with ague, tried to hurry. Cooking and mending, packing and talking went on at the double-

[18] § Brown: Montg.'s orders (MS. in possession of Miss Sarah W. Adam). Griffin (copy sent by Sch.): Cont. Cong. Papers, 153, I., p. 133. Brown to Montg., Aug. 23, 1775: 4 Force, III., 468.

quick. Officers wrote home: 'We shall have a smart brush with the Regulars'; 'You will soon hear of very bloody scenes'; 'We expect warm work'; 'I hope in five days to be one of the Possessors of Montreal'; 'Pray to arms, to arms, my friend!' 'Our all is at stake! I had rather never again return from the field than live and die a slave!' And, on Monday evening, the twenty-eighth of August, the greater part of Waterbury's regiment, with Mott's artillery and Ritzema's four companies of the First Yorkers, embarked with noisy but sincere enthusiasm.[19]

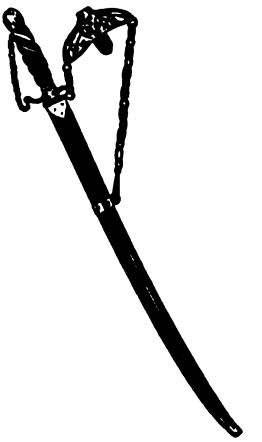
Wednesday morning, a pleasant-looking individual might have been seen at Crown Point, pacing up and down the shore of the lake. Rather slender he was called; but he stood above the medium height, bore himself right vigorously, and—from the spurs on his top-boots to the cockade in his gold-laced hat—looked every inch the soldier. The sword at his thigh, with its beautifully wrought mounting of solid silver and its ivory handle

---

[19] § Officers' letters, Aug. 25, 1775: 4 Force, III., 433, 434; Macpherson to Sch., Aug. 30, 1775; Sch. Papers; Letter, Aug. 31: Boston Gazette, Sept. 25, 1775 (used to show the spirit of the army); Ritzema, Journal.

The authorities for the events described in the rest of the chap., to which (except in special cases) it does not seem feasible to give detailed references (see Preface), are: Jos. Smith, Journal; Ritzema, Journal; 'Montgomery's' Orderly Book (Pension Office); Barlow, Orderly Book and Journal; Waterbury's Orderly Book; Wells's and Trumbull's Journals (Conn Hist. Soc. Coll., VII.); Sch.'s letters (July 31, 4 Force, II., 1760; Aug. 27, 4 Force, III., 442; Aug. 31, ib., 467; Sept. 8, ib., 669; Sept. 18, ib., 727; Sept. 19, ib., 738; Sept. 20, ib., 751); Montg. to Sch., Aug. 30, 1775 (Sch. Papers); Id. to Mrs. M., Sept. 5, 12, 1775 (L. L. H[unt], Biog. Notes, p. 11); Brown to Sch., Sept. 8 (Sch. Papers); E. Allen to Sch., Sept. 8, 1775 (ib.); Account of Manœuvres (4 Force., III., 741); Officer's letter, Aug. 25 (ib., 434); letter, Sept. 8 (ib., 672); letter Sept. 14 (ib., 709); letter, Sept. 16 (ib., 723); Bedel, Sept. 23 (ib., 779); letter from Orford, N. H., Sept. 12, in Boston Gazette, Oct. 2; Orders, Sept. 13 (4 Force, III., 742); Council, Sept. 7 (ib., 672); [J. Liv.] to Sch., Sept. 8 (ib., 740); Id. to Id., Aug. — (Emmet Coll.); H. B. Liv. to ——, Oct. 6 (Mag. Am. Hist., 1889, p. 256); Id. to cousin, Jan. 25, 1810 (Bancroft Coll.); Liv., Journal; letter in Constit. Gazette, Sept. 14, 1775; Leffingwell's report in Boston Gazette, Sept. 25; Conn. Gazette, Sept. 22, 29, and Oct. 6, 1775; Stevens's Journal (N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll., V., p 109); Bouchette, Descr. Topog., p. 181; Quebec Gazette, Sept 14; Cramahé to Dartmouth, Sept. 21 (Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 307); Carleton to Dartmouth, Sept. 21, 1775 (ib., p. 421); Lossing, Sch., I., pp 396–410; Bonney, Gleanings, I., p. 44; Verreau (Sanguinet, Berthelot, Lorimier and letters). Invasion, *passim*; Oriet in Tryon's letter to Dartmouth, Nov. 11 (Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W Ind., Vol. 185, p. 677); Ainslie, Journal (Introd.); with other documents mentioned in later notes, local topographical information, etc. The dates not specified above are in 1775.

fluted in spirals—a real gem of military art—proved his good taste. Attractive, mobile features, and eloquent brown eyes full of purpose but also full of sentiment, laid claim to both respect and liking. When he took off his hat now and then to enjoy the breeze, one could see that his dark-brown hair was not only touched with grey but a little more than thin. Apparently he was an agreeable yet resolute person, with something very important in hand; and no deceit lay in these appearances, for the gentleman was Brigadier-General Richard Montgomery.[20]



MONTGOMERY'S SWORD

Just now a restless mood had possession of him. Schuyler had not arrived. Fate seemed hostile. At ten o'clock Monday evening, darkness and heavy rain had forced the troops ashore, and all night they had lain in the woods, —many, if not all of them, sheltered only by the trees. Tuesday, they had worked north to Crown Point; and there, 'among the fleas,' contrary winds now held them chained. In vain it was ordered to dress the provisions as quickly as possbile, and the soldiers were told to 'bake their own Bread with all Dispatch.' The gale blew on; and the ruins of the two forts, added to the confusion and the storm, were no good omen, thought Ritzema.

But Montgomery had seen too much service to worry uselessly: in his eighteenth year he had begun to follow

[20] § Based upon the portrait belonging to the family; Henry, Journal, p. 94; Humphrey, Journal, Dec. 2; Thayer, Journal, Dec. 2; Morison, Journal, undated; Topham, Journal, Dec. 2; L. L. H[unt], Biog. Notes, p. 5. Sword: F. C. Würtele (ed.), Blockade, p. XIII.

the British colors, and now he found himself in his thirty-ninth. He studied the horizon: the wall of the Green Mountains in the southeast, rising higher as it approached, and then hiding behind the near ridge of Snake Mountain on the northeast; Willsborough Mountain, barring the north, but not lofty enough to stop the rough wind; Bald Peak on the northwest, just across the bay, where winter had scarcely said good-bye; and, on the south of it, a pair of Adirondack summits holding up the clouds. There were signs of better weather. A change must come soon. And the General, after sending word to Schuyler how the 'Barbarous north wind' held him back, drew up and signed his will, for there was dangerous work ahead.

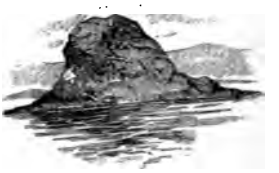
Happily the signs did not fail. Weather-vanes pointed right the next morning, and orders were immediately given to embark. Gladly enough the twelve hundred men that were to go turned out. Swarming over the long, rotting mole of logs, pinned roughly together and filled with heavy stones, they threw themselves with many shouts into the jostling throng of bateaux,—some twenty men to each,[21] while more than two hundred found places in each of the big flat-bottomed vessels, besides leaving room to work the 12-pounder in each bow; and then, escorted by the steamer *Liberty* and the sloop *Enterprise*, black with men and small cannon, the straggling fleet got slowly under way, while a thousand flashes from the polished steel answered as many from the waves.

With a backward look at the sloping ledges of grey limestone, the ruined bastions and the dark, shaggy mass of Bulawagga Mountain rising beyond them all, the soldiers bade good-bye to Crown Point and swept gaily down the lake, halting each night at some convenient

---

[21] Sch. to Hancock, July 21, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1702.

spot. As if watching a magnificent panorama, they sailed on past Northwest Bay, with its galaxy of peaks near and far; past the wide, green meadows that now lead up to Vergennes; past Split Rock Point, with its unfailing capful of wind; past the Four Brothers, green islets filled with the hatching-places of the gulls; past Rock Dunder and Burlington harbor far in the distance; past Trembleau Point and the land-locked waters of Cumberland Bay, where Macdonough was to rival Paul Jones; past Cumberland Head and South Hero; past the massive peaks of the Green Mountains, which marched all day on the right in mantles of blue-grey mottled with vast shadows, but slipped on robes of violet as the sun went down behind the Adirondacks; and finally, passing the high point of Ile la Motte, a bluff of rich, light marble veined with black, the fleet drew in to the shore of the island at 'a fine sandy beach' over against Iron Point. Here the troops had orders from their Major-General to await him.



ROCK DUNDER

Schuyler, for his part, received word from Montgomery on the twenty-seventh of his intention to move at once; and he not only accepted this decision with hearty goodwill, but determined to follow his lieutenant's advice about rejoining the army.[22] Leaving the Indian council as soon as he could, he reached Ticonderoga Wednesday night (August 30) quite ill. But he would not spare himself; and, pushing on the next morning in a whale-boat, after giving orders to forward more troops and artillery, he

[22] § Sch. to Wash., Aug. 27, 1775: 4 Force, III., 442. Id. to Hancock, Sept. 8, 1775: ib. 669.

reached Ile la Motte the next Monday before noon. At once the troops prepared to move; and in the afternoon, rowing very hard but in fine military order, they passed the stone mill at Windmill Point, entered the lake-like river, and presently were coasting Ile aux Têtes, where the Indians had planted, during the late war, an orchard of poles fruited with the heads of their enemies. Finally they landed without opposition on Nut Island, and pitched their tents. Three cannon shots then broke the evening stillness of the woods; for this was the announcement of their arrival agreed upon with the Canadians. Enthusiasm ran high. The twelve hundred raw young fellows were not exactly an army, but they felt like one; and more were coming. A sense of great events just ahead put new life into every heart, and the thrill of a subdued excitement rippled through the camp.

The next day Schuyler felt miserable but kept at work. Then, if not sooner, he found time to read a letter that had come from Canada some days before. James Livingston, an active young lawyer whose father and brothers worked for the cause of Liberty at Montreal, had set up five or six years before, about nine miles below Chambly Fort, as a dealer in wheat. Well acquainted with all the farmers around, he could be of great service to the American scouts; and, although his chief business consisted in purchasing grain for his brother-in-law, the contractor-general to the British troops, he devoted himself with all his energy to the interests of the Colonies. Brown, on returning from his second trip, carried a letter from him to Schuyler, and now he had written again.[23]

One item of bad news had to be reported: Baker's im-

[23] § J. Liv., Memorial (read in Cong., Mar 7, 1782): Cont. Cong. Papers, No. 41, V., p. 246. Id. to cousin, Jan. 25, 1819: Bancroft Coll. N. Y Docs., Colon. Hist., VIII., p. 662, note. J. Liv. to — —, Sept. 18, 1775 (appended note): Can. Arch., Q. 11, p. 252. Verreau (Sanguinet), Invasion, p. 48. J. Liv. to Sch., Aug. —, 1775: Emmet Coll.

the Town of Montreal - Make haste then & prevent any further Reinforcement - My best Wishes & those of the Canadians attend you - may God prosper your just Undertakings & Unite this flourishing Province with the Rest of the contending Provinces for Liberty is the sincere wish of him who is with

the greatest Esteem
Yours &c
Jno Livingston

prudence had borne fruit, and some Indians of Caughnawaga, angrily digging up the hatchet, had gone to join the British at St. Johns. Also, the letter brought the sorrow of the might-have-been, telling how the overtaxed regulars had felt 'much harrasted,' and 'Numbers' had been ready to desert; and how Livingston himself, if backed with only five hundred men, could have seized all the ammunition intended for St. Johns, as it passed his door. The Canadians, he said, after waiting 'with the utmost Impatience,' were beginning to despair of seeing an American army; but he would try to 'revive their Spirits by sending Sircular Letters' to the parish Captains, and would be ready as well as he could be to co-operate with the invaders. 'Make haste then!' he entreated.[24]

Schuyler now thought it proper to issue an address, and drew up one immediately. 'Our brothers, the Canadians, for whom the same chains are preparing as for ourselves will learn with pleasure,' he felt sure, 'the decision of the Grand Congress to send an army into Canada, in order to drive away, if possible, the troops of Great Britain, who—acting to-day at the instigation and under the orders of a despotic ministry—aim to subject their fellow-citizens and brethren to the yoke of a hard slavery. Yet, however necessary such a step, be assured, gentlemen,' he continued, 'that the Congress would never have resolved upon it, had there been reason to suppose that it would not be agreeable to you; but, judging of your feelings by their own, they have believed that only pressing necessity could bring you to put up with the daily insults and outrages inflicted upon you, and see with a quiet eye the chains made ready which are to bind you and your remotest posterity in a common bondage.'[25]

---

[24] Emmet Coll.

[25] § Sept. 5, 1775: 4 Force, III., 671. The text, however, has been trans-

Only to preserve them from so fatal a slavery had the Americans come. Property and rights—both temporal and spiritual—would be protected, and the troops had so kindly a feeling for their Canadian brethren that it would 'never be necessary to punish a single offence against them.' A treaty had been made with the Iroquois, and the General was bringing presents for the Indians of Canada. Had any of these been killed, it was done 'contrary to the strictest orders and by evil-minded persons hostile to our honorable and glorious cause'; and he added: 'I shall take very special pleasure in burying the dead and wiping away the tears of their surviving relatives.' This was no doubt a little unfair to Captain Baker; but Schuyler had been so troubled by his imprudence,[26] that he felt he must strain every nerve—and even the truth itself—to counteract its evil effect. The explanation, like the rest of the paper, sounded well; and, with copies of the document in their pockets, Ethan Allen and Major Brown set out for Livingston's.

Meanwhile, most of the baggage had been landed, enough provisions for three days cooked and packed, and all the arms put 'in good firing Order'; and, early the next morning, the fleet, drawn up in regular style, moved bravely on 'in profound Silence' down the smooth avenue of waters. In this part of its course, the river spread more than half a mile in width. On both sides towered massive walls of pines, hemlocks, and firs, through whose dark magnificence a beam of sunshine slanted into the water here and there, or a gush of air, laden with balmy and delightful odors, crept down to dim faintly the polish of the stream.

Every heart beat high. 'Of this at least we are assured,' so the Grand Congress had published to the

lated from the French version (Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 258) because that was what was actually circulated.

[26] Sch. to Ind. Commrs., Aug. 31, 1775: 4 Force, III., 493.

English people in July, 'that our Struggle will be glorious, our Success certain; since even in Death we shall find that Freedom which in Life you forbid us to enjoy'[27]; and now this noble alternative lay just ahead. 'A spirit of enthusiasm has gone forth,' wrote a patriot, 'that has driven away the fear of death'; and here was its opportunity. Not pyramids, but nations, had their gaze upon the expedition. Besides, other spurs were not lacking. Walker and Price were said to be lying in a jail at Montreal, and Baker's head was believed to be calling for vengeance from the top of a pole at St. Johns. Could the redcoats be allowed to carry out, by such diabolical means, 'the infernal scheme of enslaving their American brethren'?

A little before three o'clock, the stronghold of despotism, Fort St. John, could be discerned on the west bank of the river some two miles distant. Many did not make it out, so little rose its walls above the flat shore; but all could see its flags and the puffs of smoke that rose gently into the air, and all realized very soon that they were being 'kindly saluted with bombs and cannon.' However, the firing proved no worse than a salute, for the fleet bore to the left, under the shelter of a point, before any one was hit; and, after rowing on about half a mile farther, the brigade-major—some forty rods in advance of the main body—was ordered to turn back a little and land with five boats. Then the whole fleet, which had appeared to be bound straight on, suddenly veered to the left and ran in beside him, so that any schemes of the

ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN

[27] Journ. Cong., July 8, 1775

enemy to prevent a landing were frustrated. With all speed, the troops now waded ashore into the 'deep, close swamp,' formed as well as possible, and marched forward to reconnoitre. Suddenly, as the left flank were crossing Bernier's Brook—a deep, slippery, muddy, winding creek in the midst of the dense bush—a blaze burst out, almost in their faces. A few men fell. But the Colonials, wheeling to the left, pushed on; and, after the fight had ebbed and flowed for about half an hour, the enemy retreated. By this time night began to fall, and a 'pretty good Breastwork' was thrown up on the marsh, perhaps a mile from the fort; but, as the British gunners soon found the spot, Schuyler drew the troops back a short distance, dug another intrenchment, and encamped there.

The shells troubled him little now; but a more dangerous visitor came. Some 'gentleman,' whose name the General dared not mention even to Congress, appeared at his tent and gave a chilling report of the prospects. The fortifications at St. Johns were 'complete and strong, and plentifully furnished with cannon'; and one of the vessels, designed 'to carry sixteen guns,' would be ready to sail in three or four days. Probably the Americans would not be joined by 'one Canadian'; and in short, instead of attacking the fort, it would be best merely 'to send some parties amongst the inhabitants, and the remainder of the army to retire to the Isle-aux-Noix.'[28]

Schuyler probably had in his pocket at that moment a deftly contrived epistle from Samuel Chase of the Continental Congress. 'I think you, therefore, in a very critical situation, and that an exertion of all your faculties, of mind and body, are necessary,' wrote this gentleman; 'May I be permitted to wish, that a military ardour, a soldier's honour, or a compliance with the

---

[28] Sch. to Wash., Sept. 20, 1775. 4 Force, III., 751. Id. to Hancock, Sept. 8, 1775: ib., 669. REMARK XIX

temper and inclinations of others, may not prevail over your better judgement. There may be some, from want of discretion, and others from envy, who may be urging you to undertake, what your prudence may condemn. . . God grant you success!"[29] Every phrase hit some weak spot in Schuyler's armor.

Whatever pleasant sins the General had committed in the whole course of his life, that night atoned for them all. Heavens, what a situation! The jungle, the swamp, the mud, the miasma outside his tent were as nothing, compared with the jungle, the swamp, the mud, the miasma within it. Every 'doubt' came back, and now with remorse in its tail. 'Propriety' appeared to turn her face away; 'prudence' hid under the wet canvas; and only the bilious fever that consumed him throve in those long hours of darkness.

In the morning, worn and haggard, he summoned a council of war, and laid the advice of his new friend before it. Personally, he considered it 'absolutely necessary' to retire, and the impression that his opinion made upon others no doubt ensured the result. All agreed to go back at once, throw a boom across the river, build works to defend it, 'there wait for Certain Intelligence Touching the Intentions of the Canadians,'—as if anything could be expected more certain than had already come, unless they should finally despair and yield to Carleton in a body; and, 'when re-enforced, send a Strong detachment into the Country by Land—should the Canadians Favor such a Design.' So all were directed to go back as they came, 'without Noise;' and Schuyler gave it out in orders that he had made the excursion simply 'to try the disposition of the Canadians, and give them an opportunity of taking up arms in the common cause.'[30]

---

[29] Annapolis, Aug. 10, 1775: Sparks MSS., No. 60, p. 3.

[30] Jos. Smith, Journal. Trumbull, Journal. Council: Cont. Cong. Papers,

'Perhaps,' commented Ritzema in French; but others handled the affair more freely. The facts about the skirmish were that Captain Tice, a Johnstown Tory, aided by Lorimier, had met the Americans with rather less than one hundred savages; that each side lost about half a dozen killed and as many wounded; and that Tice's

AN EVENING VIEW OF ILE LA MOTTE FROM IRON POINT

party, as was natural, retired; but stories very different from that soon passed current all over Canada. Sixty Indians drove fifteen hundred Americans 'under cover of their intrenchments,' announced the *Quebec Gazette*, killing forty and wounding thirty, if not more. Ainslie heard that eighty-three Indians drove twelve hundred rebels, killing and wounding many. 'After their Defeat the Rebels retired to the Isle aux Noix,' wrote Cramahé.

153, I., p. 137. Sch.'s orders expressed the 'hope' that the troops would not feel dispirited on account of the withdrawal, a plain hint that they had reason to feel so.

'The Indians, who were there, attacked, and drove them back to their boats,' was the report forwarded by Carleton from Montreal; and a grand mass with a *Te Deum* celebrated this 'victory' at the island capital.

Lies were common enough in 1775, no doubt, and people not ready to believe all they heard; but how could one explain why a thousand soldiers, who had taken the trouble to come, had vanished after a fight, if they were not beaten? Who could suppose that Schuyler had expected the Canadians to rise and march to him in the darkness of his first night in the country? And how much more 'certain' was their co-operation likely to be after such an affair? In short, was a worse fiasco possible?

It was. On returning to Nut Island, Schuyler found himself too weak even 'to hold the pen,' but he was able to throw Congress into palpitations.[31] 'Should we not be able to do anything decisively in Canada,' he announced, 'I shall judge it best to move from this place, which is a very wet and unhealthy part of the Country, unless I receive orders to the contrary.' This was evidently the avant-courier of retreat and failure, and so Congress understood it. But in the meantime the boom was constructed, and fortifying began. Three hundred of Hinman's troops and four hundred of the Second New Yorkers (Van Schaick's), with three pieces of cannon, arrived. So did an anonymous letter, evidently from Livingston, begging for a party to cut the communications of St. Johns, and capture the armed but slenderly manned vessels at the mouth of the Richelieu, so as to secure their valuable cargoes and prevent the British from escaping to Quebec. 'The Canadians are all Friends,' he added, but 'I expect a party of your men

[31] See Hancock to Sch., Sept. 20, 1775: 4 Force, III., 749.

before they will stir.' At about the same time, Allen reported that the people had taken 'Great Courage at Hearing of the Siege of Saint Johns,' and Brown that both he and they felt greatly disappointed by Schuyler's withdrawal.

Under these circumstances, it was decided to act upon Livingston's idea. On the tenth of September Montgomery, with some eight hundred men, landed at the upper breastwork about nine or ten o'clock in the evening, and five hundred of the troops, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Ritzema, set out for a march around the fort through the woods. Needless to say, their ears were attuned to alarm. The prediction of an officer expressed their feelings: 'A bloody engagement must ensue.' The suddenness of the attack made upon them here a few days before could not be forgotten. The darkness seemed quivering with the heart-beats of lurking savages. From the dim outline of every tree-trunk an angry scalp-lock appeared to shoot. A faint clash of steel, a cracking of twigs, the fall of stealthy moccasins—who could not hear them on the right, on the left? Suddenly a louder sound made itself distinctly audible. There were certainly men—a body of men—troops—Indians, of course—regulars, too, no doubt; and they were coming, coming fast!

It was true: they were coming. An American flanking party, finding the woods almost impassable and fearful of getting lost, had veered to the right and struck the main line just at the head of Waterbury's men.

In an instant the column broke in a panic. Some of the troops behind undertook, with fixed bayonets, to stop 'the fugitive Rascals'; but these dashed madly into woods and water and mud and swamp-holes,—any way to gain the rear. Finally all went back; and then, after a vigorous exhortation from General Montgomery

'to act like men,' they formed and set out again. When they had marched about a quarter of a mile, some grape and a few small shells began to come from the river, and 'the same Gentry' who had caused the confusion before, broke again, and carried half the division back. The rest kept on to the lower breastwork, discovered a few of the enemy there, killed the Indian interpreter, and did some further slight execution. But by this time it was about three o'clock, and Montgomery recalled them to the upper intrenchment.

ON NUT ISLAND

Early in the morning, a council of war agreed upon carrying out the plan, and the soldiers assented. The men formed 'with seeming alacrity'; but at this moment news arrived that Carleton's schooner, not only pierced for sixteen guns but 'completely equipped,' lay a mile and a half or so distant and—as some said—was coming, whereupon a part of Waterbury's men, the cause of all the mischief, bolted for their boats. The council then decided by a majority of votes that, as the bateaux would have to be taken to Nut Island for security, the troops had better go with them; and upon that back they all posted—devil-take-the-hindmost—thoroughly demoralized, and expecting to see that Leviathan of a schooner upon them at any moment, to screen themselves behind the hazelnut bushes on the island.

Mortars and cannon were then mounted on the large bateaux; and Schuyler, in a general order, called for volunteers to board the dreaded vessel. But all enthusiasm had vanished; and suspicion, engendered by the

delays at Ticonderoga and now grown big, had taken its place. It was generally supposed by the men, said Chaplain Trumbull, that he had given up the hope of accomplishing anything, and, believing the troops would not volunteer on so perilous an adventure, took this way to 'throw all the Blame on the inferior Officers & Soldiers'; so 'a general Answer was made by the Troops To this Effect, that They were all volunteers and had been from the Beginning, and were ready to attempt any Thing which could be . . . thought practicable and Reasonable.'

Sulkiness had arrived, and mutiny was coming post. Sickness proved so popular that invalid rations had to be cut down one-half. Groundless alarms became so common as to require special attention; and so did running from camp when no man pursued. One fellow cocked his gun and took aim at his lieutenant. Roaming soldiers plundered the residents of the island. A sergeant had to be reduced for insubordination. Many culprits were acquitted by the court-martial because no one had spirit enough to bear witness against them. It became a 'general opinion' among the chief officers that the expedition could not proceed. With all Canada, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Great Lakes to the Arctic Ocean, hanging in the balance, the whole mission of the northern army, except possibly for inert defence, appeared to have collapsed. And finally, as if to confirm every ill omen and promise a ridiculous as well as complete fiasco, General Schuyler, totally worn out and sick from centre to circumference, was laid, under a gloomy sky and under the darkening eyes of the troops, in a covered boat, and, overwhelmed with chagrin, set out in a chilly storm for the rear (September 16).[32]

---

[32] § See particularly: Trumbull, Journal; 'Montgomery's' Orderly Book; J. van Rensselaer's letter: Bonney, Gleanings, I., p. 45. REMARK XX.

XII

THE CURTAIN RISES

GOVERNOR CARLETON, meanwhile, found himself somewhat in the condition of those heinous criminals of a former time, to whose members fiery horses were attached, and then driven under the lash toward the four points of the compass. In the mere administration of the province, peculiar difficulties beset him just now. It would hardly answer, he doubtless understood, to let the great Quebec Act be still-born, and indeed the Chief-Justice took the ground that, in spite of the proclamation of martial law, something 'must be done'; but the Legislative Council, after meeting several times and accomplishing nothing, was broken up by Carleton's leaving Quebec suddenly and in all haste for the front. Consequently the entire civil management rested on his shoulders.[1]

Revolt, even at the capital, was feared. As early as June, people thoroughly loyal to the Crown had not only been 'astonished' by the numbers and activity of the rebellious, as the Governor discovered, but felt 'greatly intimidated at seeing no Force or Power able to protect them'; and little had occurred since to reassure their minds. What effect such a state of things was having on the lukewarm and the neutral could easily be divined.

[1] § Hey to Chancellor, Aug. 28, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, II, p. 365. Leg. Council: Letter from Quebec, Oct. 1, 1775 (4 Force, III., 924); Verreau (Sanguinet), Invasion, p. 42; Bourinot, Can. under Brit. Rule, p. 48.

Like the quicksands of Mont St. Michel when invaded by the tide, the ground seemed to be crumbling everywhere, and it appeared unsafe to build on any part of it. Measures 'that formerly would have been extremely popular,' required now—as Carleton had realized for months—' a great degree of Caution and Circumspection '; and every day this trouble grew more serious. Even where not actually 'corrupted,' the *habitants* were uncertain. Bold, positive steps could not be hazarded; and out of this handicap grew further embarrassments, for men imperfectly informed as to the true condition of things looked upon the General as dilatory, secretive, and cold. Misunderstandings were a natural consequence. ' Every thing with him is Mystery,' grumbled Major Caldwell. ' Time presses,' he added impatiently; and this was in May.[2]

Even had the province been united and loyal and the methods of administration settled, the Governor would have had more than enough to do. ' I hope Mr. Carleton does not intend that the enemy should remain long in possession of Ticonderoga,' wrote Caldwell to England; and back from England, as if in answer, came Dartmouth's admonition: 'Our dependence for the recovery of the Post of Ticonderoga out of the hands of the Rebels, is upon the efforts of the Province of Quebec.' 'At least 5000 men with Cannon and a great deal of other apparatus not easy to be had,' would be needed for that enterprise, a British Canadian assured Maseres.[3]

As soon as the news of Lexington reached the home

---

[2] Revolt: J. Liv. to Sch., Aug. —, 1775 (Emmet Coll.). Carleton to Dartmouth, June 26, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 309. Caution: Id. to Id., June 7, 1775 (ib., p. 283). Uncertain: Id. to Id., Aug. 14, 1775 (ib., p. 347). Caldwell to Lord ——, May --, 1775: MSS. of Marq. of Lansdowne, Vol 66, fo. 97.

[3] § Caldwell: Note 2. Dartmouth to Carleton, July 4, 1775: Bancroft Coll., Amer. Papers, II., p. 407 (409). Maseres to Shelburne, Aug. 24, 1775: MSS. of Marq. of Lansdowne, Vol. 66, fo. 113.

office, the plan of employing Canadians became a favorite scheme there, and successive letters raised the Governor's task to the height of six thousand men,—no simple problem even had they been loyal, for all their officers were to rank below the youngest grade in the regular army.[4]

In June, Carleton received word to take charge of the upper lake posts also, issue the requisite orders, and supply them with provisions. At Oswegatchie it seemed necessary to raise works; and all the rest—Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, and Michilimackinack—required attention. 'Whoever considers the many avenues which this river [the St. Lawrence], with its several dependants, affords into almost every English colony upon the continent, can't but see it to be a matter of great importance to the Colonies, immedately to make themselves masters of those remote forts, which command, as it were, the whole western world of Indians': so wrote a gentleman recently from Canada to Governor Trumbull. Carleton did not see the letter; but he understood its logic and realized that others did the same. 'These Posts are likewise threatened by the Rebels,' he reported; and no little anxiety the weak forts and weaker navy in that direction caused him. 'Ten or twelve thousand Men here with a Corps of Artillery, Engineers, and Military Stores in Proportion,' could be very well employed, he thought.[5]

When Guy Johnson found the supplies of his Indians cut off by the Colonials, it was to Carleton that he applied. In July, Lord Dartmouth ordered the Governor, by His Majesty's express command, to 'exert every endeavour &

---

[4] § Précis of Oper. Dartmouth to Carleton, July 1, 1775: Bancroft Coll., Amer. Papers, II., p. 401. Id. to Id., July 24, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 279.

[5] § Carleton to Dartmouth, June 26, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 309. Id. to Id., June 7, 1775: ib., p. 283. Narrative: 4 Force, II., 1594. Anxiety: Carl. to Dartmouth, Aug. 14. 1775 (Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 222).

339 THE FORT AT ST. JOHNS IN 1903

employ every means' in his power to aid and support General Gage and Admiral Graves 'in all such operations' as they might think proper to undertake; and in August, as Gage had returned home, he was given the supreme military authority for Canada and the frontiers, with instructions to take precedence of General Howe, should the two join forces,—another interesting subject for thought. Meanwhile, his communications with the Colonies by land were 'entirely stopped' in the spring, and the customary supplies of cash from New York and Philadelphia cut off.[6]

As for troops, Hey well said that the preservation of the province depended more upon the Americans than upon the British: the question was not whether it could be defended, but whether it was to be attacked. According to the returns made early in June, the Royal Fusiliers, or 7th Regiment of Foot, included at that time three hundred and seventy-six privates fit for duty, seventy-eight of whom were on command at St. Johns. The 26th Regiment of Foot had two hundred and sixty-three privates fit for duty, one hundred and eight of them at the same post. None of these men, however, had been under fire, and both regiments lacked a number of officers absent on leave or not yet arrived. Of the few regular artillerymen, more than half were stationed in the west,—only twelve on the Richelieu River. Such was the force to be encountered at the door, had the Colonials invaded Canada at that time.[7]

Two main alternatives lay before the Governor, when threatened by Schuyler. First, the regulars might be

---

[6] § Johnson: Carleton to Dartmouth, June 26, 1775: Note 5. Dartmouth to Carleton, July 4, 12, 1775: Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 156; 12, p. 163. Id. to Id., Aug. 2, 1775: ib., Q, 11, p. 198. Gage, Orders, Oct. 10, 1775: Can. Arch., B, 23, p. 156. Communications, etc.: Carleton to Dartmouth, June 7, 1775 (Note 5).

[7] § Hey to Chancellor, Aug. 28, 1775: Note 1. Returns: War Office, Orig. Corres., Vol. 12, No. Am. Caldwell to Lord ———, May —, 1775: Note 2.

concentrated at Montreal, the town prepared for defence, and as many Canadians as possible rallied there; and this plan, it has been urged, he should have adopted.[8]

But undoubtedly Carleton understood the situation and the art of war as well as his critics; and indeed serious objections to this course were visible to any one. It would have seemed an evidence of weakness and a sign of fear to abandon Chambly, St. Johns, and the rich district about them. Public cheer and confidence, vitally important for their effect on the Canadians, would have sunk rapidly. The machinations of disloyal people in Quebec and even Montreal would have been encouraged. The grain-fields of the Richelieu River would have winnowed their harvest into Schuyler's magazines. The people of that district, thoroughly indoctrinated at leisure with the principles of Liberty, would have proved a mighty lever on the rest. Montreal itself, isolated and besieged, might sooner or later have been starved or stormed; and indeed, without waiting to do either, the Americans might have blockaded that city with a comparatively small force and then have proceeded to Quebec as if Carleton did not exist. On the other hand, were the entrance to the province defended, it looked as if all Canada would remain in British hands till the barricade should fail; and, as this must require considerable time, reinforcements were likely to arrive—or else the dreaded winter—before the enemy could enter. Meanwhile, the Canadians themselves might rally behind this bulwark to resist the invasion.

For such reasons or for better ones, the Governor resolved to make a bold stand at St. Johns, and there the weight of his meagre force gathered. Officers included, the regiments mustered almost exactly five

[8] Smyth, Précis, p. 110.

hundred, and the Royal Artillery close to forty. In August, Lieutenant Hunter, commanding the armed brigantine *Gaspé*, called at Quebec for provisions; then, on Carleton's urgent request and order, he proceeded up the St. Lawrence with his vessel to act as commodore of the river fleet; and later, with a midshipman and about a dozen seamen, he took his place at St. Johns. To these were added, early in September, about one hundred French-Canadian volunteers—mostly men of rank or else merchants — despatched from Montreal.[9]

One other contingent made up the garrison. Early in the year, Lieutenant-Colonel Allan Maclean, a veteran Highland campaigner, hit upon the scheme of raising a body of troops from the old Scotch soldiers that had emigrated, like himself, to the British Colonies of America. Dartmouth approved of the plan, and ordered the governors of New York and North Carolina, the likeliest fields, to favor it. 'I wish Lt. Col. McLean may succeed in his project,' commented Gage when giving him authority to recruit; 'it must be effected by caution and secrecy.' Maclean lacked neither trait, nor some other qualities of value. Once he was arrested in New York, but managed to convince the authorities of his perfect guilelessness, and was permitted to visit the Tory and Highlander section of the Colony, where he most longed to go. In a word, either he or Gage sent recruiting officers through the province of Quebec, St. John's Island, Nova Scotia, North Carolina, and parts of

---

[9] § Carleton's return of Nov. 5, 1775: Can. Arch., M, 317, p. 255. [See a slightly different set of figures (unofficial): Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 186, p. 33.] Hunter: Graves to Stephens, Sept. 6, 1775 (Pub. Rec. Off., Admirals' despatches, No. Am., Vol. 6); Carleton to Hunter, Aug. 6, 1775 (ib.); Hunter to Graves, Dec. 16, 1775 (ib., Vol. 5); Carleton to Dartmouth, Aug. 14, 1775 (ib., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 347). Canadians: Verreau, Invasion (Sanguinet), p. 42; Carleton to Dartmouth, Sept. 21, 1775 (Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 421); list (Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 284).

New York; and finally he made his way to Canada with Guy Johnson.[10]

The chief difficulty lay in getting the recruits together. Gage reported a plan to 'assemble them in Bodys by different Routes,' and hoped that Carleton would be able to plant a force on Lake Champlain, as a rendezvous for the New York men; but these designs failed. In Canada, however, where many of the veterans had found homes on the St. Lawrence below Quebec, no such embarrassment arose. 'Great Terms' were placarded on church doors,—two hundred acres of land in any American province, free from the customary fees, and twenty years' quit-rent, besides forty acres for a wife, as many for each child, and 'one Guinea Levy-money.' A good number of the Scots enlisted; and seventy of these wiry fighters—Royal Highland Emigrants—added themselves, or were added, to the force at St. Johns. The total was about six hundred and twenty besides the useless French volunteers.[11]

Not only troops had gathered, but a fort had risen from the ground, while the Colonials were delaying.

Only at the very end of June had the plans for it been decided upon. Two square redoubts, measuring about a hundred feet each way, inside, and placed about six hundred feet apart, were built by the Governor's order on the western shore of the Richelieu at St. Johns: one to cover the 'little barrack' and some brick buildings already

---

[10] § Dartmouth to Gage, Apr. 15, 1775: Bancroft Coll., Eng. and Am., 1775, p. 109. Gage to Dartmouth, May 25, 1775: ib., p. 232. Id. to Id., June 12; July 24 (private), 1775: ib. pp. 295, 457. For Maclean: N. Y. Docs. (Colon. Hist.), VIII., p. 563, note. Maclean at N. Y.: Letter, Dec. 16, 1775 (4 Force, IV., 290); Leake, Lamb, p. 115; Montg. to N. Y. Cong., Aug. 8, 1775 (4 Force, III., 67). To Canada: J. Liv. to Sch., Aug. , 1775 (Emmet Coll.).

[11] § Gage to Dartmouth, June 12; July 24: Note 10. In Can.: McMullen, Canada, I., p. 255, note. Terms: Quebec Gazette, Aug. 10, 1775; Senter, Journal, Nov. 12. Maclean's return of his corps (Can. Arch., M, 317, p. 248) is followed. Total: cf. S Mott to Trumbull, Aug. 3, 1775: 4 Force, III. 18; Ti. letter in Boston Gazette, Sept. 18, 1775, p. 2. Useless: Richardson to Tryon (Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. Ind., Vol. 186, p. 33).

never thought of; I mean to have two redoubts
one to cover the little barrack, t'other the large
house; these buildings will cover as many troops
as I mean to leave there in cold weather, or
warm a greater number may encamp in the
lines between the two. I shall order the troops

FROM CARLETON'S LETTER TO PRESTON, [JUNE] 26, [1775]

on the ground, and the other, somewhat smaller, to surround Colonel Christie's fine stone house a few hundred yards to the north; and the two were connected by a strong, close palisade. A ditch seven feet deep, with a stockade ten or twelve feet high on its inner side, added greatly to the strength of the walls on three fronts, and in some places pickets, projecting slightly upward from the outer base of the walls,—'Pointing at ones Breast,' as Captain Baker suggestively described them—made any plan to storm the fort look extremely unpromising; while on the fourth side lay the river, here about a quarter of a mile wide, a moat that seemed to render much fortifying unnecessary there. In default of better material for the walls, the engineer, Captain Marr, had used the very best,—earth, which the enemy's balls would pack the harder; and, although the embrasures were quite wide and no covered casemates could be added, this double redoubt, well garnished with cannon, munitions, and food, strengthened with something of an abatis outside the ditch, and supported by the swampy ground beyond that, which extended 'to very near the fort,' could evidently make a stanch and stubborn little fight of it.'[12]

On the water side of the fort, a primitive but effective shipyard was kept very busy constructing a fleet. All the ship-carpenters within reach had been summoned, and even the soldiers had been ordered to help. Captain Jenkins, who left Quebec the latter part of July, saw a

---

[12] § Carleton to Preston, Monday, [June] 26, [1775]: Emmet Coll. Quebec letter, Oct. 1, 1775: 4 Force, III., 925. Baker to Sch., Aug. 10, 1775: Dreer Coll. Council: Sparks MSS., No. 66, I., p. 19. Anburey, Travels, I., p. 136. Liv., Journal, Nov. 21. Carroll, Journal, p. 89. Richardson: Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 186, p. 33. Carl. to Dart., Nov. 5, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 445. Hazen to Hancock, Feb. 18, 1776: 4 Force, IV., 1186. Foucher, Journal: Can. Arch. (separate). Sch. to Wash., Sept. 20, 1775: 4 Force, III., 751. Pell, Diary: Mag. Am. Hist., 1878, p. 43 (June 26). Lossing, Revol., I., p. 169. Smyth, Précis, p. 109. The author is indebted also to Major Channick, in command at St. Johns, 1902. According to Liv. (Journal), the connecting palisade and a covert way between the redoubts were constructed after the Americans began operations on the east side of the river. Christie's house had not been finished (Liv.). See Chap. XI., Note 9.

letter from a sergeant at St. Johns, telling his wife that he was hard at work building floating batteries, and his 'Cloaths' had not been off his back for a fortnight. In the course of that month, Carleton wrote Admiral Graves for shipwrights and seamen to aid in the work; but without success. At Halifax he found some hands; but they arrived on the scene a month later than Schuyler, as the Governor observed with a touch of bitterness; and so a tardiness that eclipsed their own still left river and lake in the power of the Colonials.[13]

The next question for the Governor was, what further strength he could secure for the defence of the colony.

Needless to say, the prospect of immediate invasion failed to alarm the radicals among the British population. No help could the Governor expect from 'the damn'd rascals of Merchants,' as Captain Gamble now styled them. Some joined the Americans openly as soon as they could, and Cramahé wished that 'all of them inclined to that Cause, had done the same,' for those who stayed had to be closely watched. An English-American, said one of that class, could 'neither speak nor stir without its being known.' Walker's health was bad, and he spent some time out of town; but Price and others did not slumber. There was, to be sure, a little flurry of British zeal. Before the Americans reached Nut Island, invisible Indian eyes had counted their bateaux, and the next morning a courier from St. Johns gave the news to Montreal. A general alarm sounded, and at ten o'clock three or four hundred men assembled in the Champ de Mars. The next day a messenger brought word that St. Johns had been attacked. Again the people gathered;

---

[13] § Quebec letter, Oct. 1, 1775: 4 Force, III., 925. Jenkins: Boston Gazette, Sept., 11, 1775. Graves to Stephens, Sept. 26, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Admirals' Despatches, No. Am., Vol. 486, bundle 485 Carleton to Dartmouth, Nov. 5, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 445.

and several hours were passed in taking names. The British merchants agreed to watch Market Gate; but somehow all the flints vanished from the muskets of the guard one night, and no one could say who carried them off. As for taking up arms and marching to St. Johns, they positively refused.[14]

The temper of the Canadians, with the exception—as was now said—of 'the Gentry, Clergy, and most of the Bourgeoisie,' grew worse instead of better. Threats were liberally applied under the proclamation of martial law; but plain Jacques could see, as well as the British citizens, that Carleton 'had no troops at hand to enforce his authority or commands.' Under such circumstances, attempts to drive the people could not have much success, and some of them fell flat with a noise that reached the Colonies.[15]

South of Quebec, for instance, in the valley of the Chaudière, reigned a spirited young lord, best known to history as the ancestor of a cardinal bearing the family name, Taschereau. Very early in the spring, the peasants had reached the conclusion and announced it, that when their regular dues and the customary 'compliments' had been paid the seigneur, they owed him nothing further. Taschereau, however, clinging to the old feudal powers of his class, had one of his tenants prosecuted and shut up for refusing to march against the Provincials; but the affair raised such a swarm of hornets about his ears that he begged for the man's release, and made no further experiments of the kind.

Another of these conflicts became still more famous.

---

[14] § Gamble to Shirreff, Quebec, Sept. 6, 1775: Boston Gazette, Oct. 9, 1775. Cramahé to Dartmouth, Sept. 21, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 397. Quebec letter, Sept. 17, 1775: 4 Force, III., 726. Verreau, Invasion, pp. 42 (Sanguinet); 309 (Benoist). Précis of Oper.

[15] § Cramahé: Note 14. Letter quoted by Maseres: Add. Papers, p. 107. E. g., report that 3000 had risen, p. 365.

A View of St. JOHN'S upon the RIVER SOREL in CANADA with the Rebells Work's &c
taken in the Year 1776 during the late War in America

SAINT JOHNS IN 1776

A View of St.r JOHN'S upon the RIVER SOREL in CANADA, with the Rebels Works &c.a
taken on the Year 1776 during the late War in America

SAINT JOHNS IN 1776

bility of what they proposed. But it sounded well, and Hamilton promised that La Corne should not disturb them. 'The Seegneurs have no influence,' lamented Captain Gamble, too gloomy just then to swear.[16]

A third case was even more significant. Monsieur Cuthbert, the seigneur of Berthier, summoned his tenants to his mansion; but they merely sent word in reply that, if he desired to see them, he might come to the cross-roads, where they were. This he did, finally, and made a peremptory demand for their military services according to the feudal system. Not a man will follow you, they replied. As nothing could move them, Cuthbert at length went home; and immediately the *habitants* took an oath, by the high cross that stood near, never to bear arms against the Provincials, to burn the house and barn and kill the stock of every one offering to do it, and to meet force with force, in case the Governor should try to coerce them.[17]

When August was approaching, a gentleman at Quebec still hoped that the peasants would finally 'take Arms in favr of Government'; but probably the hope did not live to see another month draw nigh. 'So lately as the 17th of July,' reported an English gentleman to Maseres, Carleton had been unable to raise any force of them. 'Would you believe it my good Friend there is not yet a single Canadian raized,' said Gamble at Quebec three days later; 'the most violent of them only talk of defending their own Province.' By the middle of August, Carleton decided it would not be wise 'to attempt assembling any number of them,' unless it should become 'absolutely necessary' to risk that step. A hundred acres of land in the Colo-

---

[16] § Tasch. and La C. Verreau, Invasion, pp. 38, 372; 4 Force, III., 925. Maseres, Add. Papers, pp. 72, 105. For Hamilton: Can. Arch., QA, 12, p. 151. [Gamble], July 20, 1775: Can. Arch., B, 20, p. 8.

[17] Maseres, Add. Papers, p. 76.

nies were offered volunteers; but, said James Livingston in capitals, 'The Proposition was heard with Disdain,' and it certainly had no effect.[18]

During the latter part of August, the *Quebec Gazette* published the address of 'An English Farmer,' to the 'People of Canada,' which painted the Colonial troops as an 'undisciplined and disorderly though armed and numerous rabble,' the leaders as 'men of restless and turbulent spirits, by nature foes to peace,' and the inferior officers as 'chiefly needy desperate villains, whose fortunes could only be bettered by public calamity and the subversion of the state.' 'Sundry and terrible false alarms were spread,' as a British-Canadian put it. For one instance, papers from Schuyler found in Baker's pockets ordered no quarter given—thus friends of the government averred—to Canadians or Indians; but a gentleman wrote from Quebec, 'There is no persuading the country people here of their danger.' 'Instantly take arms,' cried the English Farmer, 'and rescue the name of Canadian from being synonymous with those of Coward

AT CAUGHNAWAGA IN 1903

[18] § [Gamble]: Note 16. Maseres: Note 3. Carleton to Dartmouth, Aug. 14, 1775: Note 9. J. Liv. to Sch., Aug. --, 1775: Emmet Coll. Effect: Instit. Canad., Centenaire, p. 29; Quebec letter, Oct. 1, 1775 (4 Force, III., 924).

and Traytor!' Yet the people smoked their pipes as tranquilly as before.[19]

Clever stories were circulated about the capital that more men had enlisted in the parishes above than could be furnished with arms; but they passed as so much air in motion. Mrs. Carleton presented a flag to the French militia; yet even such an appeal to their proverbial gallantry did not rouse men. 'The Canadians wont fire a shot,' thought Captain Gamble by the first week in September; and so, he wrote, thought people generally. After a fortnight more, Cramahé wailed to Lord Dartmouth: 'No means have been left untried, . . . but all to no purpose.'[20]

Hurrying from Quebec (September 7) on the news of Schuyler's approach, Carleton, chagrined by his vain efforts to raise troops along the road, passed a night at Three Rivers with Tonnancour, a local magnate; and Tonnancour, in honor of his guest, had an armed *factionnaire* march up and down in front of the house.

'What is that man doing?' inquired the Governor, observing him curiously from the window.

'Sir, he is a sentinel,' replied his host.

At once Carleton stepped out, called the fellow, and thrust a guinea into his hand.

'Here,' said he, 'is the first Canadian whom I have had the honor of finding in arms.'[21]

Still more astonishing, still more depressing, the very crosier of the Bishop ceased, as the weeks passed, to command respect. Briand's consecration to the office had naturally been French as well as 'popish,' and it had not

---

[19] § Quebec Gazette, Aug. 17, 1775. Alarms: Quebec letter, Oct. 1, 1775 (4 Force, III., 925); Quebec Gazette, Sept. 21. Letter, Aug. 20: 4 Force, III., 211.

[20] § Quebec letter, Oct. 1, 1775: Note 19. Flag: see label attached to a portion of it, Château de Ramezay, Montreal. Gamble to Gage, Sept. 6, 1775: Boston Gazette, Oct. 9, 1775. Cramahé: Note 14.

[21] Verreau (Badeaux), Invasion, p. 165.

proved easy, apparently, to obtain British authorization to officiate. Indeed, such permisson as he secured was only tacit, and for this reason, perhaps, he began his labors with great humility. When received in the old style, he said: 'I have not come into the province to be a bishop on the high footing of my predecessors in the time of the French government; and therefore I am not entitled, and do not desire, to be treated with the ceremony and respect used towards them; I am a simple ordainer of priests (*un simple faiseur de prêtres*).' And for a month or two, instead of donning a purple robe and wearing a cross of gold at his breast, he put on the common black gown of the curés. So now, as the thunders of his warlike mandement reverberated over their heads, people recalled his former modesty by way of contrast.[22]

'How long since,' they exclaimed, 'was our Bishop made the General of the country? Let him confine himself to his proper work. Let him give us priests, and guide us by the example of his conduct. Let him show more gentleness and less ambition. Ill becomes it a bishop to preach the shedding of blood. Plainly, he is making religion a game.'

Though it was understood that recusants would be denied absolution, and indulgences be lavished upon the obedient, the general sentiment of the fields rose—according to careful observers—into the cry, 'We despise his orders, and march we will not.' Simple peasants, with no thought of giving up their faith, began to reason shrewdly about the line between spiritual and secular authority, and even the sceptical and mocking found plenty of listeners. More than thirty songs and fifty placards, it was alleged, served up the 'cupidity, extrava-

[22] § The documents relating to Briand are given by Maseres: Add. Papers, pp. 112, 113, 125, 138, etc. Tacit: Haldimand to Germain, Oct. 25, 1780 (Can. Arch., B, 54, p. 359).

gance and ambition' of the prelate in all styles of carving. Not long before, according to common report, a pension of £200 a year had been given him by the Administration; and now the wits never tired of hinting that, besides wishing to prove his gratitude, he desired to earn an increase of the stipend. One of them sang:

'Friends, to arms! The Bishop calls;
Let us do his pious job!
Boston,—just a promenade!
'T won't take long to quell that mob.

'Not a doubt that we shall win;
Sure the triumph that he paints;
They ignore our holy feasts,
And they worship not our saints.

'Plenary indulgences
Will ensure our seats on high,
If we back his politics,
And as good fanatics die.

'Then let 's die, so dear Briand—
Clever head he wears—may get
From our courage and our blood
Bigger gifts and pensions yet.' [23]

The Indians, then. What a 'present' for their barbaric lordships was invoiced from England, August the eighth, by the ship *Elizabeth!* Hundreds of proved fowling-pieces, with blue barrels, walnut stocks, trimmings of wrought brass, and silver sights, and hundreds more almost as fine; a large stock of 'neat bright Indian Hatchets, with steel Pipes'; Indian brass kettles in quantity; 'Rich, broad gold laced Hatts'; 'broad tincel'd

[23] The original (in French, of course) contains ten stanzas, to the tune of 'Belle Brune, que j' adore.'

laced ditto'; ruffled shirts; best glazed pipes; 'Duffil' great-coats; barrels and kegs of lead bullets; barrels and barrels of gunpowder; pots of azure blue, rose color, yellow and 'genuine Vermillion,'—all these, with numberless other items, made up a dazzling shipment valued at 2,541 pounds, nineteen shillings, and tenpence, the persuasive effect of which could not be doubted.[24]

But, during the long battle of the *Elizabeth* with Atlantic waves, Indian affairs came to a head.

While the savages lingered near Montreal in sulky idleness, visitors plied them vigorously with arguments against fighting for the British, and the Canadians made plain their own attitude. At the time of Schuyler's first visit at St. Johns, Major Preston, the British commander there, ignorant of Schuyler's numbers and very likely dreading an attack from the *habitants*, did not think it wise to leave the still unfinished works and sally into the woods. For that reason, the party of savages who attacked the Americans, receiving no support from the regulars, were defeated; and they murmured aloud. At the second visit, the Iroquois interpreter fell. Upon that, moved by one of their sudden impulses, they all quit the fort within an hour, and even Lorimier could not entice one of them back. Some of the feather-pated French nobles, accustomed to lord it over Indians as well as peasants, were silly enough to strut about their camp and openly show resentment at the slight deference paid their gentility. Threatened by the Colonials, ignored by the Governor, discouraged by the Canadians, abandoned to death by the regulars, and insulted by the lordly allies of the government, they complained bitterly to Claus, and Colonel Johnson began to feel that 'they could no longer be depended on.' Councils were held in the hope of

[24] Invoice: Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 210.

reassuring their minds, and the Governor thanked them in general orders for the gallantry shown at St. Johns; but the cloud of sullen discontent did not roll away.[25]

Meanwhile, the deputies appointed by the Albany council to visit the Canadian tribes made their way to Nut Island, got money, provisions, and a flag of truce from Schuyler, and then (September 10) pressed on through the woods for Caughnawaga.[26]

Seven or eight miles from their destination, about a hundred warriors, representing several tribes, encountered them. Johnson had at length induced that number to march for St. Johns; but, on learning the message of the deputies, the majority of the war-party decided that all should return to Caughnawaga. Two runners hurried to notify the town; and so high rose the excitement there, that men on horseback dashed out, met the deputies two miles away, demanded eagerly whether the reports of their mission were true, and galloped back at full speed. At the Castle a chief received them, took their white flag, and led them to the council-house. Warriors of all the tribes had already gathered; and, after allowing the visitors to rest awhile, they listened attentively to a report of the Albany meeting.

'We thank you heartily,' was their response on its conclusion; 'we are now convinced that Guy Johnson has told us nothing but lies.'

An agent of Johnson's happened to be on the ground; and, seeing how matters looked, he disguised himself and

---

[25] § Précis of Oper. G. Johnson to Dartmouth, Oct. 12, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 279, p. 345. Ind. Trans.: ib., Vol. 280, p. 9. Verreau, Invasion, p. 44 (Sanguinet); p. 247 (Lorimier). E. Allen wrote Sch., Sept. 8 (Sch. Papers) that the Indians charged their slain against the British, because the British had dragged them into the war. Cramahé to Dartmouth, Sept. 21, 1775: Bancroft Coll., Eng. and Am., Aug., 1775-Dec., 1776, p. 81. Unfinished, etc.: Claus in No. Am. Notes and Q., I., 1, p. 24.

[26] § Reports, Sept. 24, 29, 1775: 4 Force, III., 798, 1275. Letter from Albany, Sept. 5, 1775: ib., 630. Sch. to Wash., Sept. 20, 1775: ib., 751. Claus, letter: No. Am. Notes and Q., I., 1, p. 24. Sch., Ledger.

hurried to the Colonel. The consequences were a visit from Claus and the famous Brant, strings of the precious black wampum, and a proposal that the deputies call upon the Indian Superintendent.

'Do not go,' urged the Caughnawagas, 'lest you be served like the Stockbridges.'

'We were not sent to Colonel Johnson, but to the Caughnawagas', the deputies answered Claus bluntly, and the wampum was given back.

'It is over with Johnson,' cried Brant; all the Indians will quit him'; but he only worked the harder.

For a moment, Caughnawaga was the storm-centre of the continent. Greater and greater still became the commotion there. Never had the Castle been so shaken before. Johnson and his lieutenants did their utmost.

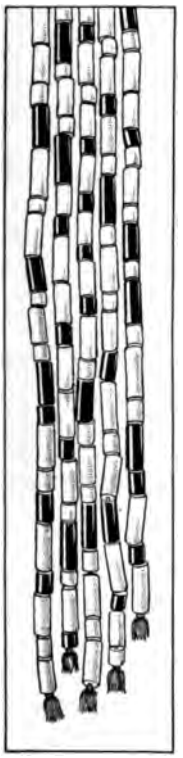
'Those beggarly miscreants,' they urged, 'wont give you Indians anything,—they 've nothing to give.'

Father de Terlaye brought the terrors of the church to bear. Reports came that Johnson intended to seize the deputies. The lion's paw so greatly dreaded was near; the claws of steel could be seen. But the word from Albany, aided by warnings from the American general, could not be gainsaid, and at last the victory of the Colonials was complete. Seven chiefs and warriors proceeded with the deputies to the American army, and there held a formal 'congress.' After gently chiding them for taking part in a dispute that did not concern them, Montgomery said:

'I do not ask your help, and the King cannot need it; therefore stand on one side, so that no Indian blood may be spilled.'

In reply the visitors, thanking him for the speech and still more for the offer of £400 (York), presented a belt, and promised they 'would not take a gun in hand' against him. 'The Indians yesterday made their peace,'

wrote Carleton gloomily on the sixteenth of September. That, of course, did not mean the total elimination of them. In fact, by and by some of them were to deal a very keen blow. But when, a few days later, they received the cash from Montgomery, their piquant and menacing presence, as an organized and formidable power, vanished from our stage.[27]



STRINGS OF WAMPUM

Only one possible source of help for Carleton remained,— the government. On the first of July, the Earl of Dartmouth had written that many considerations encouraged the idea of having 'as respectable a Force as possible in the Province of Quebec.' Gage, also, believed in maintaining an adequate body of troops there; and it looked almost certain that his opinion—which was made known to Carleton—would take shape in men. Besides, with British transports furrowing the sea in all directions, it even seemed as if a regiment or two might drop in almost any day by chance, like Hunter and the *Gaspé*. But the Governor bent his gaze toward the Island of Orleans in vain: no streaming pennant sailed out from behind the green heights. Only the 'rebels' appeared to befriend him; for Schuyler's long waiting made Hey and many others believe that all the plans of invasion had been

[27] § Reports: 4 Force, III., 798, 1275. Montg. to Sch., Sept. 19, 1775: 4 Force, III., 797. Claus: No. Amer. Notes and Queries, I., 1, p. 24. Terlaye to Claus, Sept. 16, 1775: Can. Arch., M, 104, p. 204. Carleton to Gage, Sept. 16,

'suspended, if not wholly abandoned.' And finally, even this reliance failed. The Colonials moved north.[28]

'I hold myself in readiness to embark for England where I possibly may be of some use,' moaned Hey, fully satisfied now that 'moderate and reasonable means of Retirement' would be better than 'the first office of distinction or Profit' in the gift of the Crown. Carleton saw the reality with no less clearness than his Chief-Justice. 'I seem abandoned by all the Earth,' he wrote Gage; 'we are on the Eve of being overrun and subdued'; but none the less he went firmly on to meet the foe.[29]

And now, at last, the foe went firmly on to meet him. Wretched indeed was the plight of the poor American army at Nut Island, when the burden of it fell upon Montgomery. Not only had mortification, distrust, and fearsomeness paralyzed enthusiasm, but 'upwards of six hundred sick' were reported on the twelfth of September, and those who kept about felt borne down by the disheartening dead weight of malaria. Several cold, rainy days ensued. Nothing to eat but flour and pork, grumbled the soldiers. Fresh orders to advance, given out on the thirteenth, were followed by a heavy storm, and bore no fruit save mildewed hopes. On the fifteenth, a council of war met and discussed the situation in the wan light of the facts. But, while the officers were sitting in the gloom, a note arrived from James Livingston. Happily

---

1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 130, p. 673. Id. to Dartmouth, Sept. 21, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 421. Present: Montg. to Bedel, Sept. 20, 1775 (Myers Coll.); Id. to Sch., Sept. 24 1775 (4 Force, III., 840); Hancock to Sch., Oct. 12, 1775 (Am. Antiq. Soc.). S. Mott to Trumbull, Oct. 6, 1775: 4 Force, III., 972. Sch. to Hancock, Sept. 25, 29, 1775: ib., 796, 839. Oriet (in Tryon's of Nov. 11, 1775). Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 185, p. 693.

[28] § Dartmouth to Gage, July 1, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 130, p. 343. Gage to Dartmouth, June 12, 1775: Bancroft Coll., Eng. and Am., Jan.-Aug., 1775, p. 275. Dartmouth to Carleton, July 24, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 279.

[29] § Hey to Chancellor, Aug. 28; Sept. 11, 17, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 12, p. 365. Carleton to Gage, Sept. 16, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 130, p. 673.

prevented by the British fort from learning the truth about the invading force, he had 'begun a war' of his own, and, aided by Jeremiah Dugan, an Irish neighbor engaged in the same business, had stirred up the *habitants* about Chambly not a little. Two bateaux loaded with provisions for St. Johns had been captured, ten or twelve regulars put out of action, and some prisoners taken. Come on at once, was the burden of his message; and he declared he could raise a force of three thousand Canadians. Immediately the scale-beam of the council paused and hesitatingly reversed its dip. Colonel Waterbury and three hundred and twenty men concluded to embark—none too cheerfully—on the water-craft for a try at the dreaded schooner; and, after dark, Major Brown, with one hundred Americans and thirty or forty Canadians, left the island for Chambly. Nobody knew it then, but the tide had at last really turned.[30]

Some reinforcements now brought fresh courage from the south. Henry B. Livingston's hatless, shirtless, and shoeless company arrived, 'nearly complete.' One hundred and seventy Green Mountain Boys appeared on the sixteenth, with another company of the same corps (raised, however, in Connecticut) pressing after them. An efficient artillery force—'indispensably necessary,' as General Schuyler said—was leaving Ticonderoga under sturdy Captain Lamb of New York. Easton's two hundred, with about one hundred and twenty-five of the First Yorkers, were to embark within a few days; and nearly three hundred of the Third Yorkers only waited

---

[30] § Sch. to Hancock, Sept. 19, 1775: 4 Force, III., 738. Orders, Sept. 13: ib., 742. Barlow, Journal. Trumbull, Journal. J. Liv. to Sch. (undated): 4 Force, III., 743. Letter to N. Y., Sept. 16, 1775: ib., 723. Montg. to Sch., Sept. 19, 1775: ib., 797. Dugan. Cramahé to Dartmouth, Sept. 24, 1775 (Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 405); Foucher, Journal, Oct. 3; Robbins, Journal, May 3. He had been a barber at Quebec (Ainslie, Journal, Dec. 4) and then a wheat merchant (none too successful) at St. Ours on the Richelieu below Chambly. REMARK XXI.

for shipping. Meanwhile, Schuyler himself, already 'much better' though still 'feeble,' lost none of his good-will; and, with one eye still on the chances of repulse, kept the other open, as well as he could, to the urgent need of men and supplies.[31]

AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY ARMS
A sword worn at Bunker Hill; a pistol owned by Washington; a powder-horn; a bullet-mould

New Hampshire, also, appeared now on the scene. Few districts on the frontier lay closer to danger from

[31] § Sch. to Wash., Sept. 20, 1775: 4 Force, III., 751. (He states that on Sept. 10 there were 1394 effectives at Nut Island.) G. M. B.: 'Montgomery's' Ord. Book, Sept. 16; Sch. to N. Y. Cong., Aug. 23, 1775 (4 Force, III., 243); N. Y. Cong., Sept. 1, 1775 (ib., 570); Hall, Vt., p. 214. Lamb's Co.: 4 Force, III., 525, 563.

Canada than Haverhill and its neighborhood, the centre of population on the upper Connecticut; and so anxious had the people been, that men in Bath who owned no guns had carried cornstalks on their shoulders to deceive the spies from Canada. To protect the settlements, three companies of rangers were organized. Then, as the successes at the lakes had ended the danger of invasion and Washington did not need their aid, the Colony offered them to Schuyler. 'Ablebodied, stout, active fellows, used to the woods, capable of any duty, and having an acquaintance with Canada,' these men were pictured. 'Very welcome,' the corps would be, said Montgomery; and it was directed to strike across from the Connecticut to Lake Champlain and Nut Island at once."[32]

Colonel Timothy Bedel of Bath commanded these rangers, and an interesting figure was he. 'A person of great experience in war,' the New Hampshire Committee of Safety described him[33]; but that concise phrase omitted, no doubt, much of really equal significance.

His name, occasionally written Bedle, was apparently pronounced that way by some, at least, in his time; and perhaps that was not wholly inappropriate. The beadle has usually been thought of as an impressive personage: not without substantial importance, though sometimes less important to others than to himself; possibly not of the rarest porcelain, but well able to fill a large part of a somewhat narrow circle.

The Colonel must have had a broad figure and a broad

---

[32] § Bettinger, Haverhill, p. 165. Cornstalks: Wells, Newbury, p. 75. Orders to Bedel, July 7; Aug. 29, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1767; N. H. State Papers, XVII., p. 16. Wash. to Sch., July 27, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1736. Sullivan to Sch., Aug. 5, 1775: Sparks MSS., No. 60, p. 2. N. H. Com. Safety, Aug. 7, 1775: N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll., VI., p. 15. Id. to Sch. and to Bedel, Aug. 7, 1775: 4 Force, III., 60. Montg. to N. H. Com. Safety, Aug. 19, 1775: ib., 177. Id. to Bedel, Aug. 19, 1775: Saffell, Records, p. 17. Sch. to Bedel, Aug. 31, 1775: ib., p. 17. Batchellor, Ranger Service, *passim*.

[33] N. H. Com. Safety to Sch., Aug. 7, 1775: 4 Force, III., 60.

face, unless a mistake occurred somewhere; and beyond a doubt he preferred to wear his ample hat well back on the after portion of his head. Power belonged to him,—a sort of power more promptly recognized, perhaps, by dogs, horses, and Indians than by creatures less faithful to their instincts. Physical energy, physical good-nature, and physical intelligence qualified him to lead at the border; and his practical common sense, while perhaps it now sank into craft, now rose into shrewdness. Whether or no he was just the man for a tight pinch, had not been decided yet; but he could cut a wide swath in good grass, make the steel ring as it flew, empty more dippers of hard cider at the farther end of the field than anybody else in the gang, and, in telling it over the next week, forget—though without prejudice to his imagination—exactly how much ground he had mowed."[1]

Besides these three companies of rangers, who gathered at Coös, an 'Independent Company of Volunteers' at Hanover, including some students of Dartmouth College, enlisted, equipped themselves, and marched within three days, — 'a most noble spirit this,' as Colonel Israel Morey told the New Hampshire Committee of Safety. Boats for all could not be found. Indeed, it was not easy to obtain any; but finally, at midnight between September sixteenth and seventeenth, in the glimmer of lanterns and flare of torches, the first of the New Hampshire men grounded their bateaux on the soft shore of Nut Island, and filed to their places in the slumbering camp.[2]

By this time, pluck had revived there, and the reinforcements, not yet discouraged by steps backward,

---

[1] § Based upon the documents and events in which he figures,—Frye Bayley's Narrative in particular. More will be said of Bedel and of this document in Chapter XXXII. Interesting later docs exist in the Can. Arch.

[2] § Orford letter, Sept. 12, 1775: Boston Gazette, Oct. 2, 1775. Morey to N. H. Com. Safety, Sept. 12, 1775: 4 Force, III., 607. Hinman to Bedel, Sept. 16, 1775: Emmet Coll. Wells, Journal, Aug. 31–Sept. 16.

added no little impetus. 'I am in perfect good health,' wrote a New York officer just coming over the lakes at this time, 'which I pray God to continue till I can give a good account of that Rascal Carleton and his bloody backs' for setting Baker's head on a pole. 'A parcel of hearty lads' were his men; and he felt sure they were not going to 'turn their noses from the smell of gunpowder.' On the seventeenth of September, most of the tents were struck; and that evening Montgomery and the army—'resolved,' wrote Sergeant Barlow, 'to take the Fort or lose their lives'—landed for the third time at St. Johns,—Bedel, in spite of unwelcome shells, moving on to the northern breastwork with an advance guard. 'Tomorrow,' wrote another officer, 'we intend to strike a decisive blow.'[36]

And he did not prove so bad a prophet. Waterbury's plan to destroy the British schooner had not succeeded, and, could she but run past the army and cut its line of communication, surrender or starvation was likely to follow; but the American sloop and schooner, two 'row-galleys' carrying a 12-pounder each, ten bateaux with picked crews, and three hundred and fifty men, all told, were appointed to prevent this at any cost. Another body, counting two hundred, had orders to guard the boats and the landing. With five hundred (New Hampshire men, Green Mountain Boys, and some of Hinman's corps) Montgomery cut round the fort, and planted this force under Bedel on the northwest side, at the junction of the roads from Chambly and from Montreal to St. Johns, so that no succor could reach the foe. Parties took post at Laprairie and Longueuil (two landings on

---

[36] § Revised: Sch. to Wash., Sept. 20, 1775 (4 Force, III., 751) N. Y. Off., Sept. 14, 1775 (as printed in Conn. Courant): ib., 709. Montg. to Sch., Sept. 19, 1775: ib., 797. Trumbull, Journal. Barlow, Journal. Safford, Journal. Bedel to N. H. Com. Safety, Sept. 23, 1775: 4 Force, III., 779. Letter, Sept. 17, 1775: ib., 726.

the St. Lawrence, the first above and the other just below Montreal) to prevent parties of the enemy from harassing and overawing the Canadians; and the rest of the soldiers—evidently not a great number: say six hundred at first—undertook to besiege the fort."[37]

'An army,' these troops have been called for want of a better name; but it was almost an army without men. A leader, however, it did not lack.

Richard Montgomery, born at Conway House, near Raphoe, in the north of Ireland, on December the second, 1736, came of an ancient French family. His father, a baronet and at one time a member of Parliament, gave him a good education at Dublin and, before he quite reached his eighteenth birthday, an ensign's commission in the 17th Foot. The next year, fortune brought him to America; and in 1759, by a still more singular chance, he served under Amherst at the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Three years later found him a captain; but for a decade he gained no further promotion. During this time he became familiar with the leaders of the Opposition in the British Parliament, and one could hardly avoid suspecting that his warm espousal of their ideas offended the Administration. At all events, he appeared to despair of his future in the army, and in 1772 on receiving a very pointed slight he resigned.[38]

America had not been forgotten; and the next year he

[37] § Waterbury's failure may have been due to the fact that the schooner had nets to prevent boarding (Liv., Journal, Oct. 14). Sch. to Wash., Sept. 20, 1775: 4 Force, III., 751. Montg. to Sch., Sept. 19, 1775: ib., 797. Ritzema, Journ. Bedel to N. H. Com. Safety, Sept. 23: 4 Force, III., 779. Id. to Montg., Sept. 28, 1775; ib., 954. Montg. to Bedel, Sept. 19, 1775: Saffell, Records, p. 19. Trumbull, Journal. Barlow, Journal. H. B. Liv. to ———, Oct. 6, 1775: Mag. Am. Hist., 1889, p. 256. The posts on the St. Lawrence appear to have been established Sept. 20 and 21: Précis of Oper.; Trumbull, Journal, Sept. 19, 21; Ind. Trans. (Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 285, p. 9). REMARK XXII.

[38] § On Montg.: L. L. Hunt, Biog. Notes; Harper's Mag., LXX., p. 350; Cullum, Biog. Sketch; LeMoine, Maple Leaves (1894), *passim*; Pub. Rec. Off., MS. Army Lists; Cannon, Rec. 17th Regt.; Doughty, Siege, II., p. 224; N. Y. Docs. (Colon. Hist.), VIII., p. 665; Smith, Rhinebeck; Warren, Am. Rev., I., p. 266; N. Y. Cong., June 7, 1775 (4 Force, II., 1282); Journ. Cong., June 22, 1775; Montg. to R. R. Liv., June 7, 1775 (Liv. Papers, 1775—1777, p. 35).

visited our shores again,—this time not as a soldier but as a settler, not to destroy but to create. First, he purchased an estate at Kingsbridge, close to New York City; but, on marrying Janet, sister of Chancellor Livingston, he removed to picturesque Rhinebeck on the Hudson. Allied now to a family of great distinction for wealth, character, ability, and social influence, he could not avoid becoming prominent in the stirring events of the day. Which side to take, it was easy for him to decide. 'The will of an oppressed people compelled to choose between liberty and slavery must be obeyed,' he wrote a friend. In April, 1775, he took his seat in the first Provincial Convention; and in June, on a unanimous recommendation from his Colony, he was given a commission as brigadier-general by the Continental Congress. 'I would most willingly decline any military command from a consciousness of a want of talants,' he said to Robert Livingston; 'nevertheless I shall sacrifice my own inclinations to the service of the public.'

In all America, perhaps no fitter man could have been found to command a body of raw freemen, enlisted in the often misunderstood cause of Liberty, and just putting their necks into the yoke of military service.

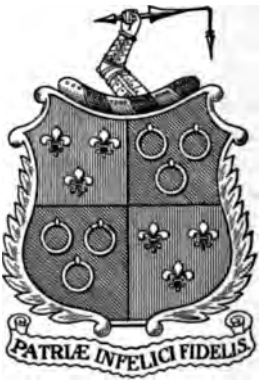
At bottom, he possessed the sturdy, honest common-sense of those who love the soil, and the genial, kindly good-nature of the man who delights to make things grow; but upon this was piled experience in the brotherly fellowship of the mess, in the brilliant gayety of the ball-room, and in the glorious hazards of the field. The training of the regular army had made him a professional soldier; yet, instead of developing into a martinet or a tyrant, he had reached the point where the artist forgets art, where discipline is prized only for what it can produce. At the same time, intimacy with Barré, Fox, and Burke had expanded his mind with

liberal views, deep reflections, and broad political sympathies.

Gentle blood gave him the true sense of dignity and the true condescension of *noblesse oblige*.

He could be angry and sin not; or, if the sun did go down upon his wrath, it was only to rise again more splendid and more benign. With him, however, anger was extremely rare. Out of his deep reflections he drew patience, and his own high attainments gave him charity for less ripened characters rather than pride in his own.

He possessed the secret of making things easy for his fellow-workers,—a secret that consisted largely in making them hard for himself. Yet no stoic was he, no Spartan. Romantic in feeling and Athenian in tastes, he suffered all there was to suffer; but he loved even more than he suffered, —loved honor, friends, liberty, and his duty. Like a Damascus blade, his will could bend till point and hilt met, or work its way through a problem like the wards of a lock; yet for all that his blade never ceased to be a sword. By yielding, he could conquer; and in bowing to the unwisdom of others, he could bring it into close contact with his own sagacity and put it out of countenance.



MONTGOMERY'S ARMS

One had to sally a little from the realm of prose to understand his character. This Damascus blade had an Æolian cord strung in its groove, and every stroke was a song,—a song from Tara's ruined halls, powerful but sad, and yet forever breaking into a sparkle of gayety

like the waves on the beaches of Sligo. When appointed to the army, he gave his wife the news by asking her to make a cockade for his hat; and, as the tears fell upon her fingers, turned her thoughts from danger to glory by a word: 'You shall never blush for your Montgomery!' Yet, when the final leave-taking came, after he had been sitting long in a profound musing beside her, his deep voice awed his wife's young brother from the room with one solemn, pathetic sentence, that opened a glimpse into a heart well-nigh bursting with great thoughts and great emotions: '"'T is a strange world, my masters!" I once thought so, now I know it.'

Carleton was the epic and Montgomery the lyric of heroism. Carleton seemed born to command, and men obeyed him instinctively; Montgomery was born to lead, and men would follow him without knowing why. Carleton's mind was a rock,—fixed, unchangeable; Montgomery's a compass-needle,—quivering when jarred, but always true to its pole. And now destiny had placed these two chiefs on an ample stage, to act out between them a moving and momentous tragedy.

XIII

ETHAN ALLEN'S MISTAKE

GENERAL MONTGOMERY understood well the political ideas of the Congress touching Canada[1]; upon the military importance of Canadian co-operation he needed no advice; and it was evident, from both points of view, that he must win, if possible, the respect and confidence of these people.

The successful landing of his army and his prudent strategic arrangements had no doubt a good effect upon them; and then followed several other moves equally encouraging.

In the night of September the seventeenth, Major Brown, hearing that a British party was taking supplies to St. Johns, attacked it by surprise, and captured four hogsheads of rum, some clothing, and some gun-carriages intended for the vessels. Then, as morning dawned, he proceeded to throw up a breastwork two miles or so north of the fort, counting upon the speedy arrival of Americans from the other side of it. Unfortunately, as Montgomery patiently remarked, 'Young troops are not so expeditious as could be wished'[2]; besides which, the men destined for that quarter, after lying all night on their arms, were doubtless weary. Brown had detailed a large part of his command as guards; and when a hundred regulars, with

[1] Montg. to Sch., Sept. 24, 1775 : 4 Force, III., 840.
[2] Montg. to Bedel, Sept. 19, 1775: Dreer Coll.

as many volunteers and one or two field-pieces, sallied out upon him, his fifty Americans and thirty or forty Canadians could only follow their booty into the forest. The firing was heard in the American camp; and Montgomery, with Bedel's corps, hurried to the scene of action. Thick woods made them invisible; and, had they kept still until the exact situation of the enemy had been discovered, they might have taken the whole party, field-pieces and all. As it was—what with some excitement, some timidity, and some lack of expertness—the Colonials gave the British warning; yet, after a harmless though 'heavy' fire of grape and bullets, the regulars had to flee, leaving behind them bloody tokens of the skirmish. About forty of the 'Rebels' were killed or captured, so the *Quebec Gazette* heard; but those on the ground knew that no American lost his life or liberty, and that redcoats had been driven by Colonials. Moreover, Major Brown drew his net again very shortly, and found twelve more wagons in it, laden with 'rum, pork, wine, etc.'[3]

Siege operations began promptly, and no doubt that also tended to encourage the Canadian allies.

On the day of this little skirmish, the troops on the south side advanced to the lower breastwork, cleared the ground, threw up intrenchments, and made their camp. By the twenty-fifth, a two-gun battery of 12-pounders and a small mortar battery had been completed; and Lamb's New York artillery company—very trim and very proud—were dropping shells by wide orbits into the fort and raining hot shot by flatter paths upon the shipyard. It became evident that Carleton did not like the situation.

---

[3] § Montg. to Sch., Sept. 19, 1775: 4 Force, III., 797. Trumbull, Journal. Bedel to N. H. Com. Safety, Sept. 23, 1775: 4 Force, III., 779. Safford, Journal, Sept. 18. Letter, Oct. 1, 1775: 4 Force III. 923. Verreau, Invasion (Sanguinet), p. 68; (Berthelot), p. 229. Journal: Almon's Remembrancer, 1776, Part II., p. 126. London Gazette, Nov. 4, 1775. Cramahé to Dartmouth, Sept. 24, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 405. H. B. Liv., to ——, Oct. 6, 1775: Mag. Am. Hist., 1880, p. 256. Bedel's 'Corps' included the G. M. Boys and some of Hinman's men.

A man captured while trying to enter the fort said he carried verbal orders to evacuate it,—not an easy thing to do; and it was strongly reported' that the King's stores had been put on board ship at Montreal. The natives, looking on at all this, felt that victory would fall to the invaders. Three women showed which way the wind blew by capturing a British scout and bringing him to the camp; and Montgomery wrote very cheerfully to Schuyler, 'Things seem to go well among the Canadians.' And then, in a flash, an able man, a thorough friend of the cause, one of Montgomery's own subordinates, accomplished what the Governor, the regulars, British gold, and priestly power had failed to do: set the Canadians enlisting in droves under the cross of St. George.[4]

ALLEN'S HOUSE AT BENNINGTON

The fact seemed almost incredible; yet, like everything else, it came to pass naturally and logically.

Ethan Allen had appeared upon the scene as the Robin Hood of Catamount Tavern, discoursing wit and wisdom to a band of poor outlaws; an outlaw himself; in the eyes of justice—well bandaged, no doubt—a freebooter; and, by the verdict of the New York authorities, a wild beast of the mountains, whom it would be a civic virtue to seize at sight. But, like the traditional Robin, bold Ethan was an outlaw only by the force of circumstances, and he wished, from the bottom of his soul, to occupy the place in good society which he felt he merited.[5] After long pondering,

[4] § Montg. to Bedel, Sept. 20, 1775: Myers Coll. Id. to Id., Sept. 25: Dreer Coll. Trumbull, Journal. Barlow, Journal. Women: Safford, Journal, Sept. 20. Montg. to Sch., Sept. 19, 1775: 4 Force, III., 797.

[5] See p. 116.

one stroke of courage and address, the capture of Ticonderoga, did the miracle in a twinkling, and the Bennington outlaw found himself a national hero.

Allen made the most of his opportunity: or at least he tried to do so. To the Massachusetts Congress he represented the conquests on the lakes as made by 'sons of liberty . . . animated with the glorious example of the brave action at Concord,' and so linked himself and his followers to the sympathies and admiration of the Bay Colony. Trumbull he assured that the notice His Honor, as well as others, had taken of his 'painful services' had 'more confirmedly and authorita[ti]vely determined' him to hazard his life in the common cause. In the name of the United Colonies, he addressed the 'People of Canada,' and sent his letter north to be made the most public that it 'possibly' could be. And all this assumption of importance and even of a representative authority was received by the public as appropriate. There seemed to be nothing that his cleverness and boldness could not achieve.[6]

Two dramatic personal triumphs crowned his exploits. Armed with a letter from himself and other prominent persons at the north and attended by Seth Warner, he made the long journey to Philadelphia, strode across the brick corridor of Independence Hall, and presented himself at the white doors of Congress. The portal opened; and the leader of the Bennington Mob stepped forward under the crystal chandelier, at the very centre of the august circle in armchairs. The quivering head of Sam Adams poised itself at him, but not as at Governor Hutchinson. John Adams's luminous eyes focused themselves approvingly on his shaggy pate. The prunes-and-prisms of Langdon's amiable lips took on a more virile

[6] § To Mass. Cong., June 9, 1775: 4 Force, II., 940. To Trumbull, July 6, 1775: Trumbull Papers, IV. To Canada, June 4, 1775: Sparks MSS., No. 29, p. 284.

air. Gadsden's bright countenance glowed brighter than ever. Lynch, hiding great riches under his plain suit of American cloth, measured the visitor's rough but sturdy proportions with evident satisfaction. Pale Dickinson looked puzzled and a trifle embarrassed; but Harrison's cherubic face beamed. Even dapper Hancock, at the table, appeared to feel a gust from the northern hills, and the rising sun, crowned with a liberty-cap, that surmounted his chair-back seemed gilded at that moment, like the sun of Ticonderoga, with a 'superior lustre.' Then Allen was 'heard'; and, before the day closed, Congress advised the New York authorities to take into its own service 'those called Green Mountain Boys,' whom the Colony had but recently put under the ban.'

Highly pleased that his doings had been 'noticed by the Hon^ble^ Continental Congress with that additional lustre they needed,' Allen moved next on the very Colony that had set a price on his bristling head. On the fourth of July, the New York Congress 'was informed that Ethan Allen was at the door and desired admittance.' It seemed preposterous. The torturer of Benjamin Hough, the prophet of the Beech Seal actually at the door, alive, and not in chains! How Governor Tryon, who had proclaimed him an outlaw, would have foamed! but that sad gentleman was in hiding on a British man-of-war. Some of his kidney did hear the wild proposition, however, and they made a stubborn fight. But they fought in vain. Ethan Allen was now a figure, a personage; and with him a great multitude, unseen yet not unfelt, were knocking at that heavy door.[8]

Besides, the shrewd fellow had taken some pains, in the

[7] § Letter, June 10, 1775: 4 Force, II., 958. The descriptions of delegates are from portraits, except those of Lynch (S. Deane: Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., II., p. 175) and Dickinson (J. Adams: Works, II., p. 360). For the appearance of the room, see the room. Journ Cong., June 23, 1775. The scene is constructive.

[8] Allen to Trumbull, July 6, 1775: Trumbull Papers, IV. N. Y. Cong.. 4 Force, II., 1338.

hour of triumph, to conciliate his foes. No slight or impertinence had been intended in keeping the Ticonderoga enterprise from their knowledge, he wrote the Congress of New York, for it was 'a private expedition,' and 'common fame' reported that there were 'a number of over-grown tories in the Province,' who might have betrayed the plan. No Bennington Mob was it that had rushed after him through the wicket gate, but 'the subjects of your Governments.' 'The pork forwarded to subsist the army by your Honours' direction,' he deftly insinuated, evinced approbation of the procedure; and then, having proved them his accomplices after the fact,

ETHAN ALLEN'S HOUSE AT BURLINGTON

he proposed, 'with submission' and before going to Philadelphia, 'to raise a small regiment of Rangers.' Evidently the northern catamount had now laid aside his claws; his fur could be stroked without fear; he would prove a valuable ally; and finally a vote of eighteen to nine admitted him to the floor. Again he was 'heard'; and it was in this way that the New York Congress came

to let the wildcats enter its army in a body, remain an independent corps, recommend their own field-officers, and elect as they pleased all the rest of their leaders.[9]

Owing to circumstances, Allen's contest with Arnold had not been wholly successful; but the opportunity to place his ingenuity, his sagacity, and his knowledge of both Canadians and Indians in comparison with other men's had only confirmed his good opinion of himself. All the leaders had come round finally to his main views; and what troubles, what losses would have been saved by adopting and carrying them out more promptly! Even Arnold himself seems to have conceded his claim to some command; and apparently Allen took post at Iron Point in June with a considerable force. To establish himself at the northern end of the lake had been his pet project. When all plans to invade a friendly province were denounced, he replied, 'Our only having it in our power thus to make incursions into Canada, might probably be the very reason why it would be unnecessary so to do'; and the fact that his itching boots appear to have carried him across the line during his stay at the Point, did not lessen the good sense of this remark.[10]

Then came reverses. Something—and perhaps it was that unfortunate voyage to St. Johns—convinced the hard-headed farmers of the Grants that Warner could do better in the field; so that while they showed their regard for Allen by leaving the office of colonel vacant, he received no appointment in the new corps. Schuyler, also, wounded his self-esteem. Little qualified to sympathize

---

[9] § Allen to N. Y. Cong., June 2, 1775: 4 Force, II. 891. N. Y. Cong.: ib., 1312.

[10] § Allen to N. Y. Cong., June 2, 1775: 4 Force, II., 891. For the (probable) Pt. au Fer exped.: Allen to Cont. Cong., May 29, 1775 (4 Force, II., 732); Sch. to Hinman, June 28, 1775 (ib., 1133; had Sch. referred here to Allen's visit at St. Johns in May, he would have mentioned with greater reason Arnold's); Carleton to Dartmouth, June 7, 1775 (Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 283); Gamble to Shirreff, Sept. 6, 1775 (Boston Gazette, Oct. 9, 1775); Maseres to Shelburne, Aug. 24, 1775 (MSS. of Marq. of Lansdowne, Vol. 66, fo. 113).

with Allen's ways and fully alive to the dangers of insubordination, he exacted a solemn promise in the presence of witnesses that he would 'demean himself properly,' before permitting him to accompany the army.[11]

Yet, in spite of all rebuffs, the 'mountain hero' kept on. Patriotism called that way. Admiring friends, like William Gilleland, Esquire, a very important person on Lake Champlain, saw in him an 'enterprising and heroick commander,' and no doubt begged him not to withdraw. Coaxing the stony earth at Sunderland, digging rocky wells at Arlington, or shining for the exclusive illumination of Bennington Centre, offered now even smaller attractions than before. Unappreciative farmers could not shut him from the service. The Conscript Fathers at Philadelphia and the authorities of New York had commissions to give, and both had vouchsafed him assurances, he confided to Trumbull, 'of shortly being admitted to an Honourable perferment in the army.' Above all, feeling himself still in partnership with Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress, he doubtless burned for another and still grander opportunity to prove his connection with the firm.[12]

After a while, that opportunity seemed to be drifting within his reach. In spite of distrust and dislike, Schuyler valued his rare talents enough to employ him. It was Allen, accompanied by John Brown, who bore Schuyler's manifesto from Nut Island into Canada, and the events of that journey had little tendency to discourage his self-esteem. From lip to lip flew the great news: Colonel Allen, the hero of Ticonderoga, is among us. 'Captains of the Militia and respectable gentlemen of the Canadians' were proud to visit him and converse with

---

[11] Sch. to Hancock, Oct. 5, 1775: 4 Force, III., 951.

[12] § Gilleland to Cont. Cong., May 29, 1775: 4 Force, II., 731. Allen to Trumbull, July 6, 1775: Trumbull Papers, IV.

him. Volunteers under arms guarded him night and day. The threshold of every cottage, plain but neat, longed for his foot. Chickens, turkeys, and geese cheerfully yielded up their lives wherever he passed; rum, spruce beer, and sometimes good red wine from Bordeaux flowed, almost without a bidding, wherever his bulky shadow fell. One day jackets of silesia, calico, and linen, with ribbons fluttering joyously behind, could be seen escorting him through the woods; another, mounted in a light calash—open or covered according to the wealth of its owner—to which was 'Geered a small Chunk of a Horse,' as Captain Lacey would have pictured it, Allen whirled away on some mysterious errand, the big round bells on the neck of his Bucephalus jingling like mad, and the happy driver still urging the pace. As no Canadian would conclude a bargain without consulting his better educated wife, the women, brightening their dresses of coarse homespun with just a touch of finery, took a prominent part in the scene; and, as they found the stranger decidedly impressive in comparison with the rather small and somewhat gnarly Pierres and Jeans, their lively and merry tongues wagged fast, though none too fast for their wits. Yet Allen did not forget his mission; and Carleton informed Lord Dartmouth, a week after the journey ended, 'their emissaries . . . have injured us very much.'[13]

A CALASH (*Calèche*)

---

[13] § P. 327 Allen to Sch., Sept. 8, 1775: Sch. Papers. Id. to Id., Sept. 14 1775: Sparks, Corres., I., p. 463. Stone (ed.), Letters of Officers, pp. 15, 16, etc. Marr, Remarks on Quebec: Can. Arch., M, 384, p. 85. Anburey, Travels, I., p. 70. Liv., Journal, Oct. 19. Lacey, Memoirs, p. 197. Ended: Sch. to Wash., Sept. 20, 1775 (4 Force, III., 751). Carleton to Dartmouth, Sept. 21, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 421.

Not satisfied with all this, Allen sent a messenger to the Caughnawagas, 'demanding the cause why sundry of the Indians had taken up arms against the United Colonies.' It was a daring challenge, but once more his charm worked. Two leading warriors came humbly to reply. It is 'contrary to the will and orders of the chiefs,' they said, 'but the King's Troops gave them rum, and enveigled them to fight; but we have sent runners, and ordered them to depart from St. John's'; and perhaps this, as well as the death of their interpreter, had something to do with that sudden disappearance of the savages. Nor did it end there. After a 'General Council,' the Caughnawagas tendered beads and a belt of wampum as a 'lasting testimony of their friendship'; and these tokens—to the great edification of the Canadians—were solemnly delivered to Allen, 'in the presence of a large auditory,' at about the time when the delegates from the Albany meeting were drawing near the Castle.[14]

The day after Montgomery took the army to St. Johns, he sent off this Colonel *in partibus*, attended by Dugan and six or seven others, to clothe his title with a body of Canadian recruits at Chambly. Allen did not wish to go, he said afterwards, and the faintest possible suspicion of the future would have been enough to explain such unwonted backwardness; but, within forty-eight hours, regrets were swallowed up in glory, or—in something else.[15]

'Excellent Sir,' he wrote Montgomery, 'I am now in the Parish of St. Tuors [St. Ours], four leagues from Sorel, to the south; have two hundred and fifty Canadians under arms; as I march, they gather fast. There

---

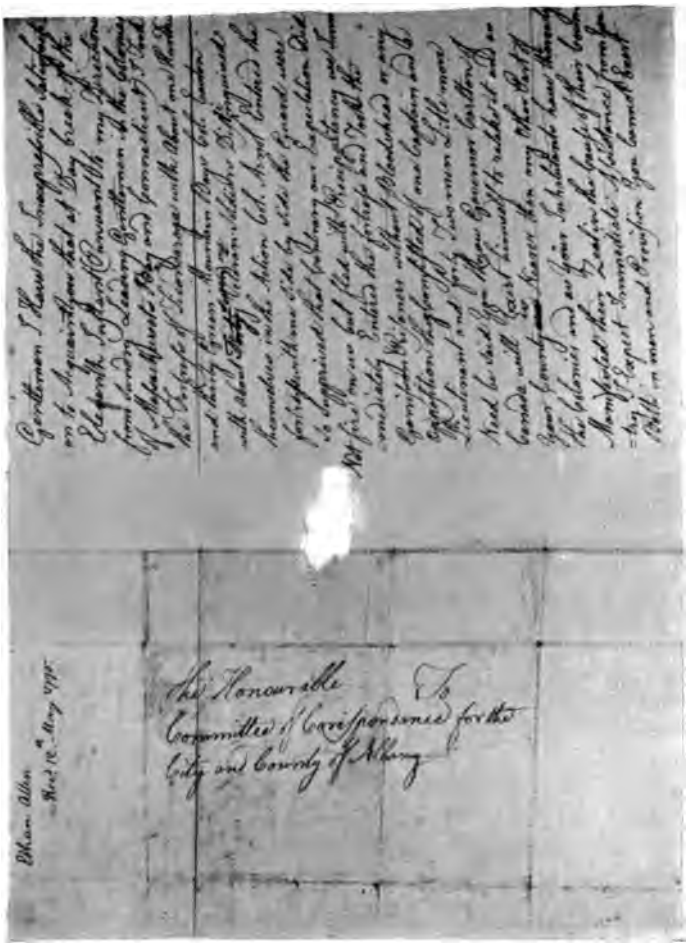
[14] § Allen to Sch., Sept. 14, 1775; 4 Force, III., 742; apparently confirmed by Précis of Oper. This 'treaty,' however, directly concerned only the Caughnawagas.

[15] § Trumbull, Journal, Sept. 18. Montg. to Sch., Sept. 19 1775; 4 Force, III., 797. Allen, Narrative, pp. 24, 25.

are the objects of taking the vessels in Sorel [or Richelieu River] and General Carleton [believed to be aboard one of them]; these objects I pass by, to assist the army besieging St. John's. . . . You may rely on it that I shall join you in about three days, with five hundred or more Canadian Volunteers. . . . Those that used to be enemies to our cause come cap in hand to me; and I swear by the lord I can raise three times the number of our army in Canada, provided you continue the siege. . . . God grant you wisdom, fortitude, and every accomplishment of a victorious General; the eyes of all America, nay, of Europe, are or will be on the economy of this army, and the consequences attending it. . . . P. S. I have purchased six hogsheads of rum . . . . pray let no object of obstruction be insurmountable.' Kings may be blest, but Ethan was now glorious. 'It is the advice of the officers with me, that I speedily repair to the army,' his candor admitted in the same epistle; but instead of that he went on 'preaching politics,' and reported meeting with 'good success as an itinerant.'[16]

Meanwhile, 'Sept ye 22nd 1775 at 9 at night,' John Grant, Captain of an American force, arrived at Longueuil and found the people in a high state of excitement. Word had come from Montreal that an attack was to be made upon the place at once or 'as soon as posabel.' Livingston had been notified, and reinforcements had immediately set out from Chambly; but Captain Grant, on advice, wrote Allen also, begging him 'to send a party or com as soon as ma be,' if not occupied elsewhere. Allen was by no means the man to send a party when he could go himself; and so it came to pass that he spent the night of the twenty-third at Longueuil, nearly opposite Montreal. There, looking long and hard across the

[16] § Allen to Montg., Sept. 20: 4 Force, III., 754. Allen, Narrative, p. 25.



A PORTION OF ETHAN ALLEN'S LETTER ANNOUNCING THE CAPTURE OF TICONDEROGA

rushing St. Lawrence at the twinkling lights, he saw what he felt unwilling to 'pass by,' even to assist the army and its excellent general![17]

'Provided I had but five hundred men with me at St. John's when we took the King's sloop, I would have advanced to Montreal,' he had written the Continental Congress in May, on returning from his luckless voyage. Possibly that was only bravado, intended to cover his failure; but if so, he at least soon took it seriously, though with prudent modifications. To the New York Congress he announced four days later: 'I will lay my life on it, that with fifteen hundred men and a proper train of artillery, I will take Montreal.' By the middle of July, he informed Trumbull that if the Green Mountain Boys had not been formed into 'a Battalion, under certain regulations and command,' he would 'forthwith advance them into Canada, and invest Montreal.' And now the city of dreams—the city of his dreams as well as of others—lay just across the river. Nobody about him supposed Carleton was there; all or nearly all the troops had been drawn away; and even Montgomery considered this rich and populous town 'in a very defenceless state.'[18]

Allen's heart swelled. Months before, he had pictured the splendid opportunity placed before America. 'She might rise on eagles' wings, and mount up to glory, freedom, and immortal honour, if she did but know and exert her strength,' he had pointed out; 'Fame is now hovering over her head. A vast continent must now sink to slavery, poverty, horrour, and bondage, or rise to unconquerable freedom, immense wealth, inexpressible felicity, and immortal fame.'[19] How feebly, how tardily

---

[17] § Grant: Sandham, Ville Marie, p. 72. Allen, Narrative, p. 25.

[18] § Allen to Cont. Cong., May 29, 1775: 4 Force, II., 732 Id. to N. Y. Cong., June 2, 1775: ib., 891. Id. to Trumbull, July 12, 1775: ib., 1649. Montg. to Sch., Sept. 28, 1775: Sparks, Corres., I., p. 467.

[19] Allen to N. Y. Cong.: Note 18.

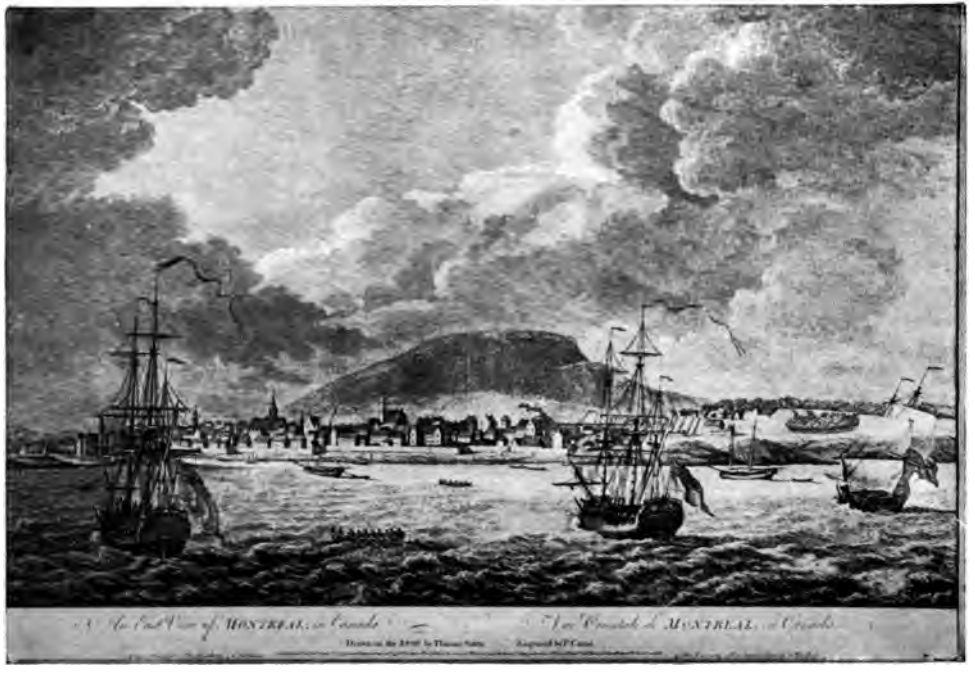
had the country moved! Even now the victory might fall from its lips. Why should not he, as he had seized Ticonderoga, now seize Montreal, make sure of the Canadians, and plant his own name forever on a pedestal too high for detraction? To stop short before such an opportunity, especially with a gale of Canadian admiration almost ripping his canvas,—it seemed impossible.

Unfortunately, only about eighty Canadians, instead of 'five hundred or more' had followed him, and he set out perforce the next morning for St. Johns; but within two miles of Longueuil he met Brown, then in charge of a considerable force at Laprairie. The two chiefs, with several others, went into a house close at hand, shut themselves up in a room, and soon fell with one accord upon the scheme of attacking Montreal. Later, Allen very cheerfully gave his ally the credit of proposing this plan, but he admitted that it was 'readily approved' by him and the rest. There were canoes as well as men at Laprairie; there were friends as well as foes at Montreal; the resources appeared ample and the nut a fragile one. Brown, with nearly two hundred followers, was to cross above the town, so Allen stated later, and he himself below it; each would silently approach the gate at his end of the city; Brown's party would give three huzzas, Allen's would respond, and then both would fall to. Everything arranged, each returned to his base and made preparations, Allen for his part adding about thirty 'English-Americans' to his force, and waiting impatiently for the curtain of shadows to fall.[20]

'Dark was the night, and stormy rolled the sea.'

Merely to cross the river proved no easy task. Longueuil stood about a mile and a half below the city;

[20] § Allen, Narrative, pp. 25, 27. Montg. to Sch., Sept. 24, 1775; 4 Force III., 840. Verreau (Lorimier), Invasion, pp. 255, 256. I. Allen, Vt., p. 64.



MONTREAL ABOUT THE YEAR 1760

and the broad St. Lawrence, hurrying from the rapids just above, swept down past the northern shore, in what was named St. Mary's Current, with a force that even large vessels dreaded. Two years before, citizens of Montreal had petitioned for a fixed ferry to Longueuil, but the request had been ordered to 'lye on the Table'; so that probably only canoes, dugouts of red elm, or possibly a bateau or two could be had. A brigantine and other armed vessels lay in the harbor; and fifty or sixty regulars were sleeping within call of their sentries. Six times, through darkness and wind, the rushing stream had to be crossed, and the morning of the twenty-fifth had begun to unfurl its banners, when the last load scrambled up the sandy shore at Longue Pointe. With two lieutenants, Allen reconnoitred the situation. The people of the suburbs, perhaps because no walls defended them, had shown a specially benign countenance toward the Americans. Only the day before, when a hint of danger had spread through the city and orders been given to deposit their ladders within the gates, they had 'refused with Insolence,' and threatened to make anybody suffer who should try to enforce the command. Allen counted not a little on their aid, and visited several of their houses boldly. Next, soon after day, he posted a guard on the road each side of his position and was ready.[21]

Why did not Brown's huzza come hurtling over the town then, like the peal of Roland's horn? Admirers of the brave Major have puzzled sadly over his total failure to appear, while Ira Allen, blaming him and Warner for abandoning Ethan, remarked pointedly that 'the

[21] § Hopkins, Atlas. Minutes Gov.'s Council, July 24, 1773: Can. Arch. Dugouts Anburey, Travels, I., p. 116. I Allen, Vt., p. 64. Brig. (*Gaspé*), etc.: Oriet, in Tryon's of Nov. 11, 1775 (Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 185, p. 193). Allen, Narrative, p. 26. Verreau (Sanguinet), Invasion, p. 49. Carleton to Dartmouth, Oct. 25, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 433.

disciples of Jesus Christ disputed among themselves who should be the greatest.' But if Brown, after originating the plan, had furnished canoes and supplied the greater number of men, no one could have denied him the chief credit, and selfish ambition itself would have induced him to cross. Was there a misunderstanding, then? Apparently there was,—at least in Allen's *Narrative*, written years afterwards; for Montgomery said that Allen, who perchance recalled Arnold's uncomfortable claims at Ticonderoga, preferred to undertake the affair 'single-handed,' urged on by his 'imprudence and ambition.'[22]

Now, however, he found himself too much alone. Evidently the people of the faubourg, while friendly, did not intend to rise in a body or in any other way; and he decided to send for aid to Brown at Laprairie and to Thomas Walker, then at Assomption. Unfortunately a certain Desautel, seized by the guards on his way from Montreal to his farm at Longue Pointe, escaped, and fled to the city. In a moment Allen saw that his numbers would be revealed, and the enemy would soon fall upon him. There was time for one trip across the river, but apparently not for all his men to be ferried over. He could not think of abandoning two-thirds of them; so he decided to fight it out, and, planting himself in a good position two or three miles from the city, he awaited attack.[23]

With all his vanity, he did not realize the terror of his name. When the news passed through the gates that 'Ethan Allen, the Notorious New Hampshire Incendiary,' as Governor Tryon labelled him, had actually landed at the door, even Guy Johnson admitted that Montreal 'was

---

[22] § I. Allen, Vt., p. 64. Montg. to Sch., Sept. 28, 1775; 4 Force, III., 952.

[23] § Allen, Narrative, pp. 27, 28. Verreau (Sanguinet), Invasion, p. 50. Quebec Gazette, Oct. 5, 1775.

thrown into the utmost Confusion,' and some of the officials took refuge on the ships. Carleton himself did not learn of the news until nine o'clock. Then the drums beat sharply through the streets; 'all the old Gentlemen & better sort of Citizens English & Canadian,' as the Governor appraised them, 'turned out under Arms, some of the lower Classes followed their Example,' and all hurried to the Parade (Champ de Mars). In brief sentences Carleton pictured the danger, and ordered the people to join the troops at the barracks. The very idea of being attacked, the mere thought of possible violence and plundering, stirred the instinct of resistance; yet a number, 'mostly Colonists, then stept forward & turned off the contrary way'; and the sun had begun to descend, when some thirty soldiers, followed by eighty or a hundred British volunteers (partly from Guy Johnson's rangers), about a hundred and twenty Canadians of all sorts, and six or eight Indians, bustled from Quebec Gate and hurried towards the north, smashing all the boats alongshore as they went, in order to cut off the enemy's retreat.[24]

Allen arranged his little force behind some trees and buildings and the natural rampart of a small stream, the Truteau; and so well did the men stick to cover that one of the other side reported he never saw more than three at a time,—unless this merely proved the critic's own discretion. To prevent flank attacks, Young was posted with a small body behind the bank of the St. Lawrence, and John Dugan, with fifty Canadians, at a ditch on the right; but both of them fled to the woods. Allen, on the other hand, as Lanaudière frankly said, 'conducted him-

[24] § Tryon to Sec. State, Oct. 18, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 428, p. 303. Johnson to Dartmouth, Oct. 12, 1775: ib., Vol. 279, p. 345. To ships: Verreau (Sanguinet), Invasion, p. 50. Carleton, Oct. 25: Note 21. Montreal letters: Quebec Gazette, Oct. 5, 19, 1775. Allen, Narrative, pp. 27–29. The fight began between 2 and 3 o'clock, P.M. (Allen).

self in the action with great valor,' and his own 'banditti,' to quote Cramahé, made a 'pretty smart' fight; yet in the end he saw the British were going to surround him, and, on trying to get away, discovered—by experimenting for a mile or so—that others could run as fast as he. Expecting no quarter, he dreaded to surrender; but eventually, after exchanging shots with Peter Johnson, a natural son of Sir William, he gave up his sword to him,—'providing I can be treated with honor,' he added.[25]

Johnson and a colleague agreed to the 'treaty'; but a brace of horridly painted savages, who did not, tried to murder the prisoner. Allen, however, had not lost his cunning; and, seizing one of the officers, a small man, he kept him whirling on all sides as a living shield, until an Irishman drove the Indians away with his fixed bayonet. The contest had lasted 'an hour and three-quarters by the watch'; yet the raiders had lost only some twelve or fifteen in killed and wounded, and the other side—evidently no less partial to shelter—about half as many, not to mention a round bit of felt punched from Lanaudière's hat. Nearly forty prisoners, however, marched to the city.

For a particular reason, the British officers had a deep grudge against Allen. His raids on Ticonderoga and St. Johns, his pungent rhetoric, and his political itinerancy, though good enough grounds for hatred, were all

---

[25] Accounts of the fight (differing somewhat as to numbers and other details): Carleton to Dartmouth Oct. 25, 1775 (Note 21); Allen, Narrative, pp. 29–38; Letter from St. Johns (Conn. Gazette, Dec. 1, 1775); Verreau, Invasion, pp. 50 (Sanguinet), 255 (Lorimier), 315 (Lanaudière); Bedel to Montg., Sept. 28, 1775 (Lib. of Cong., Letters to Wash., VII., p. 50); Quebec Gazette, Oct. 5, 19, 1775; Cramahé to Dartmouth, Sept. 30, 1775 (Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 413); Letters from Quebec (4 Force, III., 845, 924); Précis of Oper., Johnson, Oct. 12, 1775 (Note 24); Claus (No. Am. Notes, I., 1, p. 27); Watson to Gov. Franklin, Oct. 19, 1775 (4 Force, III., 1001); Ainslie, Journal (Introd.); Montgolfier to Briand [Oct. 28, 1775], in Can. Arch.; Stevenson [to Tryon] (Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 185, p. 705; Tryon to Sec. State, Oct 18, 1775; Feb. 8, 1776 (ib., Vol. 428, p. 303; Vol. 186, p. 395; Carleton to Barrington, Aug. 20, 1775 (War Off., Orig. Corres., Vol. 121); Warner to Montg., Sept. 27, 1775 (4 Force, III., 953; Montg. to Sch., Sept. 28, 1775 (ib., 952); Ind. Trans. Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 280, p. 9; J. Liv. to Montg., Sept. 27, 1775 (4 Force, III., 952); I. Allen, Vt., p. 64; London Gazette, Nov. 4, 1775; Trumbull, Journal; Conn. Courant, Nov. 20, 1775. REMARK XXIII.

this moment arrivd from Colo
Allens Defeat & Duggan. With the following
Intelligence Colo Allen is absolutely taken
Captive into Montreal With a few more & about
two or three Killd & the Living is not all Comen.
Semitary about a many Wounded
Semitary of a Slaughter mad among the
Kings troops — from yours to serve
Seth. Warner

surpassed by something else. 'We hope as Indians are Good and Honest Men you will not Fight for King George against us,' he had written to the Canadian savages in May, 'as we have Done you no Wrong and would Chuse to live with you as Brothers I always Love Indians and Have Hunted a great Deal with them I know how to Shute and Ambush Just Like Indian and want your Warriors to come and see me and help me fight Regulars You know how they Stand all along close Together Rank and file and my men fight so as Indians Do and I want your Warriors to Join with me and my Warriors Like Brothers and Ambush the Regulars, if you will I will Give you Money Blankits Tomehawks Knives and Paint and the Like as much as You Say because they first killed our men when it was peace Time and Try to Kill Us all.'[26] It was probably this over-frank epistle, taken from the Caughnawaga ambassadors, which brought them so near the halter, and how the regulars felt about its author could easily be judged. Yet the officers whom Allen soon met understood their duty, as gentlemen and soldiers, toward a captive foe, and acted accordingly.

'We are very happy to see Colonel Allen,' remarked their spokesman.

'I should rather choose to have seen you at General Montgomery's camp,' he answered.

'We give full credit to what you say,' they returned politely; and all moved on to the city.

Quite otherwise it happened in the barrack yard. Brigadier-General Prescott,[27] the direct commander of Montreal, waited there, and, as the prisoner-in-chief came up, glared upon him with murder in his eye.

---

[26] Allen, May 24, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 297. Allen's writing here appears unamended.

[27] For Prescott : Carleton to Dartmouth, Aug. 14, 1775 (Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 222); Précis of Oper.; Cannon, Record 7th Fusiliers, p. 108 ; N. Y. Colon. Docs., VIII., p. 659, note.

It was an extraordinary scene. On the one hand stood a British officer, a professional soldier, a graduate of society, well groomed, handsomely uniformed, sword at side, cane in hand. Facing him was Allen, a son of the forest, rough, unkempt, a chief of what seemed even to Arnold like 'wild men,' dressed in a short deerskin jacket, with an undervest and breeches of sagathy, coarse stockings, cowhide shoes fortified with hobnails, and a red woollen cap,—his thick hair tangled, and everything stained with dust, mire, and smoke.

'Who are you? What is your name?' demanded the General, in a tone to make the spotless quail.

'My name is Allen.'

'Are you the "Colonel" Allen who took Ticonderoga?'

'The very man.'

At this, Prescott 'put himself into a great fury,' as Allen said afterward, brandished his cane over the prisoner's head, and loaded him with hard names,—'rebel' most of all.

Allen shook his fist at him. 'You'd better not cane me, I'm not used to it. Offer to strike, and that's the beetle of mortality for you,' he cried, while Captain McLeod pulled the General by the skirt of his coat, and whispered that he could not honorably strike a prisoner. Prescott then turned his rolling eye upon feebler victims, and ordered a sergeant and his guard to bayonet the thirteen captured *habitants*.

Did he mean it? The unhappy Canadians thought so, and stood there trembling, wringing their hands, and lisping broken prayers. The soldiers also appeared to think so, and levelled their pieces. Allen believed the same; and, 'cut to the heart' at seeing them in so hard a case for being true, he stepped between his men and their executioners, tore open his clothes, laid bare his shaggy bosom, and cried to Prescott, 'I am the one to blame, not

they. Thrust your bayonet into my breast! I am the sole cause of their taking up arms.'

General, soldiers with levelled muskets, trembling Canadians, Americans, and amazed spectators, all stood like posts for what seemed a minute.

'I will not execute you now,' muttered Prescott finally, 'but you shall grace a halter at Tyburn, —— —— ye.'

It was Allen's greatest victory, for it was a triumph of the spirit and won him Carleton's respect, but it was also his last; and soon, 'In the wheel of transitory events,' to quote his own idiom, he found himself a prisoner in the hold of the *Gaspé*,—there to remain for some time, as no suitable jail existed in the town, and finally to be shipped over-seas for trial.[28]

Jubilation filled every loyalist heart in Montreal that night; filled it and overflowed. The city saved, that counted for much; but that was only the beginning. 'Their most daring Partizan,' as Guy Johnson called Allen, caged in the brigantine; the Moses of the Canadians proven a false prophet: who could fail to see now that treason did not pay? The affair 'promised great Consequences,' believed Johnson. 'Thank God that day's Action turned the minds of the Canadians,' exclaimed the pious Brook Watson; and the Governor himself reported that it 'gave a favorable turn to the Minds of the People.'[29]

[28] § Allen, Narrative, pp. 33–38. (As in some other cases, indirect quotations have been turned back into direct, a liberty about equal, perhaps, to translating from one language into another.) Letter in Conn. Courant, Nov. 20, 1775. Respect: Letter from St Johns (Conn. Gazette, Dec. 1, 1775). Prisoners sent to England: Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 313. Allen to Prescott, Sept. 25, 1775: 4 Force, III. 891 (see Irving, Wash., II., p. 63). The allusions to Allen's hair are inferential.

[29] § Johnson to Dart., Oct. 12: Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 279, p. 345.

Carleton now struck the hot iron. He knew well that impunity had given an air of respectability and even legality to the 'traitors' at Montreal; but no doubt he trusted that, if one of them were branded as a criminal, all save the most hardened would shrink from the stamp, and the Canadians, long misled by their arguments, would learn wisdom. Feeling now that a blow could be ventured,[30] he cast his eye sternly around; and it fell—yet not by chance—on Thomas Walker.

Many slanders had no doubt been circulated about this gentleman by his personal enemies; but enough of the reports were true. The Address of Congress to the Canadians had been forwarded to him and through his means widely circulated. In spite of his wife's cautions, he had insisted upon airing his political ideas freely. Confidential letters addressed to him by Arnold and Brown had been intercepted. Baker's Journal, found on the scout's dead body, mentioned a note from Walker—at least, Lorimier so stated—which promised fifteen hundred men for the Colonial service. According to the evidence of Pierre Charlan, Walker told him that two days did not pass without his receiving letters from the Bostonians; and Belair, Captain of the Militia at Assomption, testified that on the day of Allen's raid Walker gathered men for a march to Montreal, disbanding them when the news of Allen's defeat arrived.[31]

Soon after Montgomery led his army to St. Johns, a servant whom Mrs. Walker had sent from Montreal with

---

Watson to Faneuil, Oct. 16, 1775: Cont. Cong. Papers, 153, I., p. 304 (see also Id., 4 Force, III., 1600, 1601). Id. to Butler, Oct. 19, 1775: ib., 1600. Snyder affidavit, Jan. 19, 1776: 4 Force, IV., 872. Carl. to Dartmouth, Oct. 25: Note 21.

30 Précis of Operations.

31 § Circulated: Quebec letter, Oct. 25, 1775 (4 Force, III., 1185); Walker, Memorial (Cont. Cong. Papers, 41, X., p. 665). Cautions: Deschamp, deposition, Oct. 10, 1775 (Can. Arch., Report for 1888, p. 892). Intercepted: Arnold, May 20, 1775 (Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 192); Id., May 24 (ib., p. 196); Brown, Aug. 1 (ib., p. 236). Verreau (Lorimier), Invasion, p. 247. Charlan: Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 238. Belair: Can. Arch., Report for 1888, p. 892.

a message to her husband, then at his country place, was seized, carried into a barn, and stripped naked to find letters. This led Mrs. Walker to call upon the Governor, but she failed to convince him that his suspicions had no ground. On the contrary, Carleton 'said many severe things in very soft & Polite terms,' as she noted in her Journal: in particular, that Walker must quit the country.

'Quit the country, Sir? 'T is impossible.'

'He *must* go. You may stay and take care of his affairs, & you shall be protected.'

'Your Excellency knows that Mr. Walker's dealings are very extensive, so much so that *I* could by no means undertake to superintend them.'

The Governor insisted; but Walker refused absolutely to banish himself, except on the impossible condition that Carleton would indemnify him for all losses.

In that way the matter had ended, but now something could be done. An order for his arrest, on the charge of high treason, was issued; and Prescott, greedy to destroy somebody, gave the warrant and instructions personally to Captain Belair, handing him also a bag of pitch and oakum.[32]

On the fifth of October, in the evening, Mr. and Mrs. Walker were sitting together in their comfortable farmhouse at Assomption, when suddenly the dogs began to bark furiously.[33]

'Go and see what it is,' Walker bade a servant; and in an instant—alarming promptness—the attendant was back.

'Some men are rowing up the stream as if the devil was in them!' he exclaimed.

---

[32] § Mrs. Walker, Journal. Almon, Remembrancer, 1776, Part II., p. 248. Walker, Memorial: Note 31.

[33] For this and the following paragraphs: Carleton to Dartmouth, Oct. 25, 1775 (Note 21); Walker, affidavit (Almon, Remembrancer, 1776, Part II., p. 244); Walker, Memorial (Note 31); Mrs. Walker, Journal; Foucher, Journal, Oct. 28 (Can. Arch.); Verreau (Sanguinet), Invasion, p. 52; Belair, affidavit (4 Force, IV., 1175); Walker, statement (ib., 1176); Quebec letter, Oct. 25, 1775 (4 Force, III., 1185); Maseres, Add. Papers, p. 108.

Nothing happened, however, until two or three o'clock in the morning. At that time, the main body of Prescott's posse—some twenty regulars and a dozen Canadians—arrived by the road, fired a musket, broke through the door with an axe, and rushed in *en masse*, yelling like Mohawks. Walker, meanwhile, had time to throw on a waistcoat and coat, slip a brace of pistols into his pockets, catch up a short rifle, and station himself at the head of the stairs leading to the attic, where his wife had taken refuge in her night-shift; and now, without formalities, he fired twice into the crowd. Out they went then, as fast as they had come in, with a couple of wounds to bind up.

Next, after much talking among themselves, they opened a brisk fusillade upon the house. It was proposed to tear the roof off, but no one came forward to do it. At length, after the order had been given and repeated several times, the four corners of the building were set on fire. Walker had expected his neighbors to take part with him; but no aid appeared, and the flames mounted fast.

'We shall both be burned to death; shoot me!' cried his wife.

Then she attempted to escape by the stairs, but the smoke almost suffocated her. On this, laying down his weapons, Walker carried her to the window, and held her by the shoulders while she lowered herself as far as she could, clinging to the window-sill.

'Mercy! Quarter!' she screamed to the soldiers; and finally one of them, setting a ladder against the wall, helped her down.

Several hours had passed by this time; the floor Walker stood upon was burning, and, as the soldiers promised him good treatment, he surrendered.

The pledge, however, did not prove to mean a great

deal. For some time the hapless pair stood with bare feet in the mud, shivering in the night wind, and saw their property plundered and destroyed, trunks smashed, hogsheads staved in, and even their clothing divided up. The leader of the soldiers, who had been hit, drew a pistol on Walker. At last a sergeant put his blanket-coat about the lady, and Walker himself obtained a coverlet. In such a state, they journeyed to Montreal.

At the beach, Prescott—the 'cruel rascal,' as Montgomery called him[34]—greeted the prisoner in red wrath, and ordered him pinioned.

'You're a traitor and a villain, you scoundrel, to betray your country!' he cried, with much more in the same style.

'What is my crime?' demanded Walker.

'Your crime is high treason and rebellion; and we will show you what military justice is,' replied the General, adding to an officer, 'Give that poor unhappy man a straw bed in No. 4 in the barracks!'

This meant thirty-three days and nights of solitary imprisonment on a pallet under a heavy load of riveted irons. Then, on a stormy day, when there was little danger of a rescue, Walker was taken down to Lisotte's armed schooner, and buried in the hold.

Another lesson had now been given the public. Carleton had made good his words: 'No protection shall screen a traitor.'[35] A wealthy merchant, a leading citizen, formerly —if not then—a magistrate, had been treated like a felon for opposing the government.

Notable indeed were the results of Allen's fiasco and this after-clap together. By October eighth, Carleton felt strong enough to send word through the country that

---

[34] Montg. to Mrs. M., Oct. 6, 1775: L. L. H[unt], Biog. Notes, p. 15.
[35] Mrs. Walker, Journal.

fifteen men out of every hundred must take up arms; and, to encourage them, had orders given out and posted on the church doors, commanding those who stayed at home to carry on the farms of those in the army gratis. 'Canadians came constantly to serve,' recorded Sanguinet at Montreal. Parishes were 'daily demanding their pardon, and taking arms for the crown,' noted Brook Watson. Governor Tryon rejoiced to hear, by way of Oswegatchie, that 'great Numbers' were enlisting. Sixty-seven gathered at Three Rivers, and went ninety miles up the St. Lawrence to join the army at Montreal. Montgolfier sent Briand word that 'all the parishes' were hastening to offer their services. At least nine hundred Canadians assembled; and the Governor made up his mind to station them in an intrenched camp at Chambly, behind which it seemed likely that many more would gather. The tide has turned, thought every friend of the government.[36]

---

[36] § Carleton to Dartmouth, Oct. 25, 1775: Note 21. Quebec Gazette, Oct. 19, 1775. Verreau, Invasion, pp. 53–57 (Sanguinet); pp. 169, 170 (Badeaux). Watson to Gov. Franklin, Oct. 19, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1601. Stevenson to Tryon, Nov. 5, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol., 185, p. 705. Montgolfier to Briand [Oct. 28, 1775]: Can. Arch. Précis of Oper.

XIV

EBB AND FLOW

THE Canadians, it has been said, were no timid folk, but by origin and by training a martial race; and it is true that, like all of Gallic blood, they possessed a soldierly instinct which their old feudal régime had more or less developed. Indeed, General Carleton described their troops as acting in the French and Indian War 'with as much valor, with more zeal, and more military knowledge [of the kind available] for America, than the Regular Troops of France, that were joined with them.[1] Such facts would lead one to suppose that, when the Americans entered Canada in force and precipitated a crisis, the people would act on one side or the other with decision and spirit.

But the situation was peculiar. The Frenchman has always fought well, when stirred to the heart; but, in this quarrel between two sets of Englishmen, his passions—though not dead—were torpid, like the compass needle between two equal balls of iron. Trained, no doubt the Canadians had been, under French rule; but for fifteen years they had never seen a foe, and their militia drills were probably like most of that name. Few under the age of, say, thirty-four had known actual service, and those above that limit were men with families, remembering only too well what they suffered in the late war. The

[1] Carleton to Shelburne, Nov. 25, 1767: Can. Arch., Report for 1888, p. 41.

old régime was detested; the old discipline that went with it gratefully forgotten; and the whole people—'living Comfortably on their farms,' as Caldwell put it, '& enjoying the sweets of peace'—looked now quite far from military.[2]

Nor did it follow, in spite of Carleton's apparent meaning, that Canadian warriors were very Spartans even when they campaigned—as in the French and Indian War—for home, flag, language, race, and religion. Sometimes, for instance in the battle against Murray, they did well; and under cover they almost always gave a good account of themselves. But the French leader seems to have been prevented from attacking his great enemy by distrust of his militia; Wolfe wrote his mother that Montcalm had an army of 'bad soldiers'; after their General's fall, the Canadians fled from Beauport so fast that Lévis exclaimed, 'I never in my life knew the like of it'; they deserted Bourlamaque 'by scores and hundreds'; and substantially all of them abandoned Vaudreuil before the capitulation of Montreal ended the war. Since that sad event, their greatest battle had been the skirmish at Longue Pointe. Apparently, it was Dugan's promise of fifteen pence a day and a chance to plunder, that drew most of Allen's Canadians across the St. Lawrence on that occasion; and, when it came to fighting, the great majority of them vanished.[3]

After all, however, it was not mainly a question of martial qualities, but a problem of politics; and the very lions of Mycenæ might have vacillated, while snuffing

---

[2] § Rememb.: Quebec letter, Aug. 20, 1775 (4 Force, III., 211). Caldwell to ——, May —, 1775: MSS. of Marq. of Lansdowne, Vol. 66, fo. 97. (To same effect, [Gamble], July 20, 1775: Can. Arch., B, 20, p. 8). REMARK XXIV.

[3] § Parkman, Montcalm, II., pp. 224, 260, 269, 312, 350, 365, 372; Lévis, Journal, p. 303. Dugan's promise: Quebec letter, Oct. 1, 1775 (4 Force, III., 924), and other accounts of the affair. Further evidences in support of this paragraph will appear later.

thirstily this way and that way for the breath of some refreshing pool.

On the one hand, the Canadians knew that law and religion bound them to the British; and both gratitude and habit drew the same way. But on the other, a variety of motives led them toward the Colonies. They were still afraid of the seigneurs. They suspected the Quebec Act and the government which it represented. They distrusted the Bishop, who seemed like a British agent, paid to drag them into a war they cared only to avoid. They objected strongly to being cuffed about by the regulars. The Colonials made fair speeches and laid them on every doorstep.[4] Friendly overtures from the Grand Continental Congress wore a complimentary and agreeable air. The term 'brothers' had a pleasant ring. It was a war of Colonials, and Canada was a colony. 'Freedom!' cried the embattled host; and Captain Gamble observed, 'The Canadians talk of that damned absurd word liberty.' 'Emissaries from the rebels have made them believe that they are only come into the country to protect them from heavy taxes,' a gentleman in Quebec discovered; certainly James Livingston did assure the Canadians, 'our friends the Bostonians are trying to make us Masters of our Property by abolishing Taxes that it is proposed to Lay upon us;' and, as British merchants pointed out, the Colonies had already done something in that way by putting an end to the costly stamped paper. 'Rights' meant a dogma that Walker and his party had made welcome to Canadian ears; and Livingston and Dugan sent word to the parish captains all the way down to Quebec, that Schuyler's troops were laboring for the perpetuation of their property 'and every other Right.' Mixed with these ideas, fantastic notions crept like

[4] Carleton to Dartmouth, Aug. 14, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 347.

strange epidemics among the peasants. Some imagined that a number of transports, really at Quebec for provisions, were lying in wait there to carry the people into exile. Some believed they had been sold to the Spaniards, whom they abominated, and that General Carleton had the price in his pocket; while others felt it would not be French politeness to molest the good Provincials who addressed them so courteously.[5]

Certain of the Canadians, for one or another of these reasons, doubtless planted themselves firmly on the American side, as did others on the side of the government; but evidently the appearance of things did not as yet suggest a determined and enthusiastic popular uprising. The inner facts told the same tale. It was only 'promises to them of your men coming,' wrote James Livingston to Schuyler, which enabled him to raise three hundred volunteers. 'I am almost harasted to death,' he

JOHN HANCOCK

[5] § Regulars: Liv. Journal, Oct. 19; Wharton to Wharton, Aug. 4, 1775 (Roy Hist. MSS. Comm., Rep. XI., App. 5, p. 383). N. Y. letter, Essex Gazette, Sept. 14, 1775. Gamble to Shirreff, Sept. 6, 1775: 4 Force, III., 962. Quebec letter, Aug. 20, 1775: ib., 211. J. Liv. to ———, Sept. 18, 1775 (in French): Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 252. Verreau (Sanguinet), Invasion, p. 20. J. Liv. and Dugan, circular letter, Sept. 16, 1775: Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 255. Hey to Chancellor, Aug. 28, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 12, p. 365. Verreau (Badeaux), Invasion, *passim*. Henry Liv. (Journal, Oct. 19) testified that they were still very much opposed to the French laws.

added, 'not having Slept six hours this Week past. . . . I shall still keep up their Spirits with all the Eloquence I am Master of.' Plainly some galvanism was needful to stir the people to action, and even to hold them in the line. 'As I have begun a Warr, must continue or fly the Country,'—this pointed the same way. All that Livingston would promise before he found himself in such a dilemma was, 'The Canadians, at any rate, are determined not to take up arms against you'; and Ethan Allen, while riding through the parishes in a blaze of glory that Elijah might have coveted, had to report 'under my hand, upon honour': they 'are now anxiously watching the scale of power. This is the situation of affairs in Canada, according to my most painful discovery.'[6]

As Allen intimated, the vital influence behind all disguises was fear. By force the French government had ruled in Canada, and by fire and steel England had conquered the land. 'They were obedient only because they were afraid to be otherwise,' was the conclusion of Chief-Justice Hey, '& with that fear lost (by withdrawing the troops) is gone all the good disposition that we have so often and steadily avowed in their names.'[7] Desiring to be let alone, to enjoy their homes and farms, to smoke, laugh, dance, and gossip, what they queried in their hearts was, Which can hurt us most; which will protect us best? and here once more the case looked dubious. Terrible, no doubt, was the roar of the British lion; and under his paw the fair lilies of France had been crushed into the mire of the battlefield. But the Colonies, too, were English; they had youth, energy, ambition; they were close at hand; they talked high; and thus far they had swept the field.

[6] § J. Liv. to Sch., Sept. 15 [?], 1775: Sch. Papers. Id. to Id., Sept. 8, 1775: 4 Force, III., 742. Allen to Sch., Sept. 14, 1775: ib., 742. See also Id. to Id., Sept. 8, 1775: Sch. Papers.

[7] Hey: Note 5.

When Carleton ordered fifteen men out of a hundred in every parish to take up arms, almost all refused to obey. Why?

Michel Guillette of Verchères told under oath the next day why the militia of his village did not march. Joseph Casavant had come that morning from Chambly, and 'spread a report that one Testreau, a partisan of the rebels, had shown him an order from their chief at St. Charles, ordering Testreau to put himself at the head of a hundred and fifty men, and take three men prisoners; so that they feared Testreau would pillage their houses if they left home.' Possibly there was ground for the fear. 'The Rebels have, in every Parish on their Road, plundered the Houses and Farms of all the Gentlemen and Habitants, that had joined the King's Forces,' Cramahé asserted; and very possibly he knew of some cases. Indeed, nothing else could have been expected, perhaps. If arguments *in terrorem* had been used in the green tree, could they be forgotten in the dry? [8]

After Livingston and Dugan had induced six parishes on the Richelieu River to declare for the Colonies, officers of the royal militia and a few leading farmers tried to win them back; and, the fifteenth of September, the parish of St. Denis asked Carleton to grant it a pardon, on the condition of returning to duty within three days. The Governor consented, and sent down Monsieur Oriet, a merchant of Montreal, with a proclamation; but Allen and Livingston, with twenty Americans and as many Canadians, took Oriet prisoner, and the movement ended. Still, Oriet believed that 'the Canadians in general were well affected to Government especially those on the North Side of the River St. Lawrence including the

[8] § Verreau (Badeaux), Invasion, p. 169. Guillette (in French), Oct. 9, 1775: Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 309. Cramahé to Dartmouth, Sept. 30, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 413.

Inhabitants of Montreal, and would cheerfully join in attacking the Provincials'; but he added this: 'provided there were a sufficient Number of the King's Troops in the Province to support them in case of a defeat'; and Cramahé expressed the opinion that 'some Troops, and a Ship of War or two, would in all likelihood have prevented this general Defection.'[9]

The simple fact was that the Canadians had fallen into a tight place, between the upper and the nether millstones of circumstance; and many wriggled any way they could, to relieve the pressure. 'It is a melancholy prospect,' so Mott unburdened himself, 'to see that all Canada is in one continued scene of war and bloodshed. If we don't carry our point, we have brought Canada into the most deplorable condition possible to conceive.' Carleton viewed the situation with equal sympathy: 'I cannot blame these poor People for securing themselves, as they see Multitudes of the Enemy at hand, and no Succour from any Part.' But nobody had a keener sense of their danger than the Canadians themselves; and, wrote Montgomery to his wife, they were extremely fearful lest the Americans, failing in their campaign, should leave them exposed to the vengeance of the government. As the natural consequence of all this, Pierre and Jacques seemed very far indeed from decided and courageous, and even a clergyman pronounced this verdict: 'their timidity [is] very excessive.'[10]

In such a state of things, the effect of Allen's collapse upon Montgomery's allies could not fail to be great and immediate. 'His Defeat hath put the french people in to

---

[9] § Oriet, in Tryon's of Nov. 11, 1775; Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 185, p. 693. Proc.: Cont. Cong. Papers, Letters, I., 78, p. 11. Cramahé to Dartmouth, Sept. 21, 1775; Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 397.

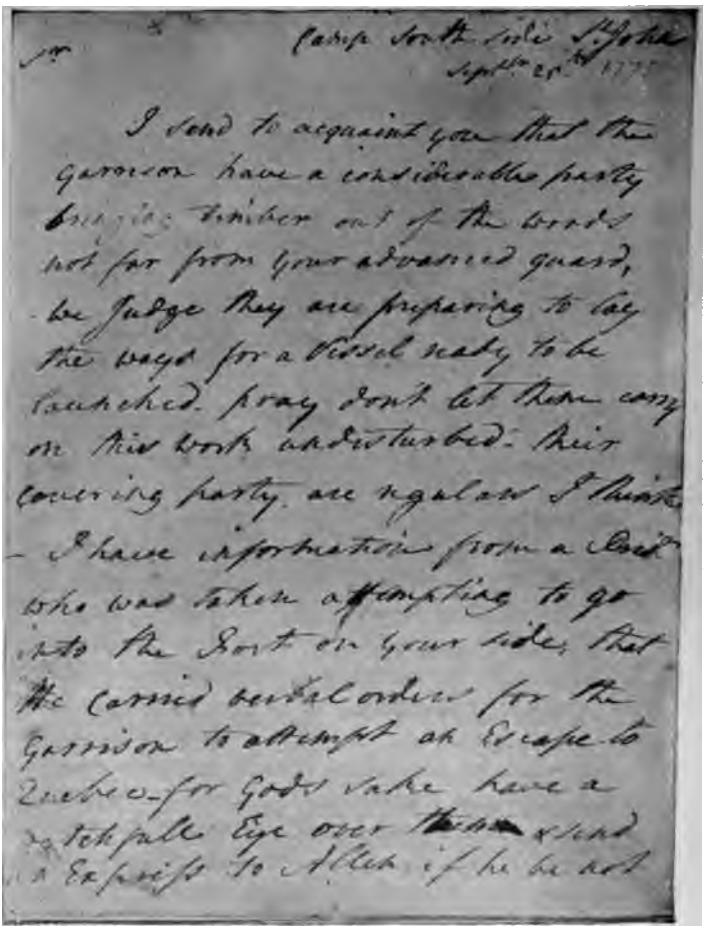
[10] § S. Mott to Trumbull, Oct. 6, 1775; 4 Force, III., 1572. Carleton to Gage, Sept. 1[illegible], 1775; Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 1[illegible], p. 1573. Montg., Oct. 6, 1775; L. L. H[unt], Biog. Notes, p. 12. Ripley to J. Wheelock, Mar. 7, 1776; Wheelock Papers.

grate Constarnation,' reported Seth Warner instantly. 'This, if true, is a blow upon us,' was Livingston's quick prognostication. Montgomery took all possible pains to please them. 'I hope,' he wrote Bedel, 'I hope there is the strictest discipline kept up, that our Friends may have no reason to complain of us.' 'The Canadians complain that your Commissary treats them roughly,' his aide-de-camp, Macpherson, sent word to the same officer a few days after Allen's fall; 'The General desires that they may be kindly treated, and those employed supplied with provisions.' Yet soon these favored people were in a state of eruption; and Bedel sent hastily for two cannon to quell them. 'The mutiny of the Canadians I treat as a joke,' answered Montgomery, 'nor do I see how two pieces of cannon should change their minds if it were so'; but he took pains to send both guns and ammunition. 'The Canadians seemed to grow cool and fearful, and some went off,' noted Trumbull in his diary at this time; and Montgomery informed Schuyler three or four days later, 'Our feebleness has intimidated the Canadians from embarking in so uncertain an adventure.' In fact, even those who stood by him became 'exceedingly uneasy,' and made him promise to 'take care of all those who were afraid to remain in the country,' should the American army give up the enterprise.[11]

Yet, however the Canadians annoyed Montgomery, they troubled Carleton even more. Lanaudière arrived at Berthier in high feather, with about seventy recruits, *en route* for Montreal; but the people of that parish seized him, and his followers—evidently unwilling conscripts—

---

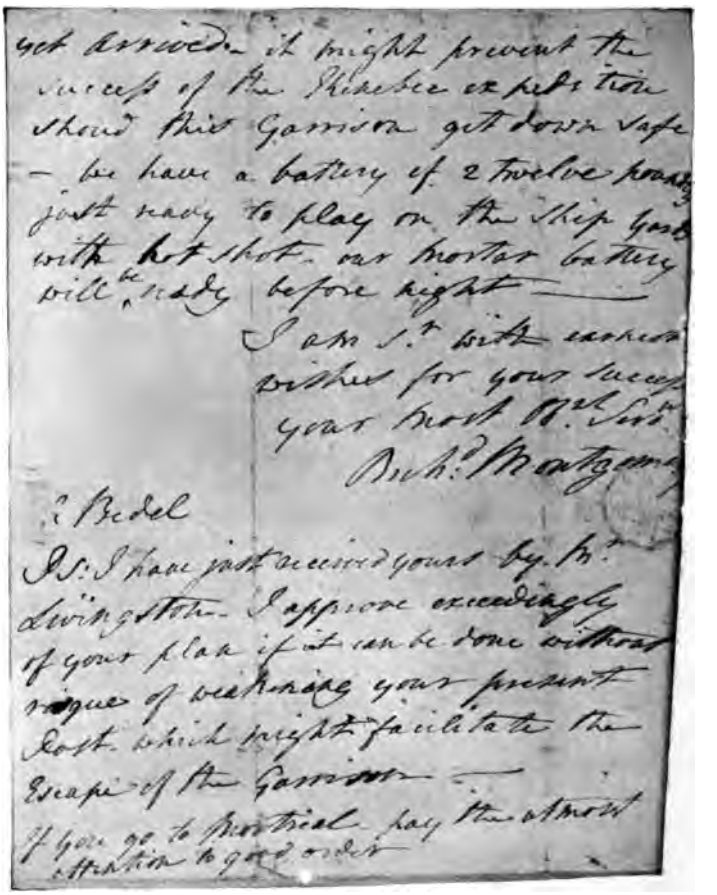
[11] § Warner to Montg., Sept. 27, 1775: Sparks MSS., No. 49, II., p. 129. J. Liv. to Montg., Sept. 27, 1775: 4 Force, III., 952. S. Mott to Trumbull, Oct. 6, 1775: ib., 972. Montg. to Bedel, Sept. 20, 1775: Myers Coll. Mac. to Bedel, Sep. 29, 1775: Saffell, Records, p. 21. Montg. to Bedel, Oct. 2, 1775: Emmet Coll. Trumbull, Journal, Oct. 2. Montg. to Sch., Oct. 6, 13, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1095, 1097. Id. to J. Liv., Oct. 12, 1775: Cont. Cong. Papers, 41, V., p. 258.



Camp South side St. John
Sept. 25th 1775

I send to acquaint you that the
Garrison have a considerable party
bringing timber out of the woods
not far from your advanced guard,
we Judge they are preparing to lay
the ways for a Vessel ready to be
launched. pray don't let them carry
on their work undisturbed. their
covering party are regulars & Canadians
I have information from a Deserter
who was taken attempting to go
into the Fort on your side, that
he carried verbal orders for the
Garrison to attempt an Escape to
Quebec. for Gods sake have a
watchfull Eye over them & send
a Express to Allen if he be not

FROM MONTGOMERY'S LETTER



yet arrived. it might prevent the success of the Schooner expedition should that Garrison get down safe — we have a battery of 2 twelve pounders just ready to play on the Ship Gaspee with hot shot. our mortar battery will be ready before night —

I am Sr. with sincere wishes for your success your most Obt. Servt

Richd. Montgomery

Mr Bedel

P.S. I have just received yours by Mr. Irwin & note. I approve exceedingly of your plan if it can be done without risque of weakening your present post. which might facilitate the Escape of the Garrison —

If you go to Montreal pay the utmost attention to good order

TO BEDEL, SEPT. 25, 1775

immediately dispersed. 'You have bagged fine game to-day,' sang out the women gleefully to their insurgent husbands when they brought in the aristocrat."

Worse yet fared Rigauville on the same business. Landing with a hundred and forty armed followers at Verchères, he found the men of the town had taken flight; and, in the hope of bringing them within reach, his party 'made as if they would seize the women and children.' Back the men came then, in fact; but only to threaten that, unless the soldiers went away immediately, they would notify the Provincials. Rigauville merely laughed; and his party made light of them. Between four and five o'clock the next morning, sixty 'Bostonians' rushed into the village. The soldiers fled to their boats and got off; but Rigauville, running after them half-dressed, fell into the hands of the 'rebels.'

Indeed, the effect of Allen's mishap soon lost its edge. Carleton's nine hundred Canadians began to drop off 'thirty or forty of a night,' as he confessed; and he soon found himself approaching 'as forlorn a State as before.'

In two words, then, Jacques and Pierre had now made up their minds about the government; but, as for the Colonies, they were merely willing to be convinced. Obey the Bishop, serve the lords, and swallow the Quebec Act they would not; yet they felt a doubt whether all the fine speeches of the Colonials would make a solid wall. Toward Carleton they were positive; toward Montgomery greatly inclined, so far as they dared, to be negative. Brook Watson reckoned nine-tenths of them as disloyal, but probably the most sanguine Colonial did not count

---

[1] This paragraph and next two: Carleton to Dartmouth, Oct. 25, 1775 (Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 4[illegible]; Verreau, Invasion, p. 63 (Sanguinet), p. 150 (Badeaux); Montgolfier to Briand *endorsed* 'Oct. 23, 1775') (Can. Arch.; Sch. to Wash., Nov. 25, 1775; 4 Force, III., 1571.

on anything like that fraction as real allies. 'The Canadians in general have our success extremely at heart,' said the American general; but the feeling was anxiety instead of zeal; it sprang rather from disloyalty toward Britain than devotion to America; it meant an uneasy conscience more than a warm heart; it confessed they had compromised rather than announced they had committed themselves; it spoke of fear more than of hope; and many—if not most—had the *arrière pensée* of the captain at La Tours, who swore fidelity to the Provincial cause two or three times, and then joined the regulars with his company.[13]

This was no doubt an illogical position, like the verdict of many—especially on the more intuitive side of the house — when a famous trial for alleged misconduct occurred, that the parson was innocent but the woman guilty; and yet, like the verdict, it could not really be called absurd. A bridge is as rational as a house; and this attitude was a bridge.

Already rebels against Great Britain—rebels in word and in act—the Canadians could find but one logical port, the Union of the Colonies. 'I could wish this Province was already united to the others, and cannot expect much peace till that takes place': these words of James Livingston's merely pointed out the path which slower minds would naturally stumble into before long.[14] Instruction in the principles and methods of free government, friendly intercourse with the Colonials, and the growth of confidence, were the simple needs of the case. Then the bridge would insensibly be crossed; the Canadians would commit themselves too far to draw back; their feelings

---

[13] § Watson to Butler, Oct. 19, 1775: 4 Force III., 1600. Montg. to R. R. Liv., Oct. 5, [1775]: Liv. Papers, 1775–1777, p. 51. J. Liv. to Montg., Nov. 3, 1775. 4 Force, III., 1341.

[14] J. Liv. to Montg., Sept. 27, 1775: 4 Force, III., 952.

would blow into a heat; and Canada would enter the Union,—body, mind, and heart.

Greatest of these needs was confidence, and confidence hinged first of all on the fate of St. Johns. 'If this place be taken,' said Allen, 'the country is ours; if we miscarry in this, all other achievements will profit but little'; and Schuyler with no less emphasis declared: 'unless we succeed against St. Johns, all other operations in that Quarter will avail little,'—one more case where extremes have met. Nobody understood this better than Montgomery; nobody could have been more anxious to satisfy and convince the people; yet he found himself constantly hindered by difficulties so grave that, as a private letter admitted, they worried him 'almost to death,' and in consequence the siege dragged.[15]

'To my sorrow I say it want of spirit,' thus he stated one of his troubles. This was by no means the first charge of the sort against Colonial troops. In the House of Lords they were bluntly described by the Earl of Sandwich as cowards; and the patriot Warren, though eager to champion his countrymen, felt able only to say, 'I will venture to assert that there has not been any great alloy of cowardice, though both friends and enemies seem to suspect us of want of courage.' Schuyler, to be sure, before the operations began, expressed a certain confidence: 'Bravery, I believe, they are far from wanting'; but no doubt he felt like saying, as James Van Rensselaer, his aide-de-camp, did say, that their conduct on the second trip to St. Johns was 'such as I should Blush to name it.' Montgomery, for his part, had not been over-sanguine: 'If they will fight,' he wrote; and Thomas Lynch undoubtedly told the truth when

---

[15] § Allen to Montg., Sept. 20, 1775; 4 Force, III., 754. Sch. to [N. Y. Cong.,] Sept. 29, 1775; Sparks MSS., No. 23, p. 2[illegible]. Montg. to R. R. Liv., Oct. 5 [1775]: Liv. Papers, 1775–1777, p. 51.

saying to Schuyler, 'his Feelings must have [been] truly accute when he saw them running away from themselves.'[16]

After this affair, which their leader knew how to present in its fitting light, the men appeared contrite; but heroism lagged a little even then. 'How this enterprise will succeed, God only knows; but I still have hopes to see you and all my friends once more in New York,' was the timorous message of an officer, as he embarked for the next voyage to St. Johns. 'For God's sake, pray send me a party of Easton's regiment,' cried the demonstrative Bedel on a mere rumor of danger. A captain of the First Yorkers ran from the mortar battery one night, and, on reaching camp, gave Montgomery a formal report that British troops had overpowered the works, and his men had left him; but, about an hour later, his lieutenant appeared with something like half of the party, and admitted that nobody had attacked the post. 'You know we take good care of ourselves,' observed the General.[17]

Isolated cases of poltoonery proved nothing, of course; but evidently there seemed to be a rather prevalent want of spirit. And yet whoever drew a harsh conclusion from the appearances made a great mistake. It was really what Montgomery said,—taking good care of oneself.

To Euclid the whole seemed greater than a part, but not so to Euclid's gardener. The untrained individual has always looked upon himself as more important than

---

[16] § Montg. to R. R. Liv.: Note 15. Sandwich: 4 Force, I., 1681. Frothingham, Warren (to A. Lee, Feb. 20, 1775), p. 418. Sch. to Wash., July 18, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1685. Van. R.: Bonney, Gleanings, I., p. 45 (his office: 'Montg.'s' Ord. Book, Sept. 10, 1775). Montg. to R. R. Liv., Aug. 6, 1775: Liv. Papers, 1775–1777, p. 47. Lynch, Nov. 11, 1775: Emmet Coll

[17] § Sch. to Wash., Sept. 20, 1775: 4 Force, III., 751. N. Y. Officer, Sept. 17, 1775: ib., 726. Bedel to Montg., Sept. 28, 1775: ib., 954. N. Y. Capt.: Montg. to Sch., Sept. 24, 1775 (ib., 840); 'Montg.'s' Ord. Book, Oct. 6.

all the world besides; and out of this feeling grew the proverb, 'Self-preservation is the first law of nature.' For creatures full of dear life to march out into the open, proclaiming, 'Here I am; kill me!' for a physical body

ON THE RICHELIEU

compacted of ten million nerves, each fitted with a tongue of agony, to cry, 'Rip up the tenderest mesh of my being, if you like!'—this, by itself, could only be called madness. Besides, common-sense has always pointed out, with a sly wink, that

> 'he who fights and runs away
> May live to fight another day.'

To pass from this natural view of war to the scientific view—a complete sacrifice of the individual to the mass—has demanded nothing less than uprooting consciousness itself. Men have had to acquire a new consciousness,—a sense of the whole. They have had to learn the art of regarding self with the aloofness of a geometer, and fall willingly if only the line sweep on. By means of drills, uniforms, and other devices, military art has been able to achieve this miracle, for long ago it caught the secret of training each man to act—and therefore to think of himself—as an insignificant fraction of a corps; and where, as in Europe, such a training prevailed for many centuries, this idea became familiar and in a sense hereditary.

Totally different had it been in America. Adventure, freedom, individuality had been the very life of colonization. The forest, the winds, the unfettered streams, all summoned the spirit of the settler to cast off its bonds; and each man's bit of wilderness challenged him to single combat. Everything was individual, and the individual was everything. When war came, it was mostly with an enemy that followed the strategy of nature, sheltering himself behind the trees, creeping in the shadows, hiding, fleeing, returning; and such awful experiences as Edward Braddock's pointed gory fingers of scorn at the notions of 'regular' fighting. To expect the Colonials of 1775 to fall readily into those very notions, after so long and stern a training in the other school, was truly absurd; and it was the more so because even the officers lacked very often that 'point of honour' and 'knowledge of the world,' which might have brought them, and through them the troops, somewhere near the conventional, regular, disciplined style.[18]

[18] Montg. to Sch., Nov. 13, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1602.

The Americans were not cowards. The awful hand-to-hand struggle with the savage required not merely the courage of the musket, but the courage of the knife. In the Narragansett stockade, at the Pequot fort, beside Ossipee lake, in the gloom of the forest and in the darkness of night, prodigies of naked valor were done without flinching. Dieskau, telling over the battle of Lake George, said that his foes, the Provincials, fought in the morning like good boys, about noon like men, and in the afternoon like devils[19]:—cowards would have run away before the sun grew hot.

At St. Johns, it was only the morning of the Revolutionary War. The troops had not got out of boyhood in the art of fighting. Their battle-cry sounded light and piping. But their voice changed rapidly. It soon grew clear and deep and mighty; they came to realize what an Army meant; and by and by a still greater consciousness—the consciousness of a Nation, a Nation grand in space, duration, and power, pressing on behind them—made sacrifice reasonable and sublime. Washington, who at first had looked down upon the northern troops from the lofty summit of his ripened gallantry, learned within a year to lean upon them[20]; and more than once, emerging from the dust and smoke like a Gibraltar in motion, they proved that when the meaning of self-surrender was understood, they could offer their breasts to the sword.

Insubordination, too, made trouble at St. Johns, although, fairly considered, it was only the shadow of a virtue.

Man has been described as a thinking animal, and these honest fellows, considering themselves quite human, felt entitled to cogitate. Fresh, too, from political meetings

---

[19] Parkman, Montcalm, I., p. 310.

[20] Lodge, Wash., II., p. 317 (with ref. to N. Eng. troops). See A. Lee to Franklin (4 Force, IV., 1125) for strong praise of N. Eng. men.

where they had been exhorted to reflect upon the conduct of His Majesty, they could not easily realize that a far less mighty personage, Bill Johnson by name, had suddenly risen above criticism, because they had chosen him as their captain. Finally, were they not struggling against despotism? and how could little tyrants be more respectable than a great one? When the Committee of Cumberland County, New York, appointed field-officers for its troops, the people of Putney protested: 'This we esteem an infringement on our rights, and are determined never to submit to tyranny, for which our country now bleeds.' The idea that even military authority came from below, not from above, belonged in the doctrine of the

FORT CHAMBLY IN 1903

hour. 'I shall most cheerfully return my sword to the scabbard,' remarked Schuyler himself, 'whenever my constituents shall direct.' 'License they mean when they cry Liberty,' frowned Milton; but this was not fairly true of men who honestly missed the delicate and waving line between the two. Doctrines, like persons, have always had the defects of their qualities; and enthusiasm for national liberty was certain to boil over in the form of personal freedom.[21]

[21] § Putney: 4 Force, IV., 429. Sch., July 9, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1615.

At St. Johns, this worked out as might have been expected. It was not an army, but a town-meeting, that besieged the fort; and it followed rather than obeyed Montgomery. Very naturally, too, the New Englanders made the chief trouble for him as they did for Lord North. 'There is such an equality among them,' the General found, 'that the officers have no authority. . . . The privates are all generals'; and he described them as 'troops, who carry the spirit of freedom into the field, and think for themselves.' Unfortunate? In the long view, no; this was only the primary class of their schooling, and the day of graduation was to turn out that pride of American armies,—the 'thinking bayonet.' But for the time, yes.[22]

Colonial aloofness and selfishness, also, made trouble, as they had so many times before. 'To the Honourable the Governour and Company of the English Colony of Connecticut,' so New York had addressed her near neighbor in May, as if writing to a foreign power. Schuyler, Montgomery, and the Yorkers in general instinctively drew away from the New Englanders, and these returned the compliment with traditional vigor. General Wooster officially described himself as 'now acting in conjunction with the Troops of the other Colonies'; and his lieutenant-colonel, when at Ticonderoga, honestly hesitated to obey an order that came to him, in Wooster's absence, directly from Schuyler.[23]

'For all the pretensions of New-York,' observed Samuel Mott at St. Johns, 'there has not been one head Colonel of a Regiment seen in the Army this year; and out of their three thousand five hundred men, we have

---

[22] § Montg. to R. R. Liv.: Note 15. Id. to Sch., Oct. 13: 4 Force, III., 1097.

[23] § N. Y. Cong. to Conn., May 24, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1248. Montg. to R. R. Liv.: Note 15. Wooster to Sch., Oct. 19, 1775: Sch. Papers. (See also Bedford's letter: Lossing, Sch., I., p. 436.) Sch. to Hancock, Oct. 18: 4 Force, III., 1084.

never had more than six hundred down here until within these four days, there have come down between two and three hundred more.' In that complaint spoke a traditional sentiment. During previous wars, each Colony, suspecting that its neighbors would shirk, had been disposed to hold off, and had taken the utmost pains to contribute no more—at the most—than its exact due. When Governor Shirley asked Maryland to help conciliate the Iroquois, that Colony replied sharply: We 'cannot with any Colour of Reason burthen the people of this Province upon every Suggestion . . . of Governors of distant Provinces, who, no doubt, would ease those under their respective Governments, at the Expense of others'; and at one time the New York Assembly refused to build forts, as a defence to its own citizens against invasion from the north, on the ground that other Colonies would share in the benefit, and ought likewise to share in the cost. In 1775 the leaders were rising above such narrow views, but the smaller men had still to be educated. To find their much larger contingent under the command—indeed, the 'tyranny'—of New York generals, was a sort of Promethean vulture to New England vitals; and the fact that officers reported directly to their Colonial superiors had no tendency to abolish jealousies. Eventually, the General Assembly of Connecticut found it necessary to take the matter up, and it had to pass an express order, near the close of the campaign, that all the troops of the Colony serving in Canada should be 'subject to the rules, orders, regulations and discipline' of the Continental Congress.[24]

Nor did the men from different sections find much consolation in the personal character of their associates.

[24] § S. Mott to Trumbull, Oct. 6, 1775: Note 11. Parkman, Montcalm I., p. 418. Id., Half Century, II., p. 208. Md.: Paltsits, Scheme, p. 23. Reports: instances already given in the footnotes. Conn. Assembly, Oct. 12, 1775: Trumbull Papers, IV.

'The first reg[t] of Yorkers is the sweepings of the York streets,' confessed Montgomery in private. 'Offings and outcasts' was the description that Charles Carroll of Carrollton had of them on the spot in 1776. Chaplain Trumbull, a high-strung minister of the New England type, spoke with no uncertain sound: 'Perhaps there never was a more ill-governed Profane and Wicked army;' though he conscientiously saved the case by adding, 'among a People of Such Advantages.' Men who took their chaplain along and had notice of divine services from their colonel; men whose consent upheld the 'Blue Laws' of Connecticut, hardly felt safe in such company. The awful doom of Sodom and Gomorrah haunted them. Colonel Campbell, formerly in the British service, held the post of Deputy Quartermaster-General, and he swore not a little. 'I should be very sorry to inform your Honour,' whispered Mott, as with averted face, to his pious Governor, 'that there is scarcely a word heard from headquarters, without some oaths and curses on every occasion; but I value myself on the righteousness of the cause, and hope in God for success.' On the other hand, if some of the Yorkers could be described as reprobates, they had no doubt a sharp retort for the criticism of their more devout comrades. No canting hypocrites were they; no snivelling, scheming Pharisees; no self-righteous Puritans, robbing Peter to pay Paul, and serving God as an excuse for preying upon honest neighbors.[25]

Mutual distrust was inevitable when both Colonies and troops pulled apart; and the fact that no clear line had yet been drawn between 'Patriots' and 'Tories' greatly aided to promote it. All joined in recognizing the old

---

[25] § Montg. to R. R. Liv.: Note 15. Carroll, Journal, p. 77. Trumbull, Journal, Nov. 6. Waterbury's Ord. Book, Sept 3. Campbell: Journ. Cong., July 17, 1775. S. Mott to Trumbull, Oct. 6, 1775: 4 Force, III., 972.

flag. British sympathizers might be serving honestly or—still more possible—dishonestly in the ranks, and no touchstone could detect them as yet. The higher the post and the greater its emoluments, the more chance that some influential traitor had got into it. Revolution is a general conspiracy, and conspirators must always be suspicious.

In fact, the dread of betrayal had a substantial basis. Hundreds of men along the Mohawk only waited the chance, to make off for Canada and slip into red coats. The mayor of Albany and others near him were soon to be forwarding secret intelligence to Governor Tryon, if they had not already begun. Private information for the British government could be got in New York and in Philadelphia. Canadian Tories, held as prisoners, found means to send valuable news where it was most needed. At least one letter from Thomas Lynch to Montgomery himself went across the Atlantic to the British ministry; and, among the officers at St. Johns, doubtless Major Zedtwitz was not the only budding Judas. In June, the Massachusetts Congress had appointed a committee 'to inquire into the grounds of a report' which had prevailed in the army, that some of the officers had been traitorous. The chance of betrayal made valor seem almost folly, and the dread of it was a constant argument for caution and even for panic. At the first clash with the enemy after the Americans finally returned to St. Johns, 'The old story of treachery spread among the men,' wrote Montgomery; 'we were trepanned, drawn under the guns of the fort and what not.'[26]

'I do assure you, I have envied every wounded man who has had so good an apology for retiring,' the General

---

[26] § Mayor, Lynch, etc.: Tryon's letters, Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 185, pp. 515, 557, 677; Vol. 186, pp. 39, 79, 228, 231, 233, etc. Zedtwitz: Journ. Cong., Nov. 22, 1776. Mass.: 4 Force, II., 1428. Montg. to Sch., Sept. 19, 1775: 4 Force, III., 707.

by Express; the Irresistable Force of Necessity having
drove us to Arms. Success cannot be attended
without Pleasure and therefore I congratulate
Your Excellency, on the good Account these Papers
contain. — The Reduction of Chamblee, will in
all Probability be followed by that of St. Johns,
especially as General Montgomery has now a
Supply of Powder, of which he stood in such Need.

FROM SCHUYLER'S LETTER TO WASHINGTON, OCT. 26, 1775

told a near relative after sketching his troubles[27]; yet undoubtedly the faultiness of his army weighed more upon him than upon any one else, and very fortunately it influenced the Canadians far less than might have been feared. In courage and in discipline, they had little ground to censure their visitors, and probably few possessed the insight and the opportunity for a close analysis of the troops.

On the other hand, minor as well as major advantages from standing in with the Americans could be discovered. The harvest had been abundant; but the extraordinary drought had stopped the water-wheels, flour was scarce, and rations from the commissary had much in their favor. The Canadians must be fed or they will 'drop off,' was Livingston's warning to Bedel; and, as they received no pay except occasional presents, this could not be called unreasonable. Apparently, other sources of profit offered themselves. In ordering Bedel to purchase guns for the Canadians who could be 'depended upon,' the General added, 'It will be necessary to be upon your guard against imposition, otherwise a man may sell you his own gun and obtain it from you again by the intervention of a friend.'[28]

Out of it all, then,—out of this cloudy chaos of motives and influences, these hopes and fears, these likes and dislikes, these rational arguments and wild notions, these major and minor advantages and the personal force of decided partisans—came a vague, fluctuating, uncertain loyalty to the American side. Even at the time of Bedel's mutiny, a considerable body of Canadians under Livingston defended a post against the regulars[29]; and this gave

---

[27] Montg. to R. R. Liv.: Note 15.

[28] § J. Liv. to Sch., Aug. —, 1775: Emmet Coll.; and (undated) 4 Force, III., 743. Id. to Bedel, Oct. 6, 1775: Myers Coll. Pay: Montg. to Sch., Oct. 31, 1775 (Sparks MSS., No. 60, p. 17). Id. to Bedel, Oct. 4, 1775: Saffell, Records, p. 23.

[29] Trumbull, Journal, Oct. 3, 4.

promise that in time, despite Allen's fiasco, their support would be vigorous.

Another thing encouraged Montgomery to hope. Through the good offices of some Caughnawagas, the dreaded St. Luc La Corne made overtures in the shape of 'a large string' of wampum. Though the American leader shared the general feeling about the ex-Indian agent, he felt that a man of large property might well be inclined to help stop the fighting, and cautiously agreed to an interview. 'He is a great villain and as cunning as the devil, but I have sent a *New Englander* to negotiate with him,' wrote Montgomery to his wife, sandwiching a compliment to the eastern folks with a genial New York dig. Major Brown, whom the General pronounced 'a good sensible man,' received this delicate appointment, with Macpherson, the aide-de-camp, and James Livingston, the chief ally, to support him. Several of the leading citizens of Montreal took an interest in the affair, and it bore a promising look; but apparently St. Luc found himself in danger of discovery, and, with an air of innocence, forwarded Montgomery's letter to the Governor. Nothing better, probably, was to be expected of 'that arch devil incarnate,' as Mott and every other American thought him; but at least this new move of his appeared a manifest sign that 'all his wiles and falsehoods' intended to rouse Canadians, as well as Indians, against the Provincials had broken down.[30]

Presently something still more heartening occurred. Livingston's plan to surprise the British vessels at the mouth of the Richelieu had bidden fair to please and

---

[30] § Macpherson to ———, Oct. 4, 1775: Cont. Cong. Papers, 41, V., p. 250. Montg. to Mrs. M., Oct. 6, 1775: L. L. H., Biog. Notes, p. 12. Brown: Id. to R. R. Liv.: Note 15. Id. to Sch., Oct. 6, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1095. Id. to Brown, Oct. 6, 1775: ib., 1098. Id. to Sch., Oct. 9, 1775: ib., 1096. Mott to Trumbull, Oct. 6, 1775: ib., 972. Id. to Sch., Oct. 7, 1775: Sch. Papers. Verreau (Sanguinet), Invasion, pp. 51–53. REMARK XXV.

confirm his people. Unfortunately, it miscarried; but another enterprise now covered the failure with glory.[31]

About six miles north of St. Johns, the river began tumbling over a series of falls or rapids two leagues in length. Here the fierce Iroquois had been obliged to lift their canoes from the water, and carry them around by land; and, about the middle of the seventeenth century, a wooden fort named after St. Louis was built at the foot of the 'carrying-place' to block, or at least hinder, the dreaded savages. After this burned, Monsieur de Chambly, an active captain in the Carignan regiment, had charge of erecting a stone successor on its ashes (1711), and from him the fortress and canton took their name. Towering like a square castle on the southwest edge of the eddying basin, two miles wide, at the foot of the rapids, with walls sixteen feet in height and small, square bastions, eight feet higher, at the corners, the fort looked quite threatening; and a gentleman from Canada, who gave the Colonials very interesting information in July, 1775, declared that Chambly was 'by account strong, both by nature and art.' Besides, almost everybody supposed that, so long as St. Johns held out, no serious move could be made below.[32]

Livingston, however, thought otherwise. 'I have sent you four men,' he wrote Montgomery, 'who will engage to bring you two or three pieces down the rapids, in a batteau at night. This is of great consequence; and while you are bombarding the fort at St. John's, we may do the like at Chambly.' But how could they pass the guns of the fort and the guns of the *Royal Savage*, that

---

[31] § Vessels: J. Liv. to Sch. (undated) (4 Force, III., 743); Cramahé to Dartmouth, Sept. 24, 1775 (Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 405).

[32] § Chambly: Can. Antiquarian, Jan., 1875; Carroll, Journal, p. 95; Dawson, N. Am., p. 302; Bouchette, Descrip. Topog., p. 174; Gage, Report, Mar. 9, 1763 (Can. Arch., B, 7, p. 84); Marr, Remarks on Quebec (Can. Arch., M, p. 384); Narrative, July 6, 1775 (4 Force, II., 1594).

new schooner? The schooner in particular, a strong vessel built expressly for fighting and equipped with twelve fine brass cannon, might well have proved extremely annoying; but for some reason, despite repeated exhortations from Major Preston, Lieutenant Hunter showed no desire to run into danger, and Preston himself, doubtless too confident, kept but an easy watch over his broad moat at night. So Livingston, aided by Dugan, guided two boats, unseen in the darkness, past the British position; works were thrown up at Chambly; a few Provincial 9-pounders took post where they could do the most good; and Major Brown, with nearly fifty Americans, joined hands with Livingston and his three hundred Canadians.[33]

Notwithstanding its reputation, Fort Chambly was not strong. The walls of thin masonry, pierced only for muskets, justified the name of 'curtains,' given them in military architecture; and the bastions, which Captain Marr said might command the environs with their guns, 'if they had any,' boasted chiefly a decorative value. Well fitted with barracks, encompassed with the roar of the falls, and almost bespattered by the spray of the boiling grey waters, the 'castle' was a summer hotel rather than a fortress; and the throng of women and children, outnumbering the men there, gave further color to this appearance.[34]

'The Honourable Major Stopford,' the commander, had no doubt his share of courage, in addition to passing as

---

[33] § J. Liv. to Montg., Sept., 27, 1775: Cont. Cong. Pap., 153, I., p. 196. Id., Memorial (read in Cong., Mar. 7, 1782): Cont. Cong. Papers, 41, V., p. 246. Id. to cousin, Jan. 25, 1819: Bancroft Coll. (loose). Carroll, Journal, p. 75. Hunter: Richardson to Tryon (Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 186, p. 33). Foucher, Journal, Oct. 3. Trumbull, Journal, Oct. 16. Liv., Journal, Oct. 15, 16. Montg. to Bedel, Oct. 2, 3, 1775: Saffell, Records, pp. 22, 25. Id. to J. Liv., Oct. 16, 1775: Cont. Cong. Papers, 41, V., p. 260. Id. to Sch., Oct. 20, 1775: Sparks MSS., No. 62, p. 16. Ritzema, Journal, Oct. 16–18. Verreau (Sanguinet), Invasion, p. 74. REMARK XXVI.

[34] § Marr: Note 32. Inmates: S. Mott to Trumbull, Oct. 20, 1775 (4 Force, III., 1124).

of a branch of those that is worthy associates – You have heard I suppose of our taking Chambles and the almost certainty of our taking the whole Country the most comfortable reflection is that it was performd by chiefly by Canadians, so that They are in for the plan

Yours most sincerely
C Lee

FROM LEE'S LETTER TO PALFREY, NOV. 5, 1775

very much of a gentleman, and could have kept his ground against musketry; but when he saw the dark eyes of cannon fixed upon him, and watched their glances bore a couple of holes through his masonry, besides knocking a chimney-top down among his fair garrison and wounding the dignity of the drum-major with a scratch on his thigh, he concluded to surrender (October 18) without waiting for any good fellow to be mustered out of life; and soon the proud colors of the Royal Fusiliers, with their 'galloping white horse' in the centre, making a forced march to the south, took post in Mistress John Hancock's chamber at Philadelphia 'with great splendor and elegance.'[35]

Stopford had good grounds, perhaps, for delivering up the fort, and with it Lieutenant Barrington, a nephew of the British Minister of War, as well as eighty more good officers and men; and they were all as useful to the Crown in Pennsylvania and New Jersey as they had been at Chambly. But, with a river so near that since his day it has devoured one whole side of the fort, why did he turn over to the 'rebels' a hundred and twenty-four barrels of gunpowder, 6,564 musket cartridges, and a hundred and fifty stand of French arms, to say nothing of two hundred and thirty-eight barrels of eatable provisions? Indeed, surprise has been tempted to go a step farther sometimes, for only when the upsetting of Carleton's plans by the disloyalty of the Canadians and the sudden return of the Colonials came to be understood, could the public explain why stores and men were left in a fort where they could not be defended.[36]

[35] § Marr: Note 32. Montg. to Sch., Oct. 20: Note 33. Foucher, Journal, Oct. 20. Sch. to Hancock, Oct. 27, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1130. Id. to Trumbull, Oct. 27, 1775: ib., 1207. Mott to Trumbull, Oct. 20, 1775: ib., 1124. Corres. between Brown and Stopford: Lib. Cong., Letters to Wash., VII., pp. 77, 78. Carleton to Dartmouth, Oct. 25, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 433. Verreau (Sanguinet), Invasion, p. 62. Précis of Oper. Colors: Cannon, Hist. Record 7th Fusil., p. 24. J. Adams, Fam. Letters, p. 121. S. Adams to Mrs. A., Nov. 7, 1775: S. Adams Papers.

[36] § Terms and stores: 4 Force, III., 1133. Barrington: J. Adams, Works,

'This, I fear, will sink their Spirits still more,' reflected Carleton, thinking of the people; but certainly the spirits of many of the Canadians went up tremendously. And not theirs alone, but the spirits of every Colonial patriot. 'The reduction of St. John's seems now certain,' was the joyful news that Schuyler sent across the splendid autumnal hills of Berkshire to Governor Trumbull; and an audible smile visited the careworn face of Washington.[37]

And there were others, quite ignorant of the tidings, to whom they meant no less. Ethan Allen, deep in the hold of the *Gaspé*, stood first. Prescott's genial promise of a halter could not be made good, now, and Lord Suffolk, in the Upper House of Parliament, told why: 'We . . . avoided bringing him to his trial from considerations of prudence—from a dread of the consequences of retaliation,' for 'the Rebels had lately made a considerable number of prisoners.' And the dread had a good basis, in fact. According to Sanguinet, Carleton first heard of his misfortune at Chambly from an American soldier; and the soldier brought him a warning from Montgomery that, should Allen and his fellow-prisoners be made to suffer, he should 'execute with vigour the just and necessary law of retaliation upon the garrison of Chambly.' Washington pursued the same policy; Congress aided; and finally Allen, as well as his unfortunate comrades, breathed free air once more.[38]

Meanwhile the Canadians, finding the safety of their captured friends planted on so firm a ground, could afford

---

II., p 431. Prisoners: Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 277. Destin. of pris.: Journ. Cong., Nov. 17, etc., 1775. Criticism: Smyth, Précis, p. 109. As Brown's captures proved, the work of supplying St. Johns had not been completed when Montg. arrived there. The stores then at Chambly could not be removed after that.

[37] § Carleton to Dartmouth, Oct. 25, 1775: Note 35. Sch. to Trumbull, Oct. 27, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1207. Wash. to Sch., Nov. 5: Writings (Ford), III., p. 198.

[38] § Suffolk, Mar. 5, 1776: 4 Force, VI., 296. Verreau (Sanguinet). Invasion, p. 62. Montg. to Carleton, Oct. 22, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1138. Wash. to Howe, Dec. 18, 1775: Carleton Papers, I., p. 1. Journ. Cong., Dec. 2, 1775; July 22, 1776. Exchanges: Germain to Howe; Feb. 1, 1776 (Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 431, p. 113). REMARK XXVII.

to think of the raid more charitably, and, proud of their exploit at Chambly, toil for another victory. It looked now as if they had taken hold in earnest. They are 'in for the plate,' concluded Charles Lee.[39]

[39] Lee to Palfrey, Nov. 5, 1775: Emmet Coll.

XV

VICTORY

BUT the siege of St. Johns did not prosper. The two-gun battery, well screened from the fort, about 540 yards distant, by a wall of fascines, cannonaded the shipyard and vessels with red-hot balls, while the mortars—reinforced after a fortnight by the Old Sow, a 13-inch piece that had slowly travelled from Cape Breton to Ticonderoga and now came soggily down the lake—did their more aërial feats twenty-five or thirty rods nearer the enemy with equal zeal; but the British, with several times as many cannon, including two brass 24-pounders and a couple of 8-inch brass howitzers for shells, could far more than match the American fire. 'We have Cannon and Shott both for Breakfast & Dinner, & Shells at Night for Supper, as the Enemy has the Distance of Ground they do us some hurt,' a Manhattan soldier wrote to 'Mr. Garrett Oakes at the Sign of the Brittania near ferry stairs, New York'; and, as Captain Williams of the garrison was considered by some the ablest officer in the British army, probably no good chance for a shot failed to be improved. But the Provincials kept themselves well covered, and that part of the letter was rather unimportant, after all. Not so a second item: 'little to do but eat & Drink & mount Guard'; nor a third, which told the result: 'I was expecting to come home next Spring by water by

the Way of Quebec, but I'm afraid I shall never see it.'[1]

Others felt even better satisfied of that. While James Livingston was pointing his guns at Stopford's caravansary, a gentleman at New York put some thoughts on paper for a Boston friend: 'The ill-success of the scheme for taking Canada & the deplorable situation of the Rebel Army under Schuyler & Montgomery has thrown Congresses, Committees & all their Abettors into very great confusion in so much that you may see dismay strongly painted upon every countenance.' The next day, while Chambly was surrendering, Governor Tryon, safely ensconced in the 'Halifax Packet off New York,' penned this to the British Secretary of State: 'though I have not authority to congratulate your Lordship on the failure of that enterprize, I have the pleasure to assure you the warmest advisers of that daring & Rebellious Expedition . . . have given up every prospect of success.' Even Washington, the rock of the Colonies, felt depressed. 'My anxiety suggests some doubts, which your better acquaintance with the country will enable you to remove,' he admitted with touching delicacy to Schuyler; and he inquired, in order to suggest his 'imperfect idea on the subject,' whether, as Arnold had proposed, St. Johns could not have been safely blockaded, while the rest of the army moved on and captured Montreal. To make the delay seem, if possible, still more disappointing, reports of triumph had somehow gone abroad, almost before the siege began. Four days after the army finally arrived,

---

[1] § Distances: S. Mott to Sch., Oct. 7, 1775 (Sch. Papers). **Barlow, Journal,** Sept. 24, 25. Trumbull, Journal. Ritzema, Journal. Montg. to Bedel, Sept. 25, 1775: Dreer Coll. Id to Sch., Sept. 28, 1775: 4 Force, III., 954. Id. to R. R. Liv., Oct. 5, [1775]: Liv. Papers, 1775-1777, p. 51. Sch. to Hancock, Sept. 29: 4 Force, III., 830. Van Rensselaer, Oct 6: Bonney, Gleanings, I., p. 45. List of cannon: 4 Force, III., 1395. From C. B: [T. Allen] to [Pomeroy], May 9, 1775: 4 Force, II., 546. Tryon to Dartmouth, Nov. 11, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 135, p. 677. Oakes, Letter, Oct. 11, 1775: ib., p. 701. Williams: J. Adams, Works, II., p. 431.

it was announced in the Colonies that St. Johns had been taken with a loss of only three men; and then week followed week into the shadows of the past without leaving on its way the expected confirmation.[2]

Truth to tell, the lack of discipline, cordiality, and 'regular' military spirit among the troops was only one corner of Montgomery's difficulties, and perhaps the brightest at that. Making friends with the Indians had its disadvantages. They loved to stalk proudly about the camp, while the outlook appeared hopeful, smiting their expanded bosoms, and crying, 'Me Yankee!' but it was not pleasant, when things went badly, to see a knot of them sniff around the American battery, and then steal off into the fort, nor even to receive a call from Caughnawaga Castle for a garrison, when the camp itself lacked men. The Canadians, coming and going by 'fits and starts,' always timorous, full of 'clashing interests and private piques,' often touchy and sometimes mutinous, required the daintiest handling and the deftest administration of presents.[3]

The weightiest arguments among the natives, when invited to part with turkeys or wheat, were the ring of silver and the glitter of gold. By the first week in October, Schuyler had expended $100,000 of Continental currency, and a few days later the Congress ordered twice as much more sent him; but, even had it been tons instead of dollars, the army would have been little the richer in the eyes of the Canadians. French paper money had flown broadcast like forest leaves among

[2] § Letter from N. Y., Oct. 17, 1775: Can. Arch., B, 27, p. 365. Tryon to Sec'y State, Oct. 18, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 428, p. 303. Wash. to Sch., Oct. 26, 1775: Writings (Ford), III., p. 183. Revol. Journal, Sept. 21 (also Sept. 22, 28; Oct. 4), 1775.

[3] § Mott to Trumbull, Oct. 6, 1775: 4 Force, III., 972. Waterbury, Ord. Book, Sept. 29. Trumbull, Journal, Oct. 2, 3. Montg. to ———, Oct. 18, 1775: MS. in possession of Mr. J. T. Sabin. Id. to J. Liv., Oct. 18, 1775: Hist. Mag., June, 1862, p. 175. Id. to Sch., Oct. 20, 1775: Sparks MSS., No. 60, p. 16. Canads.: Id. to Id., Oct. 31, 1775 (ib., p. 17).

them during the late war, and had fallen as low. 'A burnt child dreads the fire,' said Schuyler, and now they would none of it. 'A little cash we must have,' wrote Bedel; 'Warner wants money, and we cannot do without.' The only lack in this ingenuous appeal was the name of every other man in the army. 'I must tell you,' replied the General, 'hard cash is very scarce. . . . If we have not ready money to pay for provisions, we shall be ill supplied.' 'Let the hard cash come up as soon as possible, that our reputation may hold good,' appealed Montgomery in his turn to Schuyler. 'The urgent necessity of an immediate supply of gold and silver,' was the text of a pressing message from Schuyler to Congress. 'None is to be had at Albany,' he said; 'I fear the want of specie will be fatal to us.' October the tenth Congress dropped all business for an hour, in order to have this matter attended to; and soon two troopers, in the uniform of the Philadelphia Light Horse, trotted out of the city toward the north, escorting £6,364 of Pennsylvania currency ($16,970 2/3) in sealed bags,—all that could be scraped together.[4]

While care was required to hold friends, it was perhaps no less trouble to hold the enemy. Montgomery could not concentrate his forces at the main camp, lest Major Preston should slip away to Quebec. 'For God's sake have a watchful Eye over them!' he sent word to Bedel. But it looked more probable that such an 'elopement' would take place by the eastern side of the river; and Livingston, with about two hundred of his people, went across to make a battery there, one hundred rods or so

[4] § $100,000: Sch. to Hancock, Oct. 5, 1775 (4 Force, III., 951). Money: Journ. Cong., Oct. 6, 9, 10, 16, 1775. Canada paper: Parkman, Montcalm, II., p. 366; Chic. Journ. Pol. Econ., June, 1893, p. 425. Sch. to Hancock, Oct. 18, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1053. Bedel to Montg., Sept. 28, 1775: 4 Force, III., 954. Montg. to Bedel, Oct. 5, 1775: Saffell, Records, p. 23. Id. to Sch., Oct. 6, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1095. Sch. to Hancock, Sept. 25, 1775: ib., 736. Hancock to Sch., Oct. 9, 1775: ib., 987. Sch. to Hancock, Oct. 14: ib., 1065. Penn. Arch., Sec. Ser., XIV., p. IV.

GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

from the fort. 'They don't love work,' observed the General; but for once, at least, they found themselves busy for a while. Their move displeased the garrison not a little, so about the middle of the next forenoon Preston sent over his fine schooner and a floating battery, begun for a sloop but never finished, to bombard the incipient breastwork; and before long a party landed to assault it.[5]

Upon this, Montgomery's fleet, drawn up in line across the river just above the camp, weighed anchor and moved into action. Its broadsides could not speak very thunderously, for the heaviest metal of the sloop *Enterprise* was a pair of 6-pounders, the schooner *Liberty* had nothing better than a couple of 4-pounders, and the 'gondolas' *Hancock* and *Schuyler*—merely large, heavy bateaux—had each but a single 12-pounder in the bow, supported, like the guns of a sailing craft, with swivels; but, with the exception of a brass 24-pounder on the floating battery, the British vessels had nothing so heavy. The American land batteries also turned their attention to that side; Livingston's Canadians blazed away for dear life; and Bedel hurried to the scene in time to burn some powder. For about half an hour the firing was 'sharp,' reported Trumbull, and the crisp October blue overhead began to look foggy; but finally the regulars beat a retreat, and one Canadian, touched by a grape-shot, had to consult the surgeon. Montgomery now sent a reinforcement; the breastwork rose to its appointed height, and the escape of the garrison by that route seemed impossible; but the General soon had reason to believe that Preston was preparing flat-bottomed boats in the hope

[5] § Montg. to Bedel, Sept. 25, 1775: Dreer Coll. Id. to Id., Sept., 28, 1775: Saffell, Records, p. 21. Id. to R. R. Liv., Oct. 5, [1775]: Liv. Papers, 1775–1777, p. 51. Id. to Sch., Oct. 6, 9, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1095, 1096. Trumbull, Journal, Oct. 3, 4. Barlow, Journal, Oct. 3, 4.

of a pleasanter trip by water, and his anxiety could not sleep.[6]

To hold his own troops in place appeared oftentimes the greatest problem of all, for without rations they could not remain. Tin kettles, brass kettles, iron pots and frying pans, wooden bowls, and tin cups,—they all had open throats which demanded to be filled somehow three times every day. Barley and oats grew in the province, as well as wheat; but, without cash and revolving millstones, the army could not fatten on the most abundant crops. Apples, peaches, pears, and sometimes apricots brightened the orchards; but these at best were only trimmings. Hardy oxen of three to six hundred weight browsed the herb; but few of them could be spared from the plough. From Moses Hazen's large estate close by, the Americans took supplies worth over sixteen hundred dollars, and Dugan furnished nearly as much; but what was this among so many? Mainly the army had to draw its provisions from the south, where Continental bills passed as money; and this meant a long, slow, and costly journey. 'It will require not only good fortune, but despatch, to keep us from distress,' Montgomery notified Schuyler very early; and the results proved him no false prophet.'

'If I had not arrived here, even on the very day I did,' declared Schuyler after going back to Ticonderoga, 'as sure as God lives the Army would have starved'; and weeks passed before that outlook dissolved. 'At one time I had not more than three days' flour, at another little more pork,' said Montgomery to an intimate friend.

---

[6] § Montg. to Sch., Oct. 6, 9, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1095, 1096. **Fleet**: 4 Force, III., 534. Trumbull, Journal, Sept. 19; Oct. 4. **Brit. guns**: Richardson to Tryon (Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. Ind., Vol. 136, p. 330); Liv., Journal, Oct. 14. Barlow, Ord. Book, Oct. 4. Safford, Journal, Oct. 4. S. Mott to Trumbull, Oct. 6, 1775: 4 Force, III., 972. Almon, Remembrancer, 1776, Part II., Journal of Siege, p. 126. Montg. to Sch., Oct. 13, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1097.

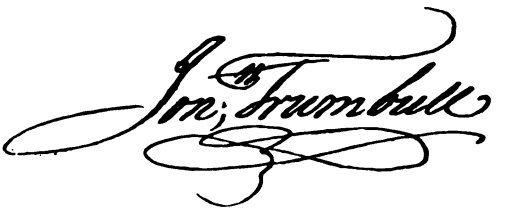
[7] § Dishes: Johnston, Record, p. 93. Stone (ed.), Letters of Officers, p. 15. Hazen: Journ. Cong., Sept. 24, 1776. Dugan: ib., Aug. 19; Nov. 23, 1776. Montg. to Sch., Sept. 28; Oct. 6, 1775: 4 Force, III., 954, 1095.

Again Schuyler justified his claims to national gratitude by his earnest and even passionate exertions; but no man, suffering as he was from 'a barbarous complication of disorders' and a still more barbarous 'vexation of spirit,' could accomplish what he desired. At any moment, this pivot of Montgomery's communications might break down entirely; and, even if it held, embarrassments remained that no spell could charm away. At one crisis no more pork could be found, and there was a dearth of salt for packing beef. At another, the floods carried away all the forage, and the draught-cattle nearly starved; and once, when Schuyler had fortunately accumulated a small store of provisions at the lakes, a heavy storm, sweeping away nearly all the bridges between Fort George and Albany, made the roads impassable for at least a week. Well aware of these dangers, Montgomery was like a hobbled war-horse, and all the more so when he found the general irregularity of an improvised army causing waste in the commissary's department.[8]

If pots and kettles clamored loudly to be filled, muskets and cannons had still bigger voices, and no less occasion to use them. Three days after his batteries opened, Montgomery realized there was not enough ammunition 'to carry on an attack with success.' Schuyler was about sending on five hundred pounds of powder, but that would be a mere pinch of snuff; and he forwarded Hancock the painful comments that 'not an ounce' remained, and that he could count upon nothing more of the kind north of Manhattan. The Congress itself was no better off. All sorts of schemes to obtain saltpetre still occupied its thoughts. A little later it appointed thirty-one men

[8] § Sch. to Hancock, Sept. 28, 1775: 4 Force, III., 826. Weeks: Montg. to Sch., Oct. 6, 1775 (ib., 1095). Id. to R. R. Liv., Oct. 5 [1775]: Liv. Papers, 1775-1777, p. 51. Sch. to Hancock, Sept. 25, 1775: 4 Force, III., 796. Id. to Wash., Oct. 12, 1775: ib., 1035. Id. to Id., Oct. 26, 1775: ib., 1195. Id. to Hancock, Nov. 11, 1775: ib., 1520. Waste: Montg. to Sch., Oct. 9, 1775 (Dunlap, New Netherlands, II., p. 21); Id. to Bedel, Oct. 5, 13, 1775 (Saffell, Records, pp. 24, 25).

to have this chemical made from scrapings of the floors and yards of tobacco warehouses and other such places in Virginia, and explained minutely how the soil might be 'much the more impregnated with nitrous particles.' About the same time, Josiah Bartlett wrote from Philadelphia to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, and pointed in a different though equivalent direction: 'The floor of a meeting-house being taken up,' he said, 'the earth under it produced one pound from every bushel; under barns, stables, etc., much more.' In such straits and with Washington to provide for, Congress could do



little to aid the northern army; but, as Manhattan also begged for powder most urgently, it 'borrowed' a ton from Pennsylvania, and sent it up to the New Yorkers, requesting that Schuyler should have 'the whole or such a Part of it as they could spare.'[9]

Meanwhile, the General had begged the Congress of his Colony to let him have five tons by express; and the Provincial Congress, finding in its magazines fourteen hundred pounds, mostly belonging to the Counties, despatched it in a covered boat, rowed with oars, to Albany. 'It is

---

[9] § Trumbull's and Barlow's Journals, Sept. 25. Montg. to Sch., Sept. 28, 1775: 4 Force, III., 954. Sch. to Hancock, Sept. 27; Oct. 5, 1775: ib., 830, 951. Journ. Cong., Oct. 16; Nov. 10, 1775. Bartlett, Nov. 13, 1775: 4 Force, IV., 22. Secret Journ. Cong., Oct. 9, 1775. Hancock to Sch., Oct., 12, 1775. Am. Antiquarian Soc.

the whole that can be obtained in the Colony,' they explained. This came far short, however, of the five tons needed; so all of the borrowed consignment from Philadelphia was magnanimously forwarded in the same direction, though without it the New York people could not, even then, 'command two hundred pounds of powder, if it would save the Colony from destruction.' Seven hundred and fifty pounds more were scraped together about Albany. Yet all these grand exertions gained only a few rounds apiece for the muskets and a morsel for the batteries. By such desperate shifts had the momentous campaign to be conducted; and at length Montgomery reached the very point of giving up the siege 'thro' want of Ammunition.' His joy, then, might be imagined but not described, when the capture of Chambly threw six tons of precious powder into his magazine. This, 'with the blessing of God, will finish our business here,' he exclaimed.[10]

But gunpowder, after all, would never take St. Johns without soldiers to burn it. For weeks care had to be used lest more men should go on than could be fed; and when provisions arrived, forces did not. The Congress, alarmed by Schuyler's hint about retiring from Nut Island,[11] ordered to the front not only all the troops raising in New York but Wooster's Connecticut men. 'With all possible expedition,' Congress phrased its exhortation; yet the numbers at St. Johns increased very slowly. For one thing, the old difficulty about muskets had to be met, and the New York Committee of Safety found it necessary to 'impress' all arms found in the custody of persons who

---

[10] § Sch. to N. Y. Cong., Sept. 29, 1775: Sparks MSS., No. 29, p. 266. N. Y. Cong. to Hancock, Oct. 6, 1775: 4 Force, III., 971. Id. to Id., Oct. 16, 1775: ib., 1003. Sch. to N. Y. Cong., Oct. 14, 1775: ib., 1066. J. Liv., Memorial (read in Cong., Mar. 7, 1782): Cont. Cong. Papers, No. 41, V., p. 246. Montg. to Sch., Oct. 20, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1132.

[11] Page 332.

had not joined the patriotic Association ; for another, all the rest of the old difficulties reappeared, except that perhaps the authorities of New York indulged themselves in less otiosity than before. On the sixth of October, the force around St. Johns was reckoned at sixteen hundred. Three days later, all the Yorkers that Schuyler could forward, retaining at Ticonderoga only sixty-five effectives, had reached the front; yet Montgomery reported, 'I find my numbers but little increased' ; and in fact, on the twenty-third, only seven hundred and fifty men occupied the main camp. The reinforcements appeared to soak into the ground.[12]

The invalid-list explained why. What Sullivan once called ' the pale-faced brigade ' grew steadily in number. 'Such crowds of sick! ' exclaimed Schuyler, as they drifted to the rear; and well he might : for those discharged before the sun went down on the twelfth of October amounted to nine hundred and thirty-seven. Besides these, at least a hundred and fifty languished in the hospital at Lake George that day, and probably as many more were waiting to enter it. ' Tell Dr. Lightfoot,' wrote a soldier home, 'if he had come with the Army he would have had good business.' Even at the hospital, practitioners were lacking; and, for that and other reasons, few who left the camp ill ever found their way back. Among the people at home, this wretched plight of their army stirred the fountains of pity, and efforts were made to help it. One ' Certain Cure, ' contributed by a reader of the *Connecticut Courant*, on hearing that

---

[12] § Montg. to Sch., Oct. 6, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1095. Journ. Cong., Sept. 20, 1775. Hancock to Sch., Sept. 20: 4 Force III., 749. Id. to N. Y. Cong., Sept. 20, 1775: ib., 749. Id. to Wooster, Sept. 20, 1775: ib., 740. N. Y. Com. Safety to Hancock, Sept. 23, 1775: ib., 777. Wooster to Wash., Sept. 28, 1775: ib., 826. 'Impress': N. Y. Com. Safety, Sept. 16, 1775 (ib., 858). State of N. Y. troops: N. Y. Cong. to N. Y. Delegs., Oct. 4, 1775: ib., 1268. Troops sent north: Return (ib., 955). Van Rensselaer to ———, Oct. 6, 1775: Bonney, Gleanings, I., p. 45. Sch. to Hancock, Oct. 13, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1093. Montg. to Sch., Oct. 9, 1775: ib., 1096. Id. to Id., Oct. 23, 1775 (quoted by Sch., Nov. 6, 1775): ib., 1374.

Mortifies me much, that I have not more frequent Opportunities of addressing Myself to You

I am extreamly apprehensive that a Want of Powder will be fatal to our Operations. I have sent Express to Albany and New York, but have not yet learnt whether I shall be supplied or not.

The Army is now supplied with Provisions to the 30th. instant, but all the Pork that is to be had is gone, and altho we have a Sufficiency of Salt Cattle I fear we shall want Salt.

Inclose Your Excellency a Return of the discharged Men from this Army, Exclusive of this 150 at least occupy the General Hospital at Fort George and I fear as many more are ready to enter it.

I begin to gather Strength, my Love General Washington has

fever and ague camped among the troops, ran this way: 'Take of Spiders webb sufficient for three pills, rolled well together, about the size of a large pea, [and] drink them off in a gill of good old spirits, just as the chill commences.'[18]

As this fond prescription hinted, the main trouble came from the soil. 'Good, handsome land,' commented Easton; but he had 'just now arrived,' and eyes accustomed to the hills and rocks of Berkshire took delight in the immense plains of the Richelieu, and their deep, fat, and humid loam. A brief acquaintance, however, found another side to the tapestry. A great part of the country, noted Chaplain Trumbull, was drowned land 'for 50 or an 100 miles on End.' Farmers had to plough their fields in ridges, to save the grain from being flooded; the wheels of a calash would grow, in a rainy time, till they resembled the automobile tires of a later day; and, after heavy storms, the depth of the mud always equalled the length of the measuring stick. 'Wherever we attempt to erect batteries, the water follows in the ditch, when only two feet deep,' wrote Samuel Mott. Montgomery's camp had to be pitched on low, miry ground, where footgear often sank nearly out of sight; and the soldiers could keep their tents decently dry only by strewing thick beds of bushes, bark, or reeds on the soil. To atone for the drought, September expressed its valedictory in copious downpours. According to Oakes's reckoning, it rained '8 days Successively' in a single week, 'by which we were almost Drownd,' he said. 'Our men Sometimes have been Wet near Twenty Days together,' noted Trumbull in his Journal, when reviewing the siege.

---

[18] § Sch. to Hancock, Oct. 5, 1775: 4 Force, III., 951. Discharges: ib., 1007. Oakes to C. Oakes: Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. Ind., Vol. 185, p. 701. Sch. to Wash., Oct. 12, 1775; 4 Force, III., 1135. Surgeons, etc.: Stringer to Sch., Oct. 25, 1775: (ib., 1523). Sch. to Hancock, Oct. 18, 1775: ib., 1093. Conn. Courant, Sept. 25, 1775.

In order to reconnoitre the fort, Mott had to wade knee-deep in water, and remain soaked from head to foot all day long. 'Half drowned rats crawling thro' the swamp,' was Montgomery's picture of his army.[14]

Along with the great rains came sharp, cold weather. 'Very hard frost in the Morning this 20 Days past,' remarked Oakes on the eleventh of October. About the only pleasant day for weeks was rather clouded by the fight on the east side. 'Too hard for my constitution,' decided Mott, and everybody felt the same way. Dangerous maladies were few, and deaths from disease fewer; but malarial fevers, colds, rheumatism, dysentery, and a legion of depressing ailments racked the bodies and sapped the spirits of the army. With or without 'Spiders webb,' liquor seemed a necessity. 'Let us have rum, my dear General, else we shall never be able to go through our business,' begged the commander; but the rum, besides lacking somewhat the precious virtues attributed in those days to its tawny drops, was 'very bad,' a soldier said; and the tobacco, which might have supplied an after-glow of psychological mellowness, fetched a price according to the scarcity of it.[15]

As General Schuyler explained to Washington, it would have been venturing overmuch to go on to Montreal, leaving the regulars feebly blockaded in the rear, for a serious reverse would probably have meant the total loss of Canadian good-will, and the total destruction of the army,—'a vast risk.' The fort must somehow be disposed of first; and, in order both to escape from the

[14] § Easton to Bedel, Oct. 6, 1775: N. Y. Journal, Apr. 6, 1775. Trumbull, Journal, Sept. 19; Nov. 5. Ridges: Letter, Nov. 3, 1775 (4 Force, III., 1342). Carroll, Journal, p. 91. S. Mott to Trumbull, Oct. 20, 1775: ib., 1124. Oakes: Note 13. S. Mott to Trumbull, Oct. 6, 1775: 4 Force, III., 972. Montg. to Mrs. M., Oct. 6, 1775: L. L. H[unt], Biog. Notes, p. 12.

[15] § Oakes: Note 13. S. Mott, Oct. 6: Note 14. Sickness, etc.: Trumbull, Journal, Nov. 5; Soldiers to Conn. Govt., Oct. 13, 1775: Mass. Hist. Soc. Montg. to Sch., Oct. 20, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1132.

swamp and to attack a weaker side of the obstacle, Montgomery soon decided to plant his main works on a low hill at the northwest,[16] from which he could make approaches and effect a breach. Accordingly, as soon as possible, he set the men at work felling trees, building a road for his artillery through the swamp, and piling up fascines. But, as the hill stood near the fort,—one of its chief advantages,—it could not safely be occupied without plenty of men and ammunition; and, while these were dribbling along, another very serious difficulty rose like a spectre.[17]

The design of storming a fortress lined with scarlet coats did not square with Colonial principles of strategy. 'Which I look upon the attempt dangerous, and the event dubious,' commented Samuel Mott upon it, and the rest agreed. Major Brown, always in the fore and regarded by his commander as almost 'the only Field officer of any share of abilities,' assumed the task of expressing the general dissatisfaction, adding that, 'unless something was undertaken, in a few days there would be a mutiny; and that the universal sense of the Army' called for a bombardment from the eastern side, where the fort, sloping gently to the river and lying quite open to view, looked most vulnerable, and where the hostile water-craft floated within easy reach. Captain Weisenfels had already been at work there with a couple of 4-pounders for several days; and the army, delighted to see the barracks of the enemy suffer, and eager to escape from dangers and hardships, now took the bit in its teeth. [18]

Montgomery, though trained as a regular officer, re-

---

[16] Since cut away to facilitate railroad operations.

[17] § Sch. to Wash., Nov. 6, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1373. Montg. to Sch., Sept. 28; Oct. 9, 13, 1775: ib., 954, 1096, 1097. Id. to Bedel, Oct. 2 [1775]: Emmet Coll.

[18] § S. Mott to Trumbull, Oct. 6, 1775: 4 Force, III., 972. Id. to Sch., Oct. 7, 1775: Sch. Papers. Brown: Montg. to R. R. Liv., Oct. 5, [1775] (Liv. Papers, 1775–1777, p. 51). Id. to Sch., Oct. 13: 4 Force, III., 1907. Ritzema, Journal, Oct. 9.

flected upon the matter with charity and good sense; and he informed his superior, that ' Upon considering the fatal consequences which might flow from the want of subordination and discipline, (should this ill-humour continue,) my unstable authority over Troops of different Colonies, the insufficiency of the military law, and my own want of power to enforce it, weak as it is, I thought it expedient to call the Field-Officers together.' 'To a man,' these gentlemen deemed Montgomery's reasoning insufficient,' and the plan it supported had to be dropped forthwith.[19]

Only public spirit kept the General 'an hour' longer at the head of troops he could not command, but he assured the Council he would enforce the measure they adopted 'by every effort in his power.' Accordingly, Colonel Clinton received orders to move his regiment, the Third New Yorkers, across the stream and plant a new battery there with heavier cannon. For a time, the British fired vigorously at this new menace, and they did great execution among the hemlocks and balm-of-Gilead trees; but some days later an officer reported a change in the music of their guns: 'At the first of our acquaintance with them, they would be bawling *Fire away, you Yankee beggars!* But their tune now is, *Why don't you go home? What do you come here for?*'[20]

This result might be counted perhaps as a gratifying though somewhat unsubstantial equivalent for the powder burned; but something really contrary to the General's expectation attended it. Preston's trim schooner, the *Royal Savage*, though apparently not gifted with remarkable powers of offence, had the instinct of self-pre-

[19] § Montg., Oct. 13: Note 18. Council of War: Sparks MSS., No. 66, I., p. 19.

[20] § Council: Note 19. Ritzema Journal, Oct. 13. Liv., Journal, Oct. 11–14; Nov. 21. The new battery (two 12-pounders) was about 300 yards from the river and a quarter of a mile S.E. from the battery (two 4-pounders) already at work (Liv., Journal, Oct. 12). Officer: Conn. Courant, Nov. 6, 1775.

servation well developed, and a second expedition against her had come to naught. Montgomery supposed that she would now move out of range, but she did not; and—with her stern-post knocked away, nine holes in her side, and three in her mainmast—she sank gradually to repose at the bottom of the river, escorted by the floating battery. No doubt, also, bricks and mortar flew about the fort more than ever before."[21]

But the General had pointed out at the Council that, even were every building destroyed, 'the garrison could not surrender without the probability of an assault, which could never arise from any attack on the opposite side of the river' ; and so it proved. The red banner floated yet as proudly as ever; and Brook Watson, safe in Montreal, airily informed his friend Butler that the rebels still invested St. Johns, 'with little hopes on their side, and little fear on ours, of its being taken.' Though cheered for a while by the fall of Chambly, spirits fell again rapidly; and the Canadians, who had been made extremely nervous by the length of the siege, became once more a peril. Carleton seized the opportunity, and offered a pardon to all who would take up arms for the Crown; and James Livingston, so active and courageous through all previous dark days, thought of retiring from the field.[22]

At the same time, a very dark cloud rose from the horizon. Montgomery, though he set down Preston quite soon as unenterprising, had naturally looked for some attempt on the Governor's part at relieving his beleaguered fortress. 'I make no doubt you have had a good look out towards La Prairie, etc.,' he cautioned Bedel,

---

[21] § Expedition: Oakes (Note 14); Montg. to Bedel, Oct. 4, 1775 (Saffell, Records, p. 231). The schooner had already suffered somewhat from the American fire: e. g., Safford, Journal, Sept. 25. Montg. to Sch., Oct. 20, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1132. Carroll, Journal, p. 76. Almon, Rememb., 1776, Part I., p. 134. Sch. to P. V. B. Liv., Oct. 20, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1165.

[22] § Council: Note 14. Watson, Oct. 19, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1600. Montg. to Sch.: ib., 1097. J. Liv. to Montg., Oct. 20, 1775: ib., 1105.

three days after camping in the swamp. A party of the enemy did, in fact, beach their canoes at that landing with the intention of annoying the Americans; but Major Brown captured their supplies, and happily extinguished the scheme. Later, when a force of some five hundred garrisoned the point, they had the pleasure of repulsing an attack and doing some execution. Warner, who took post at Longueuil, had almost daily shots from the enemy

A VIEW OF LONGUEUIL

and finally a victorious 'little brush,' as Montgomery styled it. All these affairs were symptoms of danger; and, when a London letter of early July gave positive notice that a large force of Highlanders, under Colonel Murray, had gone over to help the Governor, the prospect looked rather dark.[23]

[23] § Montg. to R. R. Liv., Oct. 5 [1775]: Liv. Papers, 1775-1777, p. 51. Id. to Bedel, Sept. 20, 1775: Myers Coll. Brown: Id. to Sch., Sept. 24, 1775

Of course it was true that Carleton longed to strike the invaders; but no such reinforcements had crossed the water, and he knew not what to do. 'Taciturnity and Unactivity are the ruling maxims in this province,' growled Allan Maclean, the old Scotch campaigner; but that was because, like many other good subordinates, he received less news than his chief. Carleton understood the uncertainty of professing Canadians only too well. At Laprairie as well as at Chambly, fair hopes of gathering a corps of them had vanished. He could have predicted what befell Maclean himself: people to whom he gave arms going over with them to the enemy. On the fourteenth of September, the British government had sent him news received from Governor Tryon, that 'at least' seven thousand Americans were to march against Montreal and Quebec; and, some time before the twenty-fifth of October, the Governor had notice from General Gage and others that 'fifteen or eighteen hundred men under Mr. Lee' had set out for St. Johns. With such data before him, Carleton might well be cautious and reserved; yet, as the loyalists at Montreal complained of his inaction, he tried to encourage them by making these various attempts to annoy the Americans.[24]

Finally, however, at the time James Livingston found his people so despondent over the failure of the siege, General Carleton thought his chance had come. September the ninth, Maclean had left Quebec for the upper country with what recruits he could gather, and the next day an outpost of about sixty Royal Fusiliers (the

---

(4 Force, III., 840); Trumbull, Journal, Sept. 20. Sch. to P. V. B. Liv., Oct. 26: 4 Force, III., 1195. Warner: I. Allen, Vt., p. 67; Montg. to Sch., Oct. 20, 1775 (4 Force, III., 1132). London letter (pub. in Phila., Sept. 22): Essex Gazette, Oct. 5.

[24] § Maclean to Barrington, Nov. 20, 1775: War Off., Orig. Corres., Vol. 12. Carleton to Dartmouth, Sept. 21, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec. 11, p. 421. Ursul. de T. Riv., I., p. 164. Dartmouth to Carleton, Sept. 14, 1775: Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 220. Lee: Cramahé to Dartmouth, Oct. 25, 1775 (ib., p. 264). Verreau, Invasion, pp. 62–64 (Sanguinet); p. 173 (Badeaux).

7th Foot) arrived at the capital with orders to join him. As he slowly marched, the brave Scot applied himself to rousing the Canadians. Not over gentle were his methods. At Nicolet, for instance, not finding a man and his son who were said to oppose taking up arms for the King, he demanded of the housewife where they were.

'I know not,' she replied.

'Tell me, or I will have your cottage burned,' he threatened.

'*Très bien*, burn it,' she laughed; 'for an old one you will give me back a new one!'

The fire was kindled; but the old woman, instead of telling where the men had concealed themselves, ran wildly about, calling Maclean's party very hard names, wringing her hands, and invoking St. Eustache; and Maclean concluded to have the fire put out.

Naturally, the *habitants* did not love such an officer, but they certainly feared him; and, by the middle of October, when he left Three Rivers, he had rolled up a force of nearly four hundred Canadians. With these, backed by his one hundred and twenty Royal Highland Emigrants and the sixty Fusiliers, he landed at Sorel and pushed on up the river, levying some two hundred more recruits as he marched.[25]

Carleton, for his part, summoned the Indians,—all except the Caughnawagas. 'About threescore Savages from one of our Villages are come in this Evening,' he wrote Lord Dartmouth on the twenty-fifth of October; 'I expect many more soon'; and the Canadians, backsliding as Livingston had feared they would, flocked again to Montreal in great numbers,—fifteen hundred, it was reported. 'Proper signals were agreed upon' by Carleton

[25] § Quebec Gazette, Sept. 14, 1775. Carleton to Dartmouth, Oct. 25; Nov. 5, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, pp. 433, 445. Loizeau, Petition, [May, 1779]: Board of War Papers, III., p. 409.

and Maclean, and it was arranged that the two forces, uniting near St. Johns, were to overwhelm Bedel's post, relieve the fort, and then, absorbing its garrison, drive the American army into the river. 'There was the greatest probability,' so the British government received advices from Quebec, 'that the Country would be soon cleared of those invaders.' [26]

Mid-stream in the St. Lawrence, opposite Montreal, lay St. Helen's Island, a gently rising oval, well covered with sere grain-fields, ashy-brown grass, native shade trees, and orchards like those of old France. Here Governor Carleton assembled seven or eight hundred men, counting Indians as such; and, late in the afternoon of October the thirtieth, all pushed off in thirty-five or forty boats, with a cannon in one of them, for the shore of Longueuil. Very soon they were discovered by the Americans; and the Green Mountain Boys and Second Yorkers, about three hundred or three hundred and fifty in all, under the command of Seth Warner, poured from the spacious yard of Longueuil castle, left its high wall and four peaked bastions behind them in the trees, and hurried toward the low, winding beach, where the guard was already firing. Observing that some Indians were making for the southern shore farther up, Warner sent Captain Potter's company to stop them, while the rest of his detachment awaited the main body of the enemy. More than six feet in height, with bold though genial features, well moulded and commanding in form, spare and straight as an Indian, strong as a Hercules, and virile as the Dying Gaul, the American leader stood conspicuous. But modesty counted among his fine qualities, and

---

[26] § Carleton to Dartmouth, Oct. 25, 1775: Note 25. Maseres (quoting), Add. Papers, p. 189. Quebec letter, Oct. 25, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1185. Official notice, Whitehall, Dec. 29, 1775: 4 Force, IV., 461.

he was too modest now to show himself or his strength prematurely."

Nearer and nearer came the flotilla of boats, led by Carleton, St. Luc la Corne, and Lorimier. But now the Americans, marching at a quick step to the water's edge, opened sharply to right and to left, and on the instant a 4-pounder, an arrival of the very evening before, emptied a well-aimed load of grape, ably seconded with musketry, into the boats. This effective fire threw Carleton's troops instantly into confusion; the appearance of a reserved corps of Provincials suggested reinforcements; and the flotilla hastily recoiled in disorder, carrying behind its red and shattered gunwales, it was reported, some forty or fifty dead and about as many wounded.

'What shall I do?' asked Montigny, who had charge of the cannon.

'Go and have supper in town,' replied the Governor in disgust.

A couple of Canadians, wading ashore, hid behind some rocks in the hope of rescue, but the keen evening wind soon brought them shivering to the Americans; and, about the same time, Captain Potter, arriving first at the rendezvous, welcomed the savages with a brisk fire, silenced the yells of some forever, and succeeded in taking a couple of Conosadagas. No American received even a scratch.

---

[27] § Franquet, Voyages, p. 27.' Jodoin and V., Longueuil, p. 296. Picture of Long. Castle in Chât. de Ramezay, Montreal. Warner: Chipman, S. Warner, p. 75; Hall, Vt., p. 473. For the fight and sequel: Montg. to Sch., Nov. 3, 1775 (4 Force, III., 1302); Id. to Id., Nov. 24, 1775 (ib., 1694); Liv., Journal, Oct. 30; Letter, Laprairie, Nov. 3, 1775 (4 Force, III., 1342); I. Allen, Vt., pp. 67, 68; Claus (No. Am. Notes and Q., I., 1, p. 24); Verreau, Invasion, p. 65 (Sanguine); p. 174 (Badeaux); p. 231 (Berthelot); pp. 259-261 (Lorimier); Bedel to N. H. Com. Safety, P. S., Nov. 2, 1775 (4 Force, III., 1207), Lindsay (Can. Rev., II., No. 4, Feb., 1826); Maseres, Add. Papers, p. 109; J. Liv. to Montg. [Oct. 22, 1775] (Cont. Cong. Papers, Letters, L, 78, XIV., p. 3); Précis of Oper.; B. Trumbull, Nov. 3, 1775 Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., VII., p. 169); Ritzema, Journal, Oct. 31; Legge to Dartmouth, Dec. 20, 1775 (Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corr., N. Sco., Vol. X., p. 84); Letter, Nov. 3, 1775 (4 Force, III., 1344); Carleton to Dartmouth, Nov. 5, 1775 (Note 25). We have no contemporary report of this affair from one who was present, and some of the details in the text, though resting on respecable authorities, cannot be considered authoritative.

Received three days ago, but as it was not copied; and knowing that
I should receive the agreeable Intelligence of the reduction
of St Johns, I would not withhold from your Excellency so interesting
this account, for a Letter which I may have occasion to write. I only
inclose Copies of General Montgomery's Letter and of the Papers
that were Inclosed in it.

FROM SCHUYLER'S LETTER TO WASHINGTON, NOV. 7, 1775

Night had now fallen; but in the morning Heman Allen set out for St. Johns with the prisoners, and news of the victory flew north toward Sorel. Maclean's men, who heard it near St. Denis, began at once to desert; while the peasants broke down bridges, and, in every way they could, took vengeance for his violent style of recruiting. To advance now was useless, even if possible; and the lieutenant beat a retreat like his chief. The grand stroke had totally failed.

By this time, affairs in the fort of St. John had become somewhat embarrassed. At first, no doubt, the garrison had shared the confidence of the loyalists. Like Monsieur Oriet, they felt sure the Americans could neither 'batter it in breach' nor 'carry it by assault'; while, should the siege last until winter, the wood of the vessels and the pickets of the old works would keep the hearth bright. As time passed, however, certain unpleasant features of the situation revealed themselves. The barracks, even though supplemented with lodgings of rough plank, had not room for all, and sleeping on bare boards proved rather tiresome. Dropping flat on the muddy ground, as everybody did, whenever the lookout's cry of 'Shot!' gave notice that an American cannon had spoken, was at least annoying. Even crouching behind mounds of earth or squeezing into the bomb-proof cellars grew tedious. Listening to hurrahs from the enemy when reinforcements came or watching lights that appeared to herald an assault gave little comfort. Too many people crowded around the bakery on the cold, wet mornings. Wine gave out before the third day; half-rations were ordered in a fortnight; clothes lost their nap and a good deal more than that; shoes wore out, and most of the garrison had to 'tear off the skirts of their coats to wrap about their feet,' it was reported at Quebec.[28]

[28] § Oriet: Tryon to Dartmouth, Nov. 11, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W.

More serious difficulties came apace. The government and the whole outside world almost vanished. Once Lorimier got in at night by leaping and bounding past the American sentries like a buck; but, when Carleton sent him to arrange for evacuation, he could not pass, and other messengers fared worse instead of better. The favorite asylum of the soldiers—the stone house in the northern fort—was almost wrecked by a shell. While Major Preston sat drinking tea with some officers one morning, a cannon-ball passed through the chamber, covered the table with débris, and drove the corner of a brick into Captain Strong's leg. Later in the day, four officers were injured by another ball in the same room. Sometimes the missiles pierced the gate of the fort, sometimes they skimmed the parapet, sometimes they flew squarely in from across the river, and sometimes, flying over the tree-tops from an unknown source, they appeared to drop from the clouds. Fifty-seven hits were counted on Christie's mansion, and a house in the southern redoubt was so riddled that balls went through old holes repeatedly. Indeed, visitors of that kind searched every corner of the fort, and when Foucher wished to read in peace he went outside.[29]

The sinking of the vessels reduced the means of defence and also cut down the supply of fuel. Sounds of distant firing woke the most anxious thoughts: was succor coming? were the enemy scoring a triumph? The fall of Chambly brought consternation. Men taken prisoners by the Americans bore testimony that the bombs and balls

---

I., Vol. 155, p. 693. Barracks: Garneau, Canada, II., p. 449. Foucher, Journal. Carroll, Journal, p. 90. Verreau (Sanguinet), Invasion, p. 73. Quebec letter: Maseres, Add. Papers, p. 94. Richardson to Tryon: Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 180, p. 33.

[29] This paragraph and the next: Foucher, Journal. Verreau (Lorimier), Invasion, pp. 248, 257, 259. Oriet: Note 28. Richardson: Note 28. Sch. to Hancock, Nov. 11, 1775; 4 Force, III., 1329. J. Liv. to Montg., Sept. 27, 1775; ib., 952. Hazen to Hancock (account of damages), Feb. 18, 1776; 4 Force, IV., 1186. Union: Liv., Journal, Nov. 21.

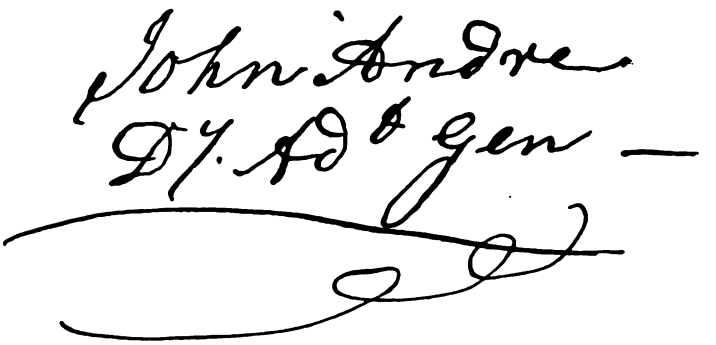
did 'mighty execution,' and would soon reduce the fortress; and, while those who remained were of a different mind, and the union above each redoubt flew bravely still like a true knight's pennon, the time was now approaching when the stoutest heart must reflect.

Satisfied at length that a bombardment from the other side of the river could not change the color of the flag at St. Johns, Montgomery's army once more permitted its commander to command; and, on the twenty-fifth of October, cannon could be seen slowly wending toward the high ground northwest of the fort. The next day the arrival of General Wooster's three hundred and thirty-five Connecticut men and two hundred and twenty-five of the Fourth Yorkers (Holmes's) raised the army to some two thousand effectives, and the hill could be defended. 'I shall send almost everybody from hence to your post,' wrote Montgomery to Bedel; 'Indeed, I shall go myself.' That night some trusty Canadians took a brace of 12-pounders past the fort by water, to join the smaller ordnance already sent down. Fascines and the plank for gun platforms were prepared. 'In short,' ordered the General, 'let Col. Mott take care that nothing be wanting.'[30]

During the night of Saturday, the twenty-eighth, men began to ply the spade vigorously on the rising ground within two hundred and fifty yards of the fort. Only one embrasure had been opened in that direction, for the strength of the works had been aimed toward the south, but out of that flew shells and grape-shot briskly enough in the moonlight. Yet by Wednesday morning a fascine battery stood complete, with two or three 12-pounders, a 9-pounder, and several mortars in position; and a little

[30] § Ritzema, Journal, Oct. 25. Reinforcements: Sch. to Hancock, Oct. 21, 1775 (4 Force, III., 1130); Id. to Wash., Nov. 6, 1775 (Ib., 1373). 2000: B. Trumbull to ——, Nov. 3, 1775 (Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., VII., p. 169). Montg. to Bedel, Oct. 26, 1775: Saffell. Records, p. 25

before ten o'clock the artillery opened fire. The four guns on the east side chimed in, and for about six hours the Americans 'kept an almost incessant blaze on them,' as Lamb phrased it, 'which the enemy returned with the greatest spirit.' As a martial function, it was admirable; but, unhappily, as a bombardment the fire accomplished little."[31]



All through the siege, both sides appeared to be under the protection of a special providence. Grape-shot rattled around Samuel Mott 'like hail,' yet never touched him; Barlow lived to report that twenty shells broke 'within two rods' of him in the new battery Sunday night; one bomb fell only three feet from the General; and yet, in spite of twenty-five hundred balls and as many shells, which the Americans reckoned were fired at them, not over twenty of the besiegers were killed in seven weeks. Missiles traversed the houses inside the fort with similar considerateness. Bricks flew about like so many feathers. When the officers' quarters, during this furious bombard-

[31] § Barlow, Journal, Oct. 28–31. [Lamb] to ——, Nov. 3, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1343. Letter, Nov. 3, 1775: ib., 1344. Embrasure: Council of War (Sparks MSS., No. 66, I., p. 19). Moon: Smith, Arnold's March, p. 460. Foucher, Journal. Almon, Rememb., 1776, Part II., p. 126. N. Y. Gazet., Nov. 16, 1775.

ment, were demolished by a shell, all got out in time except huge Salaberry, and this 'dear child,' as his sisters in the convent always addressed him, was discovered without a scratch, when the dust blew away, holding up a fragment of the building on his shoulders. The total number killed within the walls from first to last was less than twenty-five; and even under this present furious cannonade, which Ritzema fancied must have 'knocked everything in the Fort to Shatters,' though Preston's parapet suffered badly, and the stone house was laid waste again, the earthen ramparts gave no sign of yielding, and few of the men behind them fell.[32]

The army had prepared to assault the fort; but, with no breach to enter by, nothing of the sort could be attempted. Seeing that his guns were too light, Montgomery—about an hour before the early sunset—ordered the fire to cease, for missiles of a better sort had that moment arrived and he desired to try them. These were the prisoners from Longueuil, charged with the news of Carleton's repulse; and one of them, escorted by a white flag and a drummer beating for a parley, carried the tidings and a letter from Montgomery into the fort. A deserter has reported the state of your ammunition and provisions, and the damage done, wrote the American leader; succor is now impossible; why prolong 'a useless defence'?[33]

But Preston understood the value of days. It was true that the rations had been cut down a second time just after Chambly fell, and the magazine resembled Mother

---

[32] § Mott to Trumbull, Oct. 6, 1775: 4 Force, III., 972. Barlow, Journal, Sept. 22; Oct. 29. Trumbull, Journal, Nov. 5. Ritzema, Journal. Foucher, Journal. Salaberry: Mgr. de St. Vallier, Part II., p. 416. Carroll, Journal, p. 89. British return: Can. Arch., M, 317, p. 255. Maclean's Return: ib., p. 248. REMARK XXVIII.

[33] § Lamb, Letter, Ritzema, Barlow, Foucher, Almon: Note 31. Montg. to Sch., Nov. 3, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1392. Montg.'s and Preston's letters, Nov. 1, 1775: Sparks MSS., No. 52, II., p. 59. The tenor of Montg.'s first letter is inferred from Preston's reply and Sanguinet. Verreau (Sanguinet), Invasion, pp. 75–77. As to certain unimportant details reports do not agree.

Hubbard's larder; but, at all events, the garrison could hold on a little longer. So Captain Strong came out shortly with a flag, and, passing blindfolded through the Provincial camp to the General's tent, delivered a reply. The prisoner, it stated, was 'frequently subject to fits of insanity,' wherefore little stress could be laid on what he had said, and the deserter was not well-informed; however, 'should no attempt be made' to relieve the place 'within four days,' he would make a proposition to surrender.

'The advanced season of the year,' answered Montgomery, 'will not admit of your proposal.'

He declared the prisoner's report trustworthy, offered permission to examine the other French captive, and gave notice that unless the fort surrendered immediately, it would be 'unnecessary to make any future proposals': the garrison would have to suffer the rigors of war. This led to a suspension of hostilities. The following day (November 2), the prisoner on the sloop was examined, like the first one, 'upon the Holy Evangelists'; and finally, in the evening, after a good deal of discussion over terms, the articles of capitulation were signed. The bulwark of Canada, nearly all its regular troops, and a fine outfit of cannon—nineteen of brass and twenty-two of iron—besides seven mortars and quantities of naval stores, passed into the hands of the Americans.[44]

The next morning witnessed a scene well fitted to instruct the people of Canada. On the plain south of the fort, all the besieging troops were drawn up in their best attire. In the three Connecticut regiments no uniforms were visible, except as officers had chosen to provide themselves, or a veteran of the French and Indian war displayed a dingy scarlet coat and three-cornered laced

---

[44] § See Note 33. Précis of Oper. Inventory: 4 Force, III., 1395. Terms: ib., 1394.

ANDRÉ'S PICTURE OF HIMSELF

hat consecrated at Louisburg; but the officers wore ribbons of various colors to denote their rank, and three standards—Wooster's yellow, Hinman's crimson, and Waterbury's white—fluttered smartly in the breeze, displaying, like the drums, the Colony's arms, with its devout motto, *Qui Transtulit Sustinet*, inscribed around them in gilt. Very formidable looked the regulation brass-mounted muskets, with gleaming barrels nearly four feet long, carrying bullets three-quarters of an inch in diameter, and very deadly the broad bayonets fourteen inches in length. Here and there a pioneer's rifle or the heavier weapon of the duck-hunter broke the evenness of the line; but what these arms lacked in regularity, they gained in effectiveness. Best of all were the men themselves. 'Whoever sees the Connecticut troops,' wrote Schuyler, 'admires their Strength, Stature, Youth & Agility'; and they never had looked prouder than they looked now.[35]

The Yorkers had uniform coats, each battalion distinguished by the color of its cuffs and facings; and even the First Regiment, standing very straight, decorated with shoulder belts crossing on breast and back, and accoutred with haversacks, canteens, and musket-slings, had, as Montgomery said, the look of regulars. Captain Lamb and his artillery company, all in extra-fine blue-and-buff, as became an élite corps, outshone the infantry; but yonder a squad of Green Mountain Boys from Longueuil, strapping fellows dressed out in green coats 'of large size' with handsome red facings, attracted perhaps as much attention. Epaulets were very scarce, but swords and ribbons distinguished the officers. Marquees and regulation tents raised their shining heads behind the line

---

[35] § Plain: See Terms (Note 34). Clark, Waterbury's Regt., p. 7. Sch. to Cong., July 2, 1775: Cont. Cong. Papers, 153, I., p. 12. Hinman, Conn., p. 165. Johnston, Record, p. 93. Letter, Apr. 23, 1775: Frothingham, Siege, p. 103.

of troops, and the vast pines of the forest made a sombre but magnificent background."

At eight o'clock the sound of music was heard, and the garrison of St. Johns filed out under arms. Vanquished after a plucky fight, they were given all the honors of war; and, in spite of worn-out shoes and threadbare uniforms, they marched with dignity as well as precision.

First came the 26th Foot in red coats faced with pale-yellow, bearing a pale-yellow flag with blue lines and a red centre, resplendent with the crown, sphinx, dragon, and wreath of thistles,—for this was the Cameronian regiment; and after them appeared a large squad of the Royal Fusiliers, in red coats with blue facings, white lace with a blue stripe in it, and high grenadier caps decorated with a rose, a garter, a crown, and a galloping white horse; a few of the Royal Artillery in coats of dark blue, breeches and waistcoats of white, red facings and sash, gold lace, cocked hats, and jack-boots; and, behind these, a few jaunty marines from the *Gaspé*, in pigtails and short petticoats, headed by Lieutenant Hunter in blue and white, plentifully be-starred with gilt buttons. The Royal Highland Emigrants followed in due order, and after them the Canadian gentry, hanging their heads a little but far too vivacious to hang them long; then a brace of Indians; and finally the carpenters and workpeople."

---

[36] § N. Y. Uniform: 4 Force, II., 1312, 1338; N. Y. Cong., to N. Y. Delegs., Oct. 4, 1775 (4 Force, III., 1268). Montg. to Sch., Oct. 31, 1775: Sparks MSS., No. 69, p. 17. Lamb's uniform: 4 Force, II., 1675; III., 17. G. M. B. uniform: N. Y. Cong., Aug. 15, 1775 (4 Force, III., 530). Officers: Orders, July 23, 1775 (4 Force, II., 1738); Orders, July 14, 1775 (Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., Jan., 1859, p. 154). Marquees: Johnston, Record, p. 93.

[37] § Carleton's return: Can. Arch., M, 317, p. 255. List of Canads.: Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 284. Artificers: Carleton to Dartmouth, Nov. 5, 1775 (Bancroft Coll., Eng. and Am., Aug., 1775-Dec., 1776, p. 145). Terms: 4 Force, III., 1304. Lindsay: Can. Review, Vol. II., No. 4, Feb., 1826. Montg. to Sch., Nov 3, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1392. Foucher, Journ. Barlow, Journ. Trumbull, Journ. Ritzema, Journal. Letters, Nov. 3 1775: 4 Force, III., 1343, 1344. British uniforms and colors: Official Army List for 1776 (Pub. Rec. Off.); data kindly supplied by British War and Admiralty Offices; Cannon, Record 7th Fusil., p. 24; Mac

Trailing a pair of guns, with matches burning, colors flying, drums beating, and fifes loudly screaming defiance as if nothing had occurred, they marched around the fort and drew up in line. Captain Lamb, with his picked men and a detachment from every regiment in the American army, passed them in front, and moved on to occupy the works. Then, at Preston's command, the British forces laid down their arms. 'Brave men like you,' said Montgomery, 'deserve an exception to the rules of war; let the officers and the volunteers take back their swords!' [38]

This done, the prisoners moved off to the bateaux. It was a hard moment for Preston, but Montgomery suffered no less, perhaps, for the colors long reverenced with a soldier's devotion lay now at his feet. ''T is a strange world, my masters,' he may well have thought again; and one of the captured officers before him was to prove it afresh. Stepping with a bold, martial air to the boats, a light, trimly built young lieutenant, with dark eyes and pink cheeks, floated away cheerily into his first captivity: his second was to begin less honorably and end less happily, for his name was André.[39] But such is the fortune of war; and not a few of the victorious army were to experience luck equally unexpected, within the space of a few weeks, in Canada itself.

Personal feelings and fortunes, however, signified little. What did count was the fact—illustrated broadly and in colors by this glorious little pageant—that British flags,

---

donald, Roy. Artill., *passim*; Clowes, Navy, III., p. 348; Robinson, British Fleet, pp. 407, 500. (No uniform is given the Emigrants here, because the author doubts whether they had had time to receive their equipment before the siege began.) Vivacious: Knox Papers, II., p. 21. Verreau (Berthelot), Invasion, p. 432. The order of the corps is inferential. REMARK XXIX.

[38] § See Note 37. Leake, Lamb, p. 116. [Lamb] to ——, Nov. 3, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1343. Montg.: Foucher, Journal.

[39] Apptd. Lieut. in 7th Foot, Sept. 24, 1771: MS Records, War Office, London. Portrait in oils, Corcoran Gallery, Wash., D. C.

British uniforms of many patterns, and a substantial force of British regulars had surrendered to American volunteers.

XVI

MORE VICTORIES

'BLESSED be God!' cried an American soldier at Laprairie, when he knew that St. Johns had fallen; and every patriot heart thrilled with joy. Captain Lamb went a step farther, and, in his ardent fashion, called this telling stroke 'a most fatal stab to the hellish machinations of the foes of freedom.' Schuyler, not so close to the enemy's guns, calmly hoped the 'happy event' would be 'followed by the reduction of all Canada.' The *habitants*, 'who could not think the Bostonians . . . were really in earnest, until they saw St. John's surrender,' took to heart the fine lesson in confidence. 'Where this will end, God knows!' exclaimed Hugh Wallace to Haldimand. Carleton, viewing the case from his elevation of thought, found some comfort in reflecting that for eight weeks the enemy had been checked, but he wrote sadly to Dartmouth, that his chief aims for the defence of the province were thus 'brought to a conclusion'; and obstinate Germain, though entrenched in royal favor beyond the seas, admitted that a 'fair prospect' had been 'clouded.' Yet St. Johns was after all the gate, not the castle; winter already began to blacken the sky and whiten the fields; the weaknesses of the American army had not all been conjured away; and Montreal, fortified and garrisoned, had still to be taken.[1]

[1] § Letter, Nov. 3, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1342. [Lamb] to ——, Nov. 3, 1775: ib., 1343. Sch. to Wash., Nov. 7, 1775: ib., 1395. Wallace: Can. Arch., B, 19,

Rich and influential, it was a stake worth an effort; and, in addition, the island city contained a prize greater than itself, as the gift upon the altar is greater than the altar: for Carleton was there. The Governor counted for more than all the walls in Canada, because a sword counts for more than a shield. Aside from him, what had the British cause? Cramahé, the Lieutenant-Governor, a functionary with the soul of a functionary, could write letters and sign pay-rolls. Maclean, a fearless officer yet only a lieutenant, could hold a post or execute an order. But the crisis called for a great will, a great mind, a great authority; some one to overawe weakness with a countenance of adamant; some one to give orders that all would accept as good; a fortress and an army in himself. Only one such man existed on the British side in Canada. That man was Carleton; and here was Carleton in Montreal, supported by hardly enough troops for an escort. With him, like a dower with a bride, were two thousand barrels of priceless gunpowder.[1]

But first a number of smaller matters required attention. Captured stores had to be looked after. Ammunition and equipment needed replenishing. Some of the troops laid aside their miserable guns and armed themselves with first-class muskets, lately the property of King George. The artillery and supplies necessary for the siege of Montreal were selected and made ready. Wagons had to be provided. Garrisons for St. Johns and Chambly had to be detailed, and the whole arrangement of the forces readjusted. Captain Cheeseman undertook to raise the two British vessels; and soon the

---

p. 141. Carleton to Dartmouth, Nov. 5, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 445. Germain to Tryon, Dec. 23, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 135, p. 747.

[1] Powder. Maclean to Barrington, Nov. 20, 1775 (War Off., Orig. Corres., Vol. 127).

schooner and floating battery emerged from their baptismal font as the *Yankee* and the *Douglas*.[3]

All these matters well in hand, the enemy could be remembered. The first touch of cold weather would see the Americans 'moving,' Brook Watson had opined; and certainly cold weather had arrived. Captain Lamb, sending a friend the news, told him that his 'fingers and senses were so benumbed with cold' that he could hardly write. A northeast wind from Iceland blew furiously up the St. Lawrence, and the snow fell fast. Watson was right. The Americans did move; but not as the 'sincere friend' had expected.[4]

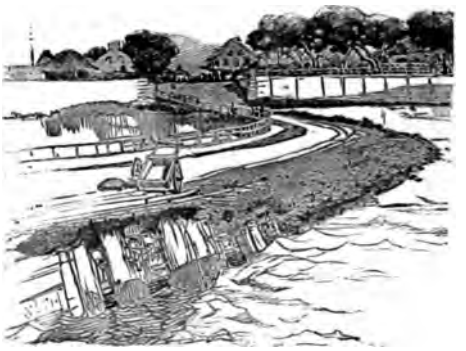
The very day St. Johns opened its gates (November 3), Easton's regiment, including the ever-active Major Brown, set off down the river amid the drifting snow. Livingston, with about one thousand Canadians, had already reached La Tours; but Montgomery wished to make sure of Maclean's discomfiture and—of something else as well. In three days Brown reached Sorel, and even crossed the St. Lawrence. Maclean, abandoned by his forced recruits, had put his troops on the schooner *Providence* and the snow *Fell*, waiting off the mouth of the Richelieu, and still clung to this point of his disappointed hope. But not long. Cannon, as well as troops, went down the river; and, on the morning of the eighth, opening suddenly on the *Fell* at less than six hundred feet, they 'plumped her through in many places,' as Brown phrased it, 'before she could tow off.' 'Oh Lord, oh Lord!' screamed the ashen darkies aboard. Even Captain Napier's hundred 'true tars' were glad to slip the cable; and Brown wrote headquarters the same day: 'We are

---

[3] § Trumbull, Journal, Nov. 3–7. Almon, Remembrancer, 1776, Part II., p. 134. Letter, Nov. 3, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1342.

[4] § Watson to Gov. Franklin, Oct. 19, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1601. [Lamb] to ——, Nov. 3, 1775: ib., 1343.

entirely at leisure; having swept land and sea.' Maclean in the *Fell* went down the St. Lawrence, and the *Providence*—transporting a part of the Fusiliers—proceeded to Montreal; but the Americans, expecting work to do by and by at Sorel, remained.[5]



THE MOLE, LAPRAIRIE, 1903

Montgomery knew of these hostile vessels; and, not aware how lightly they were armed, judged it necessary to move against Montreal by land. He intended the march to begin on the fourth, and perhaps a few of the men were able to set out. There were many difficulties, however; but, on the two following days, most of the troops that could find wagons for their baggage, headed by the First Yorkers, broke camp and filed off.

And what a march it was,—those eighteen miles to Laprairie! Twenty-five years before, Captain Stevens had described the greater part of the distance as 'a very miry swamp full of timber;' and the road, hastily built in the corduroy style, had now been dissolving, for over fifteen years, into a regular alternation of rotting logs and

---

[5] § (This paragraph and the next) Trumbull, Journal. J. Liv. to Montg., Nov. 5, 1775; 4 Force, III., 1341, 1359, etc.; Montg. to Sch., Nov. 3, 1775 (ib., 1302). Brown to Montg., Nov. 7, 8, 1775; ib., 1375, 1401. Carleton to Dartmouth, Nov. 5, 1775; Note 1. Legge to Dartmouth, Dec. 20, 1775; Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corr., N. Sco., Vol. 10, p. 84. Cannon; I. Allen, Vt., p. 64; Verreau (Sanguinet), Invasion, p. 57. Tars; Quebec Gazette, Oct. 5, 1775. Précis of Oper.

slimy mud-holes. The snow turned to rain. A tempestuous night left the ground 'in a manner drowned with Water,' as one man described it. In places, the mire was 'mid-leg' deep. Even Chaplain Trumbull, though considerably troubled about the spiritual condition of the troops, could not refuse to admire them. 'It was remarkable,' he noted in his Journal, 'It was remarkable to See the Americans after almost infinite Fatigue and Hardships marching on at this advanced Season, badly clothed, and badly provided for, to Montreal, pressing on to New Seiges and new Conquests.' 'In about four days we shall have either a wooden leg or a golden chain at Montreal,' wrote the picturesque Bedel; and forward they plunged.[6]

Not many years before, when Rigaud set out gaily for his long march against Fort William Henry, Montcalm accompanied him to Laprairie and gave a grand dinner there, at which thirty-seven gallants—brave comrades in arms—laughed, jested, quaffed the sunny vintages of their native land, and filled the hours with brave and sparkling wit. Now, one saw the same road, making straight for the St. Lawrence and running out a little distance on a mole of stones, where the Montreal boats came and went. One saw the same square stone fort, the same handful of low, wooden cottages mixed with a few of masonry,—all roughly stuccoed,—the same small church and convent, and, beyond the village, the same far-reaching meadows, the 'Prairie of Mary Magdalen.' But the spirit of Montcalm's day had passed. Another Laprairie, another world, greeted the Americans. Rain had turned to snow and then turned half-way back again. Deep slush

---

[6] § Montg. to Sch., Nov. 3, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1392. Bedel to N. H. Com. Safety, Oct. 27, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1207. [Lamb] to ——, Nov. 3, 1775: ib., 1343. Sch. to Hancock, Nov. 11, 1775: ib., 1520. Trumbull, Journal. Ritzema, Journal. Waterbury, Ord. Book. Barlow, Journal. 18 m.: Carroll, Journal, p. 91. Road: Stevens, Journal (N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll., V., p. 199). Liv., Journal, Oct. 19. Lacey, Memoirs, p. 199.

covered the ground, with deep mire under that. The air from the river pierced and chilled; and as for banqueting, the hungry Provincials could expect nothing better than a smoky Canadian living-room, 'a loaf of bread and a pan of milk,' flavored at best with a friendly look and a welcome in a foreign tongue.'

AN OLD FRENCH COTTAGE AT LAPRAIRIE

Cold, and grey, and stormy, the evening of the tenth saw the benumbed Americans crowding to the shore and peering eagerly toward the north. On both sides of the swift, eddying stream, lines of white cottages, growing smaller, fainter, and closer toward the vanishing point, led the eye on; and far yonder, about nine miles distant, when the storm ceased for a while, the miniature steeple of Bonsecours church just at the landing of the Laprairie boats, the two spires of Notre Dame a little higher, and the peaked towers of the Seminary hard by, could be seen fairly enough; and, now and then, one could make out the lofty but slender citadel. Smoke, writhing in the gusts of wind, ascended from many a chimney, betokening warmth

---

' § Parkman, Montcalm, I., p. 457. Barlow, Journal, Nov. 7. Trumbull, Journal. Bouchette, Descr. Topog., p. 137. Wilkinson, Memoirs, I., p. 40. Brown to S. Adams, Mar. 22, 1775. Mass. Arch., Vol. [illegible], p. 41. Letter, Nov. 3, 1775; 4 Force, III., 1542. A stone cottage that must have been standing in 1775 may still be seen.

and comfort below; and, little by little, as the veil of darkness hid more and more the evergreen slopes of Mount Royal behind the city, twinkling lights fluttered, vanished, and fluttered again through the delicate screen of masts. It was Montreal; Ville Marie; the city of pious romance; the city of delicate and graceful Jeanne Mance, of womanly, warm-hearted Marguerite Bourgeoys, of knightly Maisonneuve, of gallant Montcalm.[8]

But now it was the city of unyielding Carleton. 'An intrepid old fellow,' the Americans called him, wondering what he would do next. Yet they had no forebodings. Among them stood another man equally courageous, his gaze fixed upon Montreal. With glasses, indeed, the two champions might have looked each other in the eye. Both Irishmen, their paternal estates barely half a dozen miles apart, here they stood, with only a river between them, preparing to fight a duel for Canada, perhaps for America. Had anything been needed to give them zest for the struggle, here it was. As for the men, the actual sight of Montreal whetted their ardor afresh, and made their burdens light.[9]

At daylight the next morning—the weather still 'cold and Sower,' the ground white, rain and snow falling by turns—the troops ready to embark were quickly marshalled near the landing, and Canadians 'to Pilott them' attended. Several pieces of artillery, which Montgomery said he had 'ventured to borrow from His Majesty for the occasion,' had arrived the evening before; and what bateaux and boats could be found soon began transporting these, with the Second and Fourth Yorkers, Water-

[8] § Trumbull, Journal. Liv., Journal. Lossing, Sch., I., pp. 459, 460, note. Carroll, Journal, p. 92. Hopkins, Atlas. Bonsecours: Souvenir of Maisonneuve, p. 17. Seminary, etc.: Parkman, Montcalm, II., p. 371. Id., Jesuits, *passim*.

[9] § Letter, Nov. 3, 1775; 4 Force, III., 1242. Carleton was born at Strabane (Dict. Nat. Biog., IX., p. 93). See maps of north Ireland.

bury's men, and a part of Wooster's, to St. Paul's Island,[10] about six miles below, quite near the opposite shore. Montgomery and Wooster accompanied them, sharing the exposure of the wind-swept islet; and, on the morning of the twelfth, struggling against a rude gale and a swift current, they landed a mile or so above the town. Soon there were about twelve hundred of the troops on the north side,—as many as the boats could transport in anything like a body."[11]

The people of the suburbs, for one reason or another, had continued to show a particularly genial countenance towards the Americans, or at any rate a special backwardness toward the government. Not only had they refused to give up their ladders, but, at the instigation of James Price, they had declined to mount guard. Ethan Allen, to be sure, had found them wanting in his hour of need; but Montgomery, with twelve hundred veteran soldiers at his back, was a different story. Some of them went forward to meet the Americans; and before long an address was presented in due form to their leader.[12]

'Sir,' warbled the Three Suburbs, 'Sir, the darkness in which we were buried is at last dispelled: the Sun darts his beams upon us. Our yoke is broke. A glorious liberty, long wished for, has now arrived, and which we will now enjoy, assuring our sister colonies, represented by you, Sir, of our real and unfeigned satisfaction at our happy union.' Owing to their 'disloyalty,' these people had been treated for some time with open contempt by the Tories of Montreal; but now their end of the plank

---

[10] Now often called Nun's Island. It is just above the bridge. Thirteen bateaux came most of the way by land from Chambly: Lossing, Sch., I., p. 460, note.

[11] § Trumbull, Journal; Arnold's Ord Book, Nov. 10. Montg., Letter: Conn Gazette, Nov. 24, 1775. Ritzema, Journal. Barlow, Journal. Trumbull, Journal. Verreau (Sanguinet), p. 77. [illegible]: Knox to Wash., Nov. 27, 1775; Knox Papers, I., p. 174.

[12] § See p. 457. Verreau (Sanguinet), Invasion, pp. 61, 80. Lindsay, Can. Rev., Vol. II., No. 4, Feb., 1929.

appeared to be rising fast, and they added, with a satisfaction quite unfeigned: 'We abhor their conduct toward our brethren and friends.' From such a population hostilities needed not to be feared. None were offered; and the ragged Provincials, who 'outdid Falstaff's soldiers,' according to a trim British lieutenant, marched into the southern faubourg, and at last, folding their weather-stained and rotten tents, exchanged the porous walls of canvas for the boards and stone, the warmth and light of civilized homes. But the town itself was another affair; and the sentries, pacing the ramparts that night with shouldered muskets, appeared to give notice of a far different welcome.[1]

MONTREAL VIEWED FROM LAPRAIRIE

The city of Montreal, a narrow oblong, stood on a low ridge parallel with the St. Lawrence and sloping down quite evenly to the river's edge. All round it went a plastered stone wall eighteen feet high, 'consisting in general,' according to Captain Marr's description, 'of Curtains and Bastions,' reinforced—except on the water side—with a ditch about eight feet deep and a 'sort of a Glacis' beyond it, and surmounted by a parapet loopholed for musketry. On Schuyler's first appearance in Canada, General Prescott had ordered this wall repaired. At the lower end of the town, near the river, four buildings capable of making some defence grouped themselves round a sort of square: they were the barracks and store-

---

1 § Lindsay: Note 12. Verreau (Sanguinet), Invasion, p. 85. Barlow, Journal, Nov. 12.

houses. Near them a very steep mount,[14] partly natural and partly artificial, rose to a height of about sixty feet. From the top of this, an oblong redoubt called the citadel, one hundred and seventy-five feet long by sixty wide, constructed after the Conquest, swept with its twenty-four pieces not only the principal streets of the town, but also to some extent the glacis, the river, the suburbs, and the rising ground opposite the ridge. Apparently, these defences were substantial; and, in 1763, General Gage had reported that he did not think anything more needed to be done for the protection of Montreal than to keep the walls in repair and strengthen the citadel.[15]

In reality, however, the town had another very important means of defence. In order to keep fires alive through the long winter nights, it was customary to leave the great iron stoves full of wood on going to bed. Accidents could not fail to happen; and, to prevent the flames from spreading, the houses were divided with partitions of masonry and doors of iron almost half an inch thick, while the roofs had stone arches instead of rafters to support them. Added to these fortifications were double shutters, two outside doors of iron with a wooden door between them, and, in many if not most cases, heavy walls of stone. In short, a large and perhaps the greater part of the dwellings were almost forts. In such a place, determined men could make a powerful defence; and once more, as when Allen visited the island, the loyalists endeavored to unite the people for a stubborn resistance, crying, They have come to plunder our town.[16]

[14] Cut away by the Canadian Pacific Railroad.

[15] § Marr, Remarks: Can. Arch., M, 384. Stevens, Journal, p. 203. Royal Mag., Sept., 1760. Liv., Journal, Nov. 17. Repairs: Précis of Oper. Narrative: 4 Force, II., 1534. Pell, Diary, June 21: Mag. Am. Hist., 1878, p. 43. Hadden, Journal, p. 11. Gage, Report: Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 289, p. 35 (Précis of Fortif.). Mr. Thomas O'Leary, Director of the Hist. Mus., Château de Ramezay, Montreal, kindly gave the author valuable information.

[16] § Anburey, Travels, I., pp. 123, 124. Mr. O'Leary: Note 15.

But the walls of Montreal 'could only turn Musketry,' said Carleton; the ditch was narrow and dry; the revetment had long been crumbling; and the parapet measured only two feet in thickness. No covered way had been

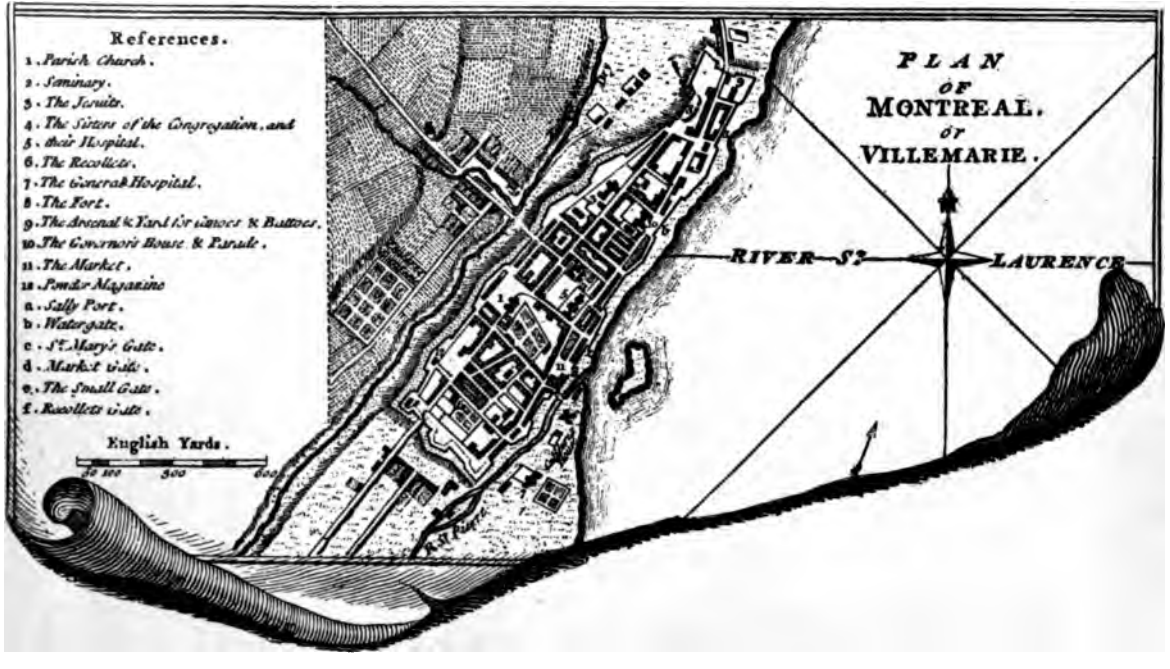
BONSECOURS CHURCH, MONTREAL

constructed. Many of the cut stones forming the outside of the gateways and sally-ports, had fallen out 'or been stolen.' At one point, the citizens had torn down a large section of the parapet in order to improve their view of

the country, and get up their firewood more easily; and, on each side of Market Gate, a pile of rubbish had mounted, some years before 1775, nearly to the top of the wall. In many places, the ramparts could be commanded from rising ground outside, and almost anywhere they could be enfiladed,—so Lieutenant Hadden of the Royal Artillery perceived at a glance. Yet that hardly mattered; for, as the Widow Benoist had written her brother when Schuyler first visited St. Johns, the walls were 'everywhere falling down.' As for the citadel, its parapet had the thickness and strength of two rotten logs; the cannon rode on mouldering carriages; and the whole edifice, a timber affair, had been stealthily invaded by decay. During the past weeks, efforts had been made to remedy this condition of things; but certainly one could not rebuild a city with few hands, little time, and many distractions.[17]

To make the houses into fortresses, required a breeze from Saragossa; and the wind was not blowing from precisely that quarter. When Carleton came up, on hearing that Schuyler had invaded the province, the city promised to defend him in case of attack (September 20); but, almost that very hour, Brown's party marched into Laprairie, and 'many thought it time to capitulate.' For the moment they were 'laughed out of this,' reported the Governor; but he found it necessary to add, a month later, that afterward 'the disobedience of this People encreased, & bore some proportion to the encrease of the Rebels on the opposite side of the River.' When rumors of Allen's coming spread in the town, 'it was very doubtfull if a Guard for the Gates cou'd be procured

[17] § Carleton to Shelburne, Nov. 25, 1767: Can. Arch., Q. 5, 1, p. 260. Chev. de Lévis, Journal, p. 304. Marr: Note 15. Hadden, Journal, p. 12. Verreau, Invasion, p. 309. Indian Trans.: Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 280, p. 9. (Based mainly upon Marr, who reported a few years before 1775; but the testimony of Benoist and others indicates that no substantial improvement had been made later.)



MONTREAL ABOUT 1775. FROM A CONTEMPORARY MAP

from the Militia the next day.' The New Englanders within the walls declined to do garrison duty, under the plea that they might be guilty of shooting a father or an uncle. One man declared that his conscience 'would fly in his face,' were he to help thwart the endeavors of the patriots to emancipate the province; and some took the ground that, as they had been entrusted with a great amount of merchandise belonging to others, they had no right to give the Americans an excuse for confiscating it, by taking up arms. In short, Montgomery had great reason to believe, about a fortnight after Allen's fiasco, that were he 'strong enough to send five hundred men to Montreal, it would certainly declare for us.'[18]

Some of the Tories, to be sure, had very strong convictions. 'If the Father, the Brother, the Uncle, and all of the relations be of the gang who have entered this Province in a hostile manner, Robbers and Plunderers, should they not be knocked in the head?' demanded 'Day-laborer' in the *Quebec Gazette;* but few, even of those who took up arms, felt quite so bloodthirsty. After Thomas Walker had been consigned to the schooner's hold, Prescott ordered Pascal Pillet, a militiaman, to pace up and down in front of his late residence as a guard upon Mrs. Walker; but Pillet replied that he would rather throw down his gun, though it belonged to himself, and let anybody take it 'who would consent to be so employed.' This hinted strongly of an independent spirit in even the loyal Canadians; and Prescott, not venturing to insist, concluded that after all 'it was hardly worth while to watch an old woman.'[19]

---

[18] § Promise: Oriet. in Tryon's letter to Dartmouth, Nov. 11, 1775 (Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 185, p. 628). Carleton to Dartmouth, Sept. 21, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 421. Id. to Id., Oct. 25, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 433. Letter from Montreal: Quebec Gazette, Oct. 19, 1775. Montg. to Sch., Oct. 6, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1095.

[19] § Montreal letter: Quebec Gazette, Oct. 19, 1775. Pillet: Maseres, Add. Papers, p. 108.

When St. Johns fell, the Governor saw little in Montreal to encourage him. The Indians took leave ; ' the remains of the Militia from the Parishes, deserted ; [and] the good Subjects in the Town [were] greatly frightened, both at the Rebels in open Arms without, & at those Traytors within, who by their art & insinuation were still more dangerous to the publick safety.' 'I have no doubt,' he added to this melancholy picture, ' but as soon as the Rebels land on this side they will give up the place on the best terms they can procure, unless troops arrive immediately'; and when the merchants, after holding a council, waited upon him to learn their fate, he told them to act as they saw fit.[20]

Accordingly, soon after the Americans appeared on the northern shore, the citizens assembled and sent four deputies to learn Montgomery's intentions.

'I come as a friend,' he answered, giving them four hours to consider the situation. But he did not stop there.

'My anxiety for the fate of Montreal,' he wrote the deputies, 'induces me to request that you will exert yourselves among the Inhabitants to prevail on them to enter into such measures as will prevent the necessity of opening my batteries on the town.' Painting 'the dreadful consequences of a bombardment,' he pressed them ' to take every possible step to soften the heart of the Governour ' ; and, replying to the talk of a sack, appealed to their own ' observation ' of the Americans ' conduct. The deputies requested him not to approach the town ; but he replied, 'My people are suffering from the cold,' and the troops began at once to enter the suburb. This made an uproar within the town, and some proposed to fire upon the intruders; but saner councils got the upper hand.

[20] § Carleton to Dartmouth, Nov. 5, 1775: Note 1. Merchants: Brown to Montg., Nov. 7, 1775 (4 Force, III., 1395).

Meanwhile terms of surrender took shape, and twelve of the principal citizens presented them. 'Haughty terms' they seemed to the conquerors of St. Johns; and Montgomery only answered, 'I will examine them and reply soon.' [21]

The terms were, in fact, regular articles of capitulation, and the American general could not reasonably grant them. James Price and a friend, so it was reported, slipping out the night before through an embrasure where Bindon stood on guard, had made a visit at St. Paul's Island; and certainly, however true this may have been, Montgomery understood the condition of the town. 'The city of Montreal,' he said, 'having neither ammunition, [adequate] artillery, troops, nor provisions, and having it not in their power to fulfill one article of the treaty, can claim no title to a capitulation.' Yet this did not mean that harsh measures were to be used. 'The Continental army,' he continued, 'have a generous disdain of every act of oppression and violence; they are come for the express purpose of giving liberty and security.' The General, therefore, engaged his honor 'to maintain in the peaceable enjoyment of their property, of every kind, the individuals and religious communities of Montreal.' Religious freedom was promised; and the inhabitants were to be compelled neither to take up arms against Great Britain nor to contribute for the costs of the present war. 'General Montgomery's behaviour in this country will gain him great honour,' commented a citizen of Quebec; and the Continental Congress wrote him, with emphatic thanks, that it would ever applaud its officers 'for beautifully blending the Christian with the conqueror, and never, in endeavoring to acquire the character

---

[21] § Verreau (Sanguinet), Invasion, p. 80. Knox to Wash., Nov. 27, 1775: Knox Papers, I., p. 174. Montg. to Montreal, Nov. 12, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1596.

of the hero, [permitting themselves] to lose that of the man.' [22]

At seven o'clock, Montgomery sent Price and two other delegates into the town to argue with the obstinate. All sensible people realized what must be done. By some, the army outside had been magnified to 'at least five thousand'; and the Americans among the townsfolk, for a day past, had been throwing their arms away. 'We have been grimacing long enough,' they said. Yet the debate lasted till midnight; and Price, though successful, gained the name of a harsh counsellor. [23]

At nine o'clock on the thirteenth, the American troops, taking possession of the Récollet Gate, were given the keys of all the public storehouses; and then, stepping proudly through streets that were 'stiffened with cold,' passed on to the barracks at the farther end. 'Dispatches for his Excellency General Washington; news . . . of Montreal; quiet submission of that city to the victorious arms of the United Colonies of America', soon announced the *New England Chronicle*. 'Of a certainty, the hand of God is upon thine,' exclaimed the devout. Montreal, the second city of Canada, had actually been taken. [24]

But not Carleton. Convinced, as indeed he reported to the Government, that 'the greatest part of the lower people would not act,' he had understood perfectly that with less than one hundred and fifty soldiers and a small fraction of the townspeople he could not possibly defend the long and rickety walls; and he had realized that it was no part of his duty to ensure the triumph of the

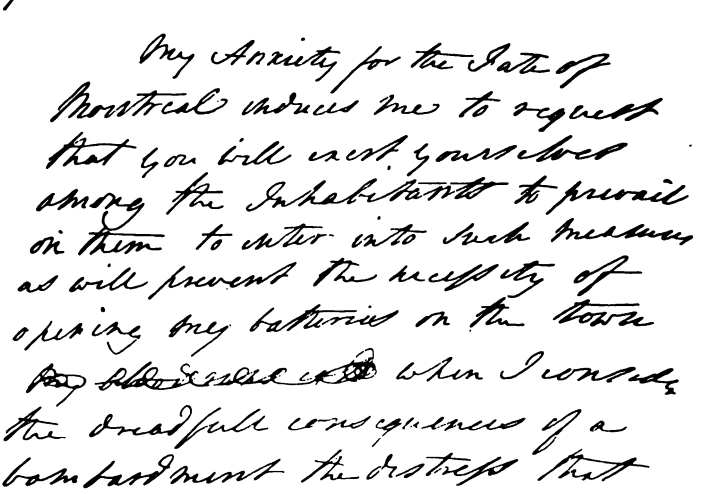
---

[22] § Articles: 4 Force, III., 1597; Can. Arch., B, 185, 1, p. 127. Verreau (Sanguinet), Invasion, pp. 80–83. Montg.'s reply, Nov. 12, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1597. Letter, Dec. 4, 1775: 4 Force, IV., 175. Hancock to Montg., Nov. 30, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1718.

[23] § Verreau (Sanguinet), Invasion, pp. 79, 80. Legge to Dartmouth, Dec. 29, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., No. Sco., Vol. X., p. 84.

[24] § Terms of possession: 4 Force, III., 1597. Waterbury, Ord. Book. Trumbull, Journal. Barlow, Journal. N. Eng. Chron., Nov. 24, 1775. Va. Gazette, Dec. 23, 1775.

enemy by throwing himself into their hands. His policy had been formulated eight weeks before: 'I shall spin out matters as long as I can, in hopes, that a good wind may bring us relief'; and now the best chance of prolonging the struggle lay in conducting 'the few troops that were at Montreal' to the defensible fortress of Quebec, and—what would count even more—getting there himself. When the Americans took possession of Longueuil and Laprairie,



FROM MONTGOMERY'S LETTER TO MONTREAL, NOV. 12, 1775

his official papers and the baggage of the troops were put on board the vessels; and, when the fall of St. Johns became known, the valuable military stores followed them. The rest of the stores were destroyed, the cannon in the citadel were spiked and rammed full of balls, and the bateaux that could not be taken away were demolished. Prescott ordered the barracks and storehouses burned; but, when some of the people represented to the

Governor that Montreal would take fire, were that done, Carleton countermanded the order.[25]

But the wind from Iceland could not waft his vessels toward Quebec; and, after the baggage was all embarked, they lay at their moorings as helpless as that marvel of nautical ingenuity, a ship in a bottle. The Americans appeared at Laprairie; the village and shore gradually overflowed with them; boats were seen veiling the bright sheen of the river; troops and cannon darkened the sere brown of St. Paul's Island; tents drifted it with snow; yet Carleton's fleet could not get away. To escape by land was impossible, for Americans had crossed from Sorel to Berthier and rallied large numbers of Canadians. Like a captive bound to the stake, the Governor waited,—'undoubtedly wrung to the soul,' wrote Captain Hamilton, who saw him there, by the disloyalty about him and his own helplessness, yet 'firm,' 'unshaken,' serene.[26]

Finally, however, about five o'clock in the afternoon (November 11), a 'tolerably fair' wind sprang up. One cannon-shot then startled the town. The infantry and a little squad of artillery formed in the barrack yard; a streak of red and a spot of blue-and-white passed down through fast-deepening shadows to the beach; the whole military establishment embarked,—many of the townsfolk looking on as at a funeral; anchors were hoisted; and the *Gaspé*, accompanied by two other armed vessels and eight smaller craft, slowly filled away.[27]

---

[25] § Carleton to Dartmouth, Nov. 5, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 445. Id. to Id., Sept. 21, 1776: ib., p. 421. Chance: Id. to Id., Nov. 20, 1775 (ib., p. 519). 150: Caldwell, Letter (Précis of Oper. says ninety). Verreau (Benoist), Invasion, p. 316. Indian Trans.: Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 280, p. 9. Inform. in Tryon's of Dec. 8, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 186, p. 105. Balls: Holt to S. Adams, Jan. 29, 1776 (S. Adams Papers). Verreau (Sanguinet), Invasion, p. 79. Trumbull, Journal, Nov. 14.

[26] § Carleton, Nov. 20, 1775: Note 25. Hamilton to Dartmouth, Aug. 29; Sept. 2, 1776: Can. Arch., Q, 12, p. 212.

[27] § Carleton, Nov. 20, 1775: Note 25. Montg. to Sch., Nov. 13, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1602 Barlow, Journal. Halsey in Conn. Gazette, Dec. 1, 1775. Précis of Oper. Verreau (Sanguinet), Invasion, p. 79. Caldwell, Letter.

I do Myself the Honor to congratulate
Your Excellency on the Surrender of Montreal
Inclose You Copy of the Terms that were proposed
and allowed as also Copy of sundry Letters from
a M. Brock Watson; & that of General Mont-
:gomery to me: to Congress I have only sent
Extracts of the last, for prudential Reasons. In

But this did not end the tale. The next day one vessel ran aground, 'which occasioned a considerable Delay,' explained the Governor. At evening the wind failed, and for more than two days the fleet had to lie at anchor. It was now about a league above Sorel, where the river narrowed and the channel of deep water flowed near the shore. Waiting grew tedious by the morning of the fifteenth; but presently ennui took flight, for cannon-balls began to fly among the vessels, and a floating battery was discovered, rowing slowly up the stream. Hastily enough, anchors came up, and the fleet retired. Not long afterwards, however, another visitor approached from below,—a small boat under a white flag. It carried Ira Allen; and presently he passed up a letter in the handwriting of Dr. Jonas Fay, formerly surgeon of the Ticonderoga expedition, signed by James Easton:[28]

'Sir, by this you will learn that General Montgomery is in Possession of the Fortress Montreal—You are very Sensible that I am in Possession at this Place, and that from the Strength of the United Colonies on both sides your own situation is Rendered Very disagreeable. I am therefore induced to make you the following Proposal, viz—That if you will Resign your Fleet to me Immediately without destroying the Effects on Board, You and Your men shall be used with due civility together with women & Children on Board—to this I expect Your direct and Immediate answer. Should you Neglect You will Cherefully take the Consequences which will follow——'

For once Carleton had been taken by surprise. He had not expected Montgomery to undertake anything below Montreal until that city had been secured; but in fact,

---

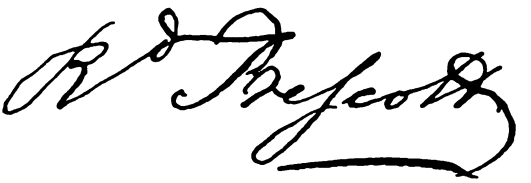
[28] § Carleton, Nov. 20, 1775: Note 25. Narrows: Mrs. Walker, Journal. I. Allen, Vt., p. 69. Easton to Carleton, Nov. 15, 1775: Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 323. Montg. to Sch., Nov. 22, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1684. J. Liv. to cousin, Jan. 25, 1819: Bancroft Coll. Carroll, Journal, p. 97. See also Note 29.

when his fleet approached Sorel, Easton and Brown had been working hard there for a week. The men 'were half-naked, and the weather was very severe,' said Montgomery, but they toiled and waited; and now they had the pleasure of seeing their enemy between the blades of the shears. Batteries were ready both on the shore and on St. Ignatius Island opposite Sorel; and three 12-pounders, a 9-pounder, and two sixes, with two row-galleys or floating batteries, one of which carried a 12-pounder, made a serious bar, for Carleton's heaviest metal was a pair of 9-pounders. Not only once but twice the fleet had to weigh anchor, after receiving more or less hurt, and retreat. In fact, it went back finally some fifteen or twenty miles, to the gently sloping shore of Lavaltrie. Every vessel towed a bateau and one or two small boats, in order that a landing might be made; but, when this was attempted, a party of Canadians appeared, and drove the British back. Meanwhile Montgomery—the other blade of the shears—was making every endeavor to close upon the fugitives. Cannon were scrambling into bateaux at Montreal, and half-thawed troops hurrying down by the shore. Carleton's pilots were mutinous. To make matters even worse, the commander of the ship which carried the gunpowder had declared, before leaving port, that he would surrender when the enemy touched off their first shot; and now, hearing that hot balls would soon be fired at the wooden magazine, both he and many others began to feel exceedingly restive. Plainly Easton had the right of it. Carleton's position was 'Very disagreeable' indeed.[29]

[29] § Carleton, Nov. 20, 1775: Note 25. Précis of Oper. Naked, etc.: Montg. to Sch., Dec. 5, 1775 (4 Force, IV., 188). Id. to Id., Nov. 17, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1633. Verreau (Sanguinet), Invasion, p. 87. Loizeau, Petition [May, 1779]: Board of War Papers, III., p. 409. Trumbull, Journal, Nov. 14–16. Montg. to Sch., Nov. 19, 1775: Sparks MSS., No. 60, p. 26. Walker, statement: 4 Force, IV., 1176–8. Id: Almon, Remembrancer, 1776, Part II., p. 244. Montg.'s orders to [Bedel], Nov. 16, 1775: Saffell, Records, p. 27. Caldwell, Letter. Knox to Wash., Nov. 27, 1775: Knox Papers, I., p. 174. REMARK XXX.

But that did not satisfy the Americans; and Major Brown, rowing with a flag to the embarrassed squadron, proposed that an officer come ashore the next morning and see for himself how positively hopeless the situation had now become. The offer was accepted, and a truce declared meanwhile.[30]

What did the officer find? Nobody has ever explained; but the remarks of the mesmeric 'Yankee' were happily preserved. 'This is my small battery,' he blandly remarked; 'and, even if you should chance to escape, I have a grand battery at the mouth of the Sorel, which will infallibly sink all of your vessels.' The efficacy of red-hot balls against a powder-ship was doubtless alluded to; and, for a concluding shot, Brown observed: 'Wait



a little, till you see the two 32-pounders that are now within half a mile'; but the officer already felt satisfied. Yet, said Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who passed the spot a few months later as a representative of Congress, 'His grand battery was as badly provided with cannon as his little battery, for not a single gun was mounted on either.'[31]

By this time the wind had changed; and the ships, favored by the current also, might perhaps have passed even the real battery and the row-galleys, for the cannon of '75 could not be served very rapidly. But the report of

[30] § I. Allen, Vt., p. 69. Carroll, Journal, p. 97.
[31] § Carroll: Note 30. REMARK XXX.

Brown's formidable preparations did its work; and, after the powder and cannon-balls had been dropped into the river, the whole fleet struck its colors on Sunday evening, November the nineteenth, to about the same number of soldiers that it had aboard. The next morning, Thomas Walker breathed free air again; and two days later the prisoners, after laying down their arms outside Market Gate at Montreal, filed away for a new home in the Colonies. 'I blush for His Majesty's troops!' commented Montgomery; and well he might. The word 'prudence' expresses a noble idea, but far from it when used by a coward. The man whom Easton described as 'Savage Prescott,' however, saw something quite different from a blush on the General's countenance: 'I have treated him with the sovereign contempt his inhumanity and barbarity merit,' said Montgomery.[32]

But again: not Carleton. 'The Governor escaped—more's the pity,' wrote the American leader. Thursday night (November 16) he 'with Difficulty' persuaded Bouchette, one of his captains, to risk a voyage past the American artillery. Dressing like a man of the people and attended only by one or two of his Canadian officers, he embarked in a whale-boat, and with muffled oars glided silently down the river. At the most critical point, laying oars aside, the men paddled with their hands; a secret channel through the islands opposite Sorel aided them; and in this wise the Destiny of Canada, disguised as a village boor, escaped from the shears.[33]

Montgomery had won, however. The forest, the lake,

---

[32] § Wind: Cramahé to Dartmouth, Nov. 19, 1775 (Can. Arch., Q, 11, p. 324). Verreau, Invasion, p. 87 (Sanguinet); p. 233 (Berthelot). Précis of Oper. Easton to Hancock, May 8, 1776: 4 Force, V., 1234. Walker: Note 29. Id., Memorial: Cont. Cong. Papers, No. 41, X., p. 665. Caldwell, Letter. Prisoners: 4 Force, III., 1694. Montg. to Mrs. M., Nov. 24, 1775: L. L. H[unt], Biog. Notes, p. 15.

[33] § Montg. to Mrs. M.: Note 32. Carleton to Dartmouth, Nov. 20, 1775: Note 25. Walker: Note 29. Verreau, Invasion, p. 87 (Sanguinet); p. 233 (Berthelot). Précis of Oper. Letter, Dec. 16, 1775: 4 Force, IV., 290.

St. Johns, Chambly, Maclean, Montreal, the Canadians, the Indians,—all had given way. Nothing lay between the victorious general and Quebec, the last Continental stronghold over which floated a British banner, save the magnificent current of the St. Lawrence ; and that was an onward current. Yet one question still remained. What would the Governor do now? Would he sail away to England? Or would he prove—like Washington retreating across New Jersey, like Wellington taking refuge behind the lines of Torres Vedras, like Bolivar escaping from Puerta—no less dangerous fleeing than fighting?

XVII

AMERICAN ARGONAUTS

AT the same time as General Schuyler's forces were assembling at the lakes, the main American army gathered and took shape; and, about the middle of August, while the axes and hammers filled the woods around Ticonderoga with ringing music, the camps before Boston made a long series of martial pictures, at once curious and impressive. 'Some,' wrote the Rev. William Emerson, 'are made of boards and some of sail-cloth. Some partly of one and partly of the other. Again, others are made of stone and tuff, brick or brush. Some are thrown up in a hurry; others curiously wrought with doors and windows, done with wreaths and withes, in the manner of a basket. Some are your proper tents and marquees, looking like the regular camp of the enemy.'[1]

There Charles Lee stalked about,—keen, sceptical, and careless, a clever but shallow adventurer, dazzling the simple Colonials with his wit and his cosmopolitan airs. There sturdy Thomas, Lee's antithesis, kept up watch and ward in unpretentious but true military order. There Nathanael Greene—his wonderful blue eyes flashing in a sun-browned face like a machete in the thicket, and his right leg, slightly stiffened by years at the anvil, dragging just perceptibly—marched his rounds of duty with an

[1] Emerson · Frothingham, Siege, p. 221.

air which revealed the born leader that he was. Active Sullivan, with Captain Dearborn's men and the other New Hampshire troops, guarded Winter Hill; and 'Old Put,' that strange compound of Sitting Bull and Little Red Riding Hood, uniformed in shirt-sleeves and a broad leathern sword-belt over his brawny shoulders, rode to and fro at Prospect Hill, thundering curses right, left, and in front on his delighted yeomen, with rough but fatherly good-will.[2]

At the centre of the line, in Colonel Vassall's mansion, Cambridge, on the right of the open door as one entered, beat the heart of the camp. The morning parade on the Common was over; the Grand Guard, breaking up into small bodies, had marched off to the sound of drum and fife toward the appointed stations; and Sullivan had come to headquarters to report. Bustling Mifflin and alert young Trumbull, the soldier-artist—Washington's two aides-de-camp—greeted and speeded the callers. Joseph Reed's handsome face (he was the private secretary) bent over a letter. Gates, the adjutant-general, buried his long nose in voluminous papers, without forgetting, however, to display suitably his well-rounded figure. Behind all these, with his back to the cavernous fireplace, gazing resolutely into the awful problem of making war without gunpowder, towered the majestic presence in blue and buff that overwhelmed Howe's adjutant-general,—

His Excellency, George Washington, Esquire, Commander-in-chief of the American forces. And meanwhile, a strange contrast to all the activity,

[2] § Drake, Mansions, pp. 149, 192, 216. Coffin, Thomas, p. 16. Greene, N. Greene, p. 29. Cutter, Putnam, pp. 192, 362. Tarbox, Putnam, p. 322.

hopes and fears of the camp, one Benedict Arnold, sallow, grim, and apathetic, rode slowly in from Watertown, and sullenly dismounted at headquarters.[3]

The shuttlecock of fortune he certainly had been of late. His plan had succeeded, but he himself had failed. Major Caldwell, the stubborn royalist at Quebec, had praised the 'diligence spirit and secresy' of his operations; but the authorities that appointed had disowned him. 'He ought to be made use of, not to provide for him merely, but to take advantage of those abilities, and activity of which I am sure he is possessed,' wrote Silas Deane after his brother had visited the lakes and reported on the troubles there, and Schuyler trusted him to enlighten the Continental Congress as to the situation in that field; but the Massachusetts authorities had endorsed the action of Spooner's committee, and—as if to burn the victim with his own fat—justified making him subordinate to Hinman by the remark that, 'The affairs of that expedition began in the Colony of Connecticut,' though apparently it was he himself that set them going.[4]

At the lakes, he had drawn upon his own pocket and credit for the public service, and borrowed a surtout of Price to keep himself warm, while his extensive business interests got on as they could, his wife died, and little Benedict, his eldest son,—'eager to hear everything relating to his papa,' as Aunt Hannah wrote—got very little news that could rejoice a father's heart. On his return home, an attack of the gout prostrated and tortured him. Summoned by the Massachusetts authorities,

---

[3] § This mansion became known later as the Craigie House. Drake, Mansions, pp. 208, 247, 295, 303, 304, 320. D. Dudley, Diary, pp. 26, 31. Headley, Wash. and his Generals, I., pp. 200, 202; portrait of Gates. Reed, J. Reed, I., frontis., and p. 105. Frothingham, Siege, p. 241. Thacher, Mil. Journ., p. 37. For Arnold, see below. The scene is constructive.

[4] § Caldwell to ——, May —, 1775: MSS. of Marq. of Lansdowne, Vol. 66, fo. 97. S. Deane to Sch., Aug. 29, 1775: Sparks MSS., No. 60, p. 5. Sch.: Arnold to Congress, July 11, 1775 (ib., No. 52, II., p. 31). Journ. Mass. Cong., July 6, 1775. Mass. Cong. to Arnold, May 22, 1775: 4 Force, II., 676.

almost like a delinquent debtor, to settle his accounts, he mounted as soon as he was able to ride, left a brig waiting for her cargo, and posted off to Watertown. There fresh humiliations befell him. Seemingly, the Congress took out of his hands the adjustment of the men's wages, and gave their money to the individual captains. Arnold had purchased some livestock to keep the garrison at Ticonderoga from starving, and it could hardly be supposed that he carried it off to New Haven in his saddlebags; but the stern authorities would allow him no credit under that head without a voucher from his rival and enemy, Easton. In a word, the Continental Congress paid him $800 and more a few months later to rectify this harsh settlement. When it was over, Arnold—had his temper been ever so amiable—might well have felt like a bear robbed of claws and fur as well as of whelps; and certainly he was not the man to accept such trials with undue mildness.[5]

HEADQUARTERS, CAMBRIDGE

But now the battledore struck again; and, where he most desired yet perhaps least expected it, the ruined leader discovered a friend. Washington himself listened to his tale and answered it with sympathy. Had Arnold

[5] § Arnold to Mass. Com., June 24, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1598. Arnold to Price, July 25, 1775: Emmet Coll. Mrs. Arnold and Benedict, Jr.: I. N. Arnold, Arnold, p. 47. Gout, etc.: H. Arnold to Deane, Feb. 1, 1776: Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., II., p. 356. Mass. Com. to Arnold, June 23, 1775: Journ. Mass. Cong., p. 720. Settlements with Mass. Capts.: REMARK V. Livestock: 4 Force, II., 1600; III., 344. Journ. Cong., Jan. 22, 1776.

been impetuous, headstrong, self-willed, rash? So had he. He, too, had struggled with set prejudice, with cabals, with wrong-headed and obstinate men. He, too, had been slandered; for all France had called him an assassin and all England a swashbuckler. He, too, had been under-esteemed; and he, too, feeling outraged by the authorities, had resigned a commission in disgust. As yet, Arnold had not revealed his essential want of principle. Washington had nobly corrected his own early excesses of temper: why should not another do the same. Men of initiative, energy, courage, and executive ability, men who could do things, were rare and precious. Washington needed them. He felt little disposed to throw one of that quality away. Yet every post had been filled; what could he do for Arnold?*

He could do much; indeed, everything. For years, and—one may say—for ages, a key to fame exactly suited for the Colonel's powerful and audacious grip had been fashioning; and it now lay ready in Washington's hand.

As early as the year 1682, a French map—still preserved at Paris in the Navy Department—suggested a route between Canada and the seaboard by the Chaudière and Kennebec rivers; and, from that day on, the fact of this natural highway glimmered and faded, but on the whole gradually brightened, in charts and reports. Indians roamed through the wilderness, and some of them could roughly sketch the region or tell a white man how to do so. Deserters, traders, and missionaries visited it, and through their eyes new details filtered slowly into the cartographers' draughting-rooms. While Governor of Massachusetts Bay (1757–1760), Pownall became interested in the subject, and—distrusting the prevalent opinions about the route—had it carefully inspected. As

* § There is no proof that Arnold told his story to Wash., but one cannot doubt that he did so. See the biogs. of Wash.: e. g., Lodge, I., Chap. III.

soon as the conquest of Canada had been secured (1760), General Murray determined to know the truth ; and, the very next year, he despatched John Montresor, an able officer destined to become the King's Chief Engineer for America, to make a thorough reconnaissance. With a party of Indians, Montresor accomplished his task, drawing a map and writing a topographical journal of his trip. And meanwhile, or probably a little later, Samuel Goodwin, a Kennebec surveyor, made further investigations from the southern side.[7]

A military use of the route suggested itself early. In 1697, Iberville proposed to attack Boston by way of the Chaudière, 'bursting from the woods with a thousand Canadians and six hundred regulars,' as he pictured it in a *Mémoire*. Five years later, St. Castin took up the plan, and offered to undertake the expedition with fourteen hundred good men. 'This river,' said Governor Pownall, speaking of the Kennebec, 'This river, in the Year 1754 and 1755, was talked of as a Rout by which an Army might pass, the best and shortest Way, to attack Canada and Quebec' ; and we know that, in December of the latter year, Shirley of Massachusetts definitely proposed, in a council of governors held at New York, to menace Quebec by this avenue.[8]

When trouble between Great Britain and the Colonies began to loom up, many eyes turned hither as well as toward Lake Champlain. Carleton thought of the pass, and stationed what he called 'a very slender Guard' on the upper Chaudière.[9] People in thriving Falmouth—now Portland, Maine—little dreaming of the destruction approaching their fair town from the sea, dreaded an

[7] For further information about 'the route before Arnold' the reader may consult Smith, Arnold's March, Chap. I. REMARK XXXI.

[8] Lossing, Sch., I., p. 127 : Parkman, Montcalm (ed. of 1899), I., p. 394.

[9] Carleton to Dartmouth, June 26, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, II p 309.

incursion from the north, and sent a party across the height of land to 'ascertain if any Frenchmen were in motion or any of the savages were preparing to ravage the frontier settlements.' [10] Finally, in the spring of 1775, Colonel Jonathan Brewer of Massachusetts, with orthographic if not with strategic originality, offered the Congress of his Colony to lead five hundred volunteers against Quebec by this way, begging 'leave to apprehend that Such a Diversion of the Provincial Troops into that part of Canada Would be the Means of Drawing the Governor of Canada With his troops into that Quarter, and Which would effectually Secure the Northern and Western Frontiers from any Inroads of the Regular or Canadian Troops this he Humbly Concieve he Could Execute With all the Feility Imaginable.' [11]

FROM THE OLD MAP IN THE NAVY DEPARTMENT, PARIS

This letter, containing a serious proposition from an officer of rank, supported by a very interesting argument, must almost certainly have been made known to the Commander-in-chief, especially as his quarters were almost next door to the habitation of the Massachusetts Congress; and apparently Washington— for Arnold had

---

[10] Williamson, Maine, II., p. 418. Journ. Mass. Cong., p. 227. Smith, Journal, Apr. 30, 1775. Report: 4 Force, II., 1464.

[11] The letter is undated; but it is filed in the Mass. Archives (Vol. 146, p. 94) as of May, 1775, and must—from internal evidence—have been written between April 23 and July 19 of that year.

had no occasion to post himself on the esoteric topography of northern Maine — desiring to place this bold unfortunate in a position of usefulness, mentioned the possibility of the plan to him, as a far more promising leader for it than Brewer.[12]

Arnold seized upon it greedily, for it meant that his burning desire to invade Canada, frost-bitten by Spooner's committee, might yet come to fruition in a style even more brilliant than his dreams, and that he, now disgraced and blasted in his chief ambitions, might at one stroke rival or eclipse the immortal Wolfe; while Washington for his part, after pondering upon the subject 'for several days,' despatched an express to Schuyler on the twentieth of August and laid the project before him. Carleton, he wrote, 'must either break up and follow this party to Quebec, by which he will leave you a free passage, or he must suffer that important place to fall into our hands.'[13] Evidently the General saw value in the idea, yet felt that Schuyler's reply might veto it. Unless the western army were to advance, the Kennebec expedition would be absurd. 'If you are resolved to proceed,' wrote Washington.

But there were many other questions to consider, and Arnold took them up with energy. By good fortune Reuben Colburn, a smart, enterprising, and thrifty resident of the Kennebec valley, was just then at Cambridge. Familiar with the river and owning a shipyard, he could answer many inquiries offhand, and no doubt he did so; but, in order to make no mistake, Arnold wrote him a letter the day after Washington's express rode westward, and requested him to supply certain exact and final data. 'His Excellency General Washington,' so this letter began, desired him to inform himself how soon there could

[12] REMARK XXXII.
[13] Wash., Writings (Ford), III., p. 86.

this he Humbly Conceives he Could Execute
With all the Fidility Imaginable — he
therefore begs that this Honble Assembly Would
take this his proposal into Consideration
and to act therein as in their Wisdom
shall Seem meet,

Jno J Brewer

be ' procured, or built, at Kennebec, Two hundred light Battoos [bateaux] Capable of Carrying Six or Seven Men each, with their Provisions & Baggage (say 100 wt. to each man),' with oars, paddles, and poles to correspond. He was also to inquire 'what quantity of Fresh Beef' could be had there and the price; find out whether nails enough could be procured in that region, and 'get particular Information from those People who had been at Quebec, of the Difficulty attending an Expedition that way,' the depth of water in the river, the number and sort of places where the boats would have to be carried overland, and 'every other Intelligence' which he judged necessary, sending all to the Commander-in-chief in writing ' as soon as possible.'[14]

August the fourteenth, Colburn had brought into the lines at Cambridge Chief Swashan and four other Indians of the St. Francis tribe, decked out with massive earrings and wampum collars, and had been ' honorably recompenced for his Trouble.' Apparently, as the smoke of their village darkened the St. Lawrence far above Quebec and yet they had reached Cambridge with a resident of the Kennebec valley, they had made their journey by way of the Canadian capital and the pass of the Chaudière. Minus the discount always due on Indian accounts, their statements were evidently of the greatest value, and no doubt Arnold as well as the General-in-chief examined them closely.[15]

But it was not enough to know the route. What would be found at the end of it? A fortress, no doubt; but a fortress undefended,—so all accounts agreed. The captured returns of the King's forces in Canada had told

---

[14] Smith, Arnold's March, p. 75. REMARK XXXIII.

[15] § Wash. to Sch., Aug., 15, 1775: Writings (Ford), III., p. 84; Id. to Id., Aug. 20, 1775: ib., p. 86. Essex Gazette, Aug. 24, 1775. See also Force, III., 339. St. F. Inds. Parkman, Montcalm, I., p. 480.

officially how many troops guarded the province in May; reports from the country near Montreal showed that substantially all of them had been drawn to that quarter; and no arrival of reinforcements had been reported. 'Some very late Intelligence hath been received at Head-Quarters, this Week, from Canada,' said the *Essex Gazette* at the beginning of August, 'the Substance of which is, that . . . Quebec and Montreal have been left quite bare of Troops, except a small Guard at each Place.' At the same time, Louis, a chief of the Caughnawagas, who was examined at Cambridge, declared that only a sergeant and five privates had remained at the capital. Possibly there were still other sources of information. 'Arm'd strangers had appear'd in some of the Parishes below Quebec,' wrote Ainslie in his Canadian Journal; 'they disappear'd suddenly—nobody knew their business—it was conjectur'd that they came to learn the sentiments of the Country People, & the state of Quebec.' At all events, Arnold found considerable information within reach, made plans for the suggested expedition, and submitted them in writing.[16]

He grew impatient, however. Not a wealthy man, he realized that his business interests were drifting into a very bad shape. Days and weeks had already flown past at Cambridge. The brig still waited for its cargo. The settlement of his accounts had left him nearly $1000 poorer in ready money than he should have been. A vessel of his, which had set out on a long voyage—doubtless before he left New Haven in April—and was to drop anchor at Quebec, would probably be seized there to atone for his conduct at the lakes. Without Schuyler's earnest co-operation the expedition could not be set on

---

16 § See p. 23. Essex Gazette, Aug. 3, 1775. Louis: 4 Force, III., 301. Ainslie, Journal (Introd.). Gates to Arnold, Aug. 25, 1775: Hist. Mag., Dec., 1857, p. 372.

foot, and very likely Arnold had but little faith in that quarter. At best, consulting the western army meant a delay of two weeks; and the Colonel, however eager for the enterprise, after boiling all these facts down—together with his previous bad luck, the influence of his enemies, and perhaps Washington's prudent reserve—in a hot and agitated mind, felt strongly tempted to drop the whole scheme and go about his business.[17]

But the Commander-in-chief, though seemingly cool, was deeply in earnest about the project. The more he thought of it, the more it appealed to him; and the few whom he consulted, approved it warmly. As a military step, it seemed to have many fair chances in its favor; the political value of so brilliant a stroke to the uncertain and fickle fortunes of a popular movement still uncrystallized, seemed no doubt enough to justify all the risks; and it appeared peculiarly unwise to dismiss an officer like Arnold from the service in such a mood. Very likely, too, personal good-will counted for something with the General; and Gates, who had formed a warm attachment for their stormy but ardent visitor, doubtless wished him to have this grand opportunity to re-establish himself. On the twenty-fourth of August, the Adjutant-General had a talk with Arnold, and they parted with the understanding that the Colonel would not give the matter up until Schuyler had been heard from; but the next day, in order to prevent all chance of mistake, Gates wrote by direction of 'your Friend,' the General, requesting him formally to 'resolve to wait the return' of Washington's express, and to answer his 'affectionate Humble Servant,' the Adjutant-General, 'by the Bearer.' So Arnold waited.[18]

[17] § II Arnold to Deane: Note 5. To Quebec: Ainslie, Journal, Apr. 25. Gates to Arnold: Note 16.

[18] § Wash. to Sch.: Note 13. Botta, War of Indep., I., p. 401. Gates to Arnold: Note 16.

In due time, Schuyler's reply made its way across the hills, and it proved to be all that Arnold, Gates, and Washington desired. Montgomery had just cut the Gordian tangle of his doubts by ordering the troops aboard for St. Johns, and Schuyler was entirely satisfied for the moment 'of the necessity of penetrating into Canada without delay.' 'Your Excellency will easily conceive that I felt happy to learn your intentions, and only wished that the thought had struck you sooner,' was the pith of his reply. Quebec, he added, had not more than a single company for garrison. This letter, savoring little of the fresh doubts and the disposition to retreat which Schuyler was soon to betray at St. Johns and Nut Island, made the Kennebec expedition a certainty. Action became the watchword. Business interests fell from Arnold's thoughts as wraps fall from an athlete when the race is called. Taking no time for even the hastiest visit home, he threw himself with all his force into the bold undertaking, and once more he showed himself the tireless and fearless chief,—Lucifer before his fall.[19]

BENEDICT ARNOLD, 1776

At this point, Colburn was again in Cambridge, doubtless to bring the information called for by Arnold's letter; and, without loss of time, he received final orders from Gates on September the third, 'by the Generals command.' Go, said the paper, 'with all Expedition to Gardnerstone upon the River Kenebec and without Delay

[19] § Sch. to Wash., Aug. 27, 1775; 4 Force, III., 442.

proceed to The Constructing of Two Hundred Batteaus, to row with Four Oars each; two Paddles & Two Setting Poles to be also provided for each Batteau.' Further, he was to 'bespeak all the Pork, and Flour' he could find, to 'acquaint The Inhabitants, that the Commissary', who was immediately to go down from Cambridge, would have orders for the purchase of 'Sixty Barrells of Salted Beef,' and to organize a company of twenty 'Artificers, Carpenters, and Guides' for service on the expedition.[20]

Next, for troops and equipment. Many a good soldier hastened to offer himself. The difficulties of the trip—especially for a large body of men—were by no means understood. Washington, 'after all possible inquiry,' described the route officially to Congress in terms that resembled the truth 'only as mist resembles' a thunderstorm: 'From the mouth of Kennebeck River to Quebeck, on a straight line, is 210 miles. The river is navigable for sloops about thirty-eight miles and for flat-bottomed boats about twenty-two miles. Then you meet Jaconick [i. e. Taconic or Ticonic] Falls, and from Jaconic Falls to Norridgewock as the river runs, thirty-one miles; from thence to the first carrying place, about thirty miles; carrying place four miles, then a pond to cross, and another carrying place, about two miles to another pond; then a carrying place about three or four miles to another pond; then a carrying place to the western branch of Kennebeck River, called the Dead River; then up that river, as it runs, thirty miles, some small falls and short carrying places around them intervening; then you come to the height of the land, and about six miles carrying place, into a branch which leads

[20] § It will be noted that the express took about a week to reach Albany. An equal allowance of time for the return trip brings him back to Cambridge on or just before Sept. 3. In fact, he probably arrived late on Sept. 2. (See Wash. to Trumbull, Sept. 2, 1775: 4 Force, III., 632.) Orders: Arnold's March, p. 76.

into Ammeguntick Pond [i. e. Lake Megantic], the head of the Chaudière River, which falls into the St. Lawrence River about four miles above Quebeck."[21]

As the Commander-in-chief wrote Schuyler, the land carriage seemed 'too inconsiderable to make an objection,' and water has always been regarded as a yielding element. It looked, indeed, as if nature had cut a groove through the wilds expressly for the expedition; and not only was there little beyond the usual danger of war and the usual hardships of a wilderness journey to give the enterprise an ugly look, but much could be seen to brighten it. Quebec stood far to the north, and the name sounded very cool in the sultry dog-days of August. Some, deserters from the British camp, longed to place a few more leagues between themselves and the firing squad. To others, illness appeared more threatening than bullets; and Langdon was informed by a correspondent later that Captain Dearborn, a physician, had like many others 'gone to Canada for no other reason than to avoid the Sickness of our Camp, and dread of the general Hospital.' Ennui had terrors less real, perhaps, but no less keenly felt. 'Do write som newes we are starving for want of it,' appealed Mrs. Judge Reeve to her brother, Aaron Burr, then at Cambridge; and he could only repeat the same old story: waiting for enemies that did not come. The expedition was called a secret one; but the transparent veil of mystery only made it the more interesting; and the very boldness of the plan—a lunge straight at the enemy's heart—had a challenge and a charm for brave men. Some hard fighting there might be; but after Ticonderoga anything seemed possible, if only daring enough. Slender young Burr himself, since coming to Cambridge with his friend Ogden, bringing a strong letter

[21] § 4 Force, III., 763. Carrying-place or portage: a place where boats are transported overland from one piece of water to another.

of introduction to the Commander-in-chief from Hancock, and firmly persuaded—though only a lad of nineteen years—that his orb of glory shone above the battlefield, had worried himself from ennui into a fever; but, on learning of this expedition, he instantly sat up in his bed, then decided he was well enough to dress, and then announced that he was going.[22]

The name of the leader had its attraction, too. The favor of Washington doubtless cancelled the tales of his enemies, and everything to his credit passed current. Dorothy Dudley and the rest of the ladies in Cambridge loved to gossip about a man whom they described as 'daringly and desperately brave, sanguinely hopeful, of restless activity, intelligent and enterprising,' and—no doubt some demurely added with truth enough—gay and gallant; and the soldier lads told one another admiringly how he marched through the wicket-gate at old Ticonderoga shoulder to shoulder with Ethan Allen; how he threatened to break into the magazine at New Haven, when his company wanted to set out for Cambridge; and even how he used to astonish the other boys, years before, by seizing the rim of the great mill-wheel and going round with it through water and through sky. To these influences, honest patriotism was added; and, as the effect of one or all, the October muster-rolls came in well sprinkled with the entry: 'Gone to Quebec'; while in other cases it was the company that had gone, and the sprinkling named those who, for one reason or another, had stayed behind. In this way ten companies of infantry enlisted for the expedition.[23]

---

[22] § Wash. to Sch.: Note 13. Deserters: Senter, Journal, Oct. 1, 1775. Jackson to Langdon, Sept. 16, 1775: Letters by J. Bartlett, etc., p. 28. Mrs. Reeve to Burr, Sept. 2, 1775: Am. Antiq. Soc. Secrecy: Huntington to Trumbull, Sept. 6, 1775 (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., Ser. V., Vol. IX., p. 501); Humphrey, Journal (Sept. 9). Burr: Hancock to Wash., July 19, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1689. Parton, Burr, I., p. 68.

[23] § Dudley, Diary, pp. 36, 37. I. N. Arnold, Arnold, p. 22. Mass. Muster

Orders for Mr. Reuben Colburn of Gardinerstown upon the River Kennebeck in the Province of Massachusetts Bay—

Given at Head Quarters Cambridge this 3d day of September 1775

By His Excellencies Command

Horatio Gates Adjt Genl

G. Washington

Yet these men, however choice, were not the flower of the little army. On the fourteenth of June, the Continental Congress had ordered the raising of six companies of expert riflemen in Pennsylvania, two in Maryland, and two in Virginia, all 'to march as soon as completed to the army near Boston, and serve as light infantry.' This call aroused the liveliest enthusiasm among the brave and hardy marksmen of the frontier. 'Most of the expresses had to ride three or four hundred miles to the persons who were ordered to raise the troops,' declared a Philadelphia letter-writer in August, yet 'the men to the amount of 1430, instead of eight hundred, were raised, compleatly armed, (most of them with their own rifles,) and accoutred for the field with such expedition, as to join the army at Cambridge, one company on the 25th day of July and eight more on the 5th and 7th instant, all of which had marched from four to seven hundred miles. All this was performed in less than two months, without a farthing of money being advanced by the continental treasury.' Tall Hendricks, gentle but fearless, described by a soldier as 'mild and beautiful' of countenance, led one of the Pennsylvania corps; handsome and martial Smith commanded another; and a third clump of nearly one hundred long rifles marched—or rather, flew—from the Old Dominion at the back of a mighty man of valor indeed, the famous Daniel Morgan.[24]

Splendid specimens of athletic manhood were these full-blooded, high-spirited young bucks. Many stood more than six feet in height; all had been schooled by forest and stream, by deer, wolf, and eagle. What they knew,

---

Rolls. Henshaw, Ord. Book, Sept. 5, 1775: Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., Oct., 1876. REMARK XXXIV.

[24] § Journ. Cong. Boston Gazette, Sept. 4, 1775 (see the same for Aug. 14, 1775). Henry, Journal, p. 12. Graham, Morgan, p. 54.

they knew exceedingly well,—knew as a matter of life or death. Brain, eye, hand, and foot were true allies, already proved sure at many a hazardous instant.[25]

One recognized the riflemen as far away as they could be seen. 'They take a piece of Ticklenburgh, or tow cloth that is stout,' wrote Silas Deane to his wife, 'and put it in a tan-vat until it has the shade of a dry or fading leaf; then they make a kind of frock of it, reaching down below the knee, open before, with a large cape. They wrap it round them tight, on a march, and tie it with their belt, in which hangs their tomahawk.' Beside the tomahawk hung a long, glittering blade called a scalping-knife. Those who could obtain them, wore leggins and moccasins, decked out most likely with beads and brightly dyed porcupine quills in the Indian style, for—said a rifleman—it was their pet fashion to 'ape' the savages. Their heads found shelter under small, round hats, adorned with a high tuft of deer's fur in the shape of a buck's tail; and the hat or the bosom of the frock bore this redoubtable legend: 'Liberty or Death.'[26]

But the essential distinction of these men lay in their heavy rifles and in the way they handled them. Like the long-bow archers of Henry VIII., they began to shoot so young that such work became like walking or breathing. The Virginians, it is said, had been punished in boyhood for hitting game anywhere except in the head, and those from Pennsylvania seem to have been no less expert. 'A correspondent informs us,' reported a Philadelphia paper, 'that one of the gentlemen appointed to command a company of Rifle Men, to be raised in one of our frontier counties, had so many applications from the people in his

---

[25] § Thacher, Mil. Journal, p. 33. Henry, Journal, p. 11, etc.

[26] § Deane, June 3, 1775: Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., II., p. 252. Thacher, Mil. Journal, p. 33. Henry, Journal, p. 11. Essex Inst. Hist. Coll., XXXIII., p. 249. Graham, Morgan, p. 63.

neighbourhood to be enrolled for the service, that a greater number presented than his instructions permitted him to engage, and being unwilling to give offence to any, thought of the following expedient, viz. He, with a piece of chalk, drew on a board a figure of a nose of common size, which he placed at the distance of 150 yards, declaring that those who could come nearest the mark should be enlisted; when 60 odd hit the object.' '*General Gage*,' added the editor, '*take care of your nose!*' Doubtless, like all popular marvels, their dexterity grew in the telling; but the British called 'these shirt-tail men, with their cursed twisted guns,' 'the most fatal widow-and-orphan makers in the world,' while an enthusiastic officer in their own body described them concisely as 'beautiful boys, who knew how to handle and aim the rifle.'[27]

Like all others, they had the defects of their qualities, and first of all—as one of them said—they were 'unused to the discipline of a camp,' or indeed to any discipline at all. Though honest, good-hearted, and well-meaning, they were untamed and almost untamable. Even young Henry, already devout and afterward a judge, had volunteered without his father's knowledge. Morgan, prince of them all, came probably of religious and educated stock, but in deep disgust he had left his parents as a boy, and battled his own wild way on the frontier like a modern cowboy in Arizona. Once, it was said, while he occupied a very humble position in the Virginia service, his captain had a difficulty with a famous pugilist, and all hands agreed that at the first halt fists would have to decide it. But at dinner time young Morgan protested.

'You are our Captain,' he explained, 'and if the fellow whips you, we shall all be disgraced. Let me fight him;

[27] § Drake, Mansions, p. 88. Essex Gazette, July 27, 1775. Henry, Journal, p. 144.

L.Megantic
QUEBEC
Harrisons Falls
R.
Mt.Bigelow
Great Carrying Place
Rangeley Lakes
Carritunk Falls
River
Norridgewock Falls
Bombazee Rips
Skowhegan Falls
Sebasticook R.
Ticonic Falls
Fort Halifax
Androscoggin R.
Fort Western (AUGUSTA)
Kennebec R.
Gardiner's Mill
Colburn's
Pownalborough (Dresden)
Merrymeeting Bay
ARROWSIC I.
Parker's Flats
SEQUIN I.
Portland
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MAINE
ATLANTIC OCEAN
R.
Newburyport
Merrimac
MASS.
Cambridge
BOSTON
MAP OF
ARNOLD'S ROUTE
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50

and if he whips me, he will not hurt the credit of the Company.'

Morgan got his way, and then—'it was a famous victory.'

Now, as a commander, he believed in discipline; but the training of his rough school could not be shaken off at once. 'Truly affectionate' at heart, as a soldier described him, he always addressed his followers as his 'boys'; but one day, noted Henry, when he justly charged a fellow with breaking orders yet could not force him to tell the truth about it, he suddenly sprang to a 'pile of billets, took one, and swore he would knock the accused down unless he confessed.'[28]

Like master, like man. As a rule, the riflemen's dress was highly approved. Deane wished it might be 'adopted' as the Connecticut uniform, and the New Jersey Committee of Safety advised the minute-men to borrow it. But Glover's Marblehead fishermen, biassed no doubt in favor of tarpaulin and oil-skin, made merry over Morgan's foresters at the Cambridge camp. Border principles told at once how to meet the crisis, and shortly a riot blazed up like fire in tinder. Some one ran to the Commander-in-chief; and Washington, springing into the ever-ready saddle, galloped to the scene. Black Pompey began to let down the bars to the camp, but, as a thousand men were hard at it by this time, the General could not wait; and, vaulting over Pompey and bars alike, he dashed up to the crowd, leaped to the ground, rushed into the mob, seized a rifleman by the throat with each hand, and pressed on, talking to them as Charles Lee at Monmouth found he could talk. Amazed and overawed, the men fell back to right and left, and the dangerous

[28] § Henry, Journal, pp. 7, 11, 12, 50, 51. A. Morgan, Morgan Genealogy, p. 257. Graham, Morgan, p. 24. McConkey, Hero, p. 17. Drake, Mansions, p. 89.

outbreak ended. But only Washington could have wrought the miracle.[29]

This temper of natural independence and exuberance appeared everywhere. Morgan's ideas of strict discipline met with little favor; and, when he raised a billet over the soldier, Captain Smith proposed a general smash of the expedition by raising one over him,—a proposition that Morgan wisely declined. Hendricks's company paused twice on its rapid march from the *Juniata* to clothe a 'Ministerial tool' with tar and feathers. Captain Hubbard, parting two angry men of his, was clinched by one of them; yet instead of asking odds for his rank, he laid the fellow neatly behind a log, and, when he begged pardon, went on his way laughing, without a thought of further punishment. One of the Pennsylvania companies Washington 'refused peremptorily to take,' said Colonel Hand, on account of their 'misconduct.' And this quality of the men, which bore some bitter fruit on the march, had perhaps not a little to do with their going. 'Had C. Smith's compy been Better behaved,' wrote Hand, 'they might probably have Saved themselves a disagreeable jaunt.' A lieutenant of Hendricks's company said it was 'sent' by Washington. Morgan, according to his biographer Graham, made an 'earnest request' for permission to join the expedition. Such was no doubt the case; but perhaps the fight with Glover's men stamped a vivid endorsement on the back of it. Just such were the spirits demanded for the undertaking; and, even if some were 'sent,' all had marched for the camp as volunteers.[30]

'Not a moment's time is to be lost in the preparation

---

[29] § Deane to Mrs. D., July 20, 1775: Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., II., p. 292. N. J.: 4 Force, III., 457. Drake, Mansions, p. 302.

[30] § Henry, Journal, pp. 50, 58. 'Provincials,' Journal, July 26; Aug. 3. Hubbard: Fobes, Narrative. Hand to Yeates, Sept. 23, 1775: Hand Papers. McClellan: Linn and Egle, Penn., I., pp. 8, 23, 24. Graham, Morgan, p. 55.

for this enterprise, if the advices received from you favor it,' Washington had written Schuyler; and, on the fifth of September, the fateful signal was given. 'A detachment, consisting of two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, ten captains, thirty subalterns, thirty sergeants, thirty corporals, four drummers, two fifers, and six hundred seventy-six privates'—a total of 786—were ordered to parade the next morning 'at eleven o'clock, upon the common in Cambridge, to go upon command with Colonel Arnold, of Connecticut'; and at the same time a Virginia company, with two Pennsylvania companies, of riflemen were to join these troops. 'Tents & necessaries convenient & proper for the whole' were to be 'supplied by the Quartermaster-General immediately upon the detachment being collected,' and both Arnold and Gates would be present.[31]

Unhappily things could not be done on the stroke of the clock here any more than at the lakes. 'A variety of obstacles has retarded us,' wrote the Commander-in-chief on the eighth; but the same day he ordered 'the detachments going under the command of Col. Arnold, to be forthwith taken off the roll of duty,' and to march in the evening to Cambridge Common, 'where tents and everything necessary' had been provided, while the rifle companies were to move for the same place early the next morning. 'At farthest,' Washington now believed the men would set out in two days more. But other obstacles arose. For one thing, pay had fallen into arrears in many cases. Though a private, even in the rifle corps, had only six and two-thirds dollars a month, a little money counted for a great deal with poor men and their families, and nobody knew where the paymaster would find him next. For this reason some of the troops insisted upon a settle-

[31] § Wash. to Sch.: Note 13. Henshaw, Ord. Book, Sept. 5: Note 23. The lieut.-cols. were Christopher Greene and Roger Enos.

ment and perhaps an advance. 'This morning paraded on the old spot,' noted Squier in his diary on the eleventh, 'in order to march for Quebec, but refused to march till we had a month's pay, so we stayed still in Cambridge, today.'[32]

CHRISTOPHER GREENE

The riflemen, however, did not linger; and, after passing one night at Neale's tavern and another—as if to make amends—at Mr. Bunkam's church, they spread their canvas Wednesday evening, September the thirteenth, by the 'Trayneing Green' in Newbury. About a mile away rose the steeples of Newburyport, the rendezvous for the detachment; and they could just catch the glint of the Merrimac river, a shining highway from its harbor to the sea.

While they were arriving, the rest were setting out. That Wednesday, the countersign at Cambridge was 'Quebec'; at the appointed hour the drums of the Canada companies rolled; and, under a sultry red sun that made woodlands and the north more attractive than ever, the main body of the detachment moved off in two divisions. The fine Cambridge elms arched grandly above them. The low bridge over the Mystic shook under their tread as it had never shaken before; and, pressing on thence by different routes, they all reached Newburyport on Friday or Saturday, finding quarters there in the Town House, a church, two rope-walks, or their tents. Arnold himself, after staying at Cambridge for the last words until Friday

---

[32] § Wash. to Trumbull and to Sch., Sept. 8, 1775: Writings (Ford), III., p. 116. Henshaw Ord. Book: Note 23. Pay: Linn and Egle, Penn., I., p. 3. Pay of N. H. men: 4 Force, IV., 1. REMARK XXXV.

morning, pushed on so vigorously that he dined at Salem and lodged that same night by the Merrimac. The little army was now complete. In the convenient port hard by, it was to take ship for the Kennebec; and transports already lay waiting for the voyage."[33]

But the sea—that was the enemy's country. British frigates were always turning up where least expected. Besides, who knew that the 'secret' of the expedition had not leaked into Boston? Perhaps a man-of-war was lying in wait behind Cape Ann; and it would have made a fine tale for London, had some lucky captain bagged the whole Kennebec detachment between harbors. A 'very considerable' danger, that, said Washington, in the opinion of 'many judicious persons'; wherefore by his order three scouting-vessels were anxiously despatched in as many directions to see if the coast was clear, and, with an eagerness half apprehension, Arnold and his officers awaited the reports.

As if to lessen their impatience at this necessary delay, head winds and foul weather made a departure impossible, and the hours meanwhile had to be fully employed. Many last preparations needed to be made, and many tenders of hospitality demanded the return of cordial acceptance. Nathaniel Tracy, one of the great privateering adventurers of the Revolution, Tristram Dalton, a wealthy merchant, and other local grandees entertained Arnold and his officers in state; housewives brought forth all their choicest delicacies for the rank and file; and many a rosy daughter left the wicket of her fair eyes open wide as these tall, handsome soldier-lads, the boldest and stoutest of a whole army, marched past.[34]

---

[33] § Nichols, Ord. Book, Sept. 13. Am. Antiq. Soc. Lukens: Linn and Egle, Penn., p. 8. Desiring to avoid making many references to his Arnold's March, the author will repeat, once for all, that many additional details, as well as references and discussions of doubtful points, may be found in that book.

[34] § Wash. to Arnold (Instr.): Writings (Ford), III., p. 121. See the

Sunday, the glorification assumed a more sober yet a loftier air. Some of the troops attended under arms at Dr. Parsons's church, and heard him pronounce a martial discourse on a martial text, his grave, slow voice lighted up by flashing blue eyes and his clear thought warmed as if from the fervor of his friend, the angel-tongued Whitefield, sleeping the long slumber beneath his pulpit; while others heard the chaplain, Rev. Mr. Spring, on the text: 'If thy presence go not with me, carry us not up hence.' In the preacher's mind there lay no doubt about the divine attendance, and even the least religious felt that somehow they had enlisted for the Lord of Hosts, and the Omnipotent would march, less visibly than of old but not less really, in the midst of them. A review took place, and the manual of arms was practised as never **before**. Everybody in the region wished to see the brave fellows bound on a quest so hazardous for a prize so splendid. Hundreds looked on delighted; yet, as Abner Stocking noted, amidst praise and good wishes throbbed another tone, the sad thought that 'many would not return to parents and families.' This reflection calmed but infinitely deepened the enthusiasm. It transformed a spectacle into a drama, a march into a battle; and what began in brilliancy, ended in grandeur.[35]

DR. PARSONS'S CHURCH

Monday afternoon the troops embarked; although, with

Journals, particularly Senter's and Stocking's, and Coffin's and Currier's Newbury, *passim*.

[35] § Greenleaf, Parsons, p. 9. Parsons, Sixty Sermons, pp. 49–51. Coffin, Newbury, p. 24. Essex Inst. Hist. Coll., XXXIII., p. 256.

this 'most beautiful town and its brave, generous inhabitants' close at hand, the officers, as Lieutenant Humphrey put it, were much 'plagued' to keep the men on board; and the next forenoon, September the nineteenth, as the winds had come and the enemy had not, the fleet of eleven sloops and schooners weighed anchor and set sail.

The shore was thronged. Cheers, good-bye's, and God-bless-ye's filled the air; broken reflections—flushing, paling, and flushing again, as the vessels turned more or less to the sun—filled the water; and, with 'colors flying, drums and fifes a playing,' as Tolman wrote in his Journal, 'and the hills all around covered with pretty girls weeping for their departing swains,' the little fleet moved off. About three miles of rather ticklish navigation brought it down to the sea, where the bar made some trouble; but in a few hours the vessels, filing off one after another as their sails caught the wind, stood away for the Kennebec,—Arnold's topsail schooner *Broad Bay* leading the van, and the rest of the squadron turning crisp white furrows after him across the dark-blue glebe of old ocean. The hospitality and enthusiasm of Newburyport had fired the soldiers' hearts anew. The pathos and the picturesqueness of this farewell thrilled them again. The latest news of Quebec gave fresh encouragement. 'There is only a Company of twenty-five men there,' a gentleman wrote from Cambridge on the fourteenth. The omens were good, and spirits gloriously high.[30]

---

[30] 4 Force, III., 713. One vessel remained aground for some time, but got safely off.

XVIII

INTO THE WILDERNESS

RAPIDLY and in safety voyaged the new Argonauts, yet hardly to their taste. The following wind became a pursuing one during the night. 'It grew thick and foggy,' recorded Melvin, 'with rain, thunder and lightning and blowed fresh.' Nearly all the heroes were sick,—'and *such* a sickness,' groaned Fobes. One at least of the transports got among the rocks of the Maine coast, but happily escaped; and, after lying at anchor near Phippsburg from about the middle of the night until day appeared, the fleet spread sail again and went on.

Passing humpbacked Isle Seguin with its noisy cliffs and its brood of flat-faced islets, just visible in the tawny-orange dawn, it pierced the squad of high and rocky islands, each crested with its tuft of hemlocks, that guarded the entrance to the Kennebec; pushed in with the morning tide past Popham Beach, where men under arms, on the watch for British 'cutters or armed vessels,'[1] hailed the patriots and furnished them a pilot; pressed on, but very cautiously, through the narrow, whale-like mouth of the river, plentifully garnished with teeth; and at length reached Parker's Flats, a famous anchorage some two miles beyond. Very thankful felt every one to be there, and with reason; for, besides the discomforts of the

[1] Lithgow to Mass. Cong., June 2, 1775; 4 Force, II., 804. For the authorities for this chapter, see REMARK XXXI.

voyage and the perils of sea and shore, General Gage knew this very day that an expedition had sailed from Newburyport.[2]

To the Flats came 'refreshments' from terra firma; and, if a tradition—a very direct one—may be trusted, Parson Emerson, escorted by Deacon Parker, came also, and prayed with Arnold an hour and a half for the success of the campaign. Then, as expeditiously as possible, the transports carefully worked their way up the beautiful but tortuous Kennebec, turning Squirrel Point, Green Point, and Bluff Head, and rounding Weasel Point, Lee Island, and Indian Point, until they finally sighted 'Georgetown,' on Arrowsic Island, about a dozen miles from the sea. Here, noted Major Meigs, were some 'elegant buildings,' to which Dearborn added 'a number of inhabitants' and 'a meeting-house.' It was, in fact, a village of some importance. Captain Lithgow, formerly in the royal service, occupied a house that must have caught Meigs's eye; James Sullivan, twice Governor of Massachusetts Bay, probably shook hands with Arnold on the beach; and McCobb, lately town-clerk here but now one of the captains, had gone down to rejoin his company at Parker's Flats with a good number of Georgetown recruits.[3] Yet,

THE MOUTH OF THE KENNEBEC

[2] Gage to Sec. State, Sept. 20, 1775: Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 420, p. 262.

[3] Authorities used for the history of places in the Kennebec Valley: Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., particularly I. and VIII.; Williamson, Maine; Hanson,

after all, the place was only a settlement. In June, not over thirty pounds of powder could be found in the village[4]; and evidently, if the expedition required a base of operations on the river, it must be looked for above.

'Very troublesome indeed,' was Arnold's description of the voyage up the Kennebec[5]; and his difficulties, though spaced here and there with easy water, did not end at Georgetown. A short distance beyond, he found the capricious river turning suddenly to the west at Fiddler's Reach, settling down then for a few miles of wide, straight water in the Long Reach so welcome to skippers. Here two missing vessels of the fleet rejoined him, well punished for choosing the broad way of Sheepscot River by having to worry a passage through Lower and Upper Hellgate. Then another bad left-handed twist at Telegraph Point, with handfuls of islands on each side, another sharp swing to the west through the Chops, and the murmuring prows entered Merrymeeting Bay. Four rivers large enough to have names, joining the Kennebec here, made a lake about six miles long, where sturgeon and salmon kept the water boiling, and fishing-schooners had been frosting the blue mirror for half a century already. But the respite proved short. Just above the Bay, Swan Island Flats provided an excellent opportunity for running aground, which was not overlooked by some of the transports; and the hard passage at Lovejoy's Narrows, a little way beyond, helped rob the hour-glasses of their precious grains.

But the worst of it had now been passed. Above

Gardiner, etc.; North, Augusta; Reed, Bath, and personal information; Kingsbury and Deyo, Kennebec County; Hanson, Norridgewock and Canaan; Varney, Maine Gazetteer; Whitney, Kennebec Valley; Small, Swan's Island; Weston, Canaan (MS.); town records (MS.); the Journals of the Expedition; articles and personal letters by C. E. Allen, historian of Dresden, particularly an article in N. Eng. Mag., July, 1901; information from Captain Nash of Augusta and other reliable local historians and antiquarians.

[4] Lithgow: Note 1.

[5] To Tracy, Sept. 28, 1775: 4 Force, III., 824.

Swan Island, Parker's Ferry plied back and forth in peace. On the left could be seen Fort Richmond; but it offered no promise of aid, however, for it had never been anything but a protected house, and was now hardly more than a ruin. Nor could much be expected from Pownalborough on the right—the Dresden of to-day—with its decaying Fort Shirley, its big, square court-house that never could decay, and its little knot of humble dwellings. Here the good Tory parson, Jacob Bailey, preached to a congregation suspected of holding much the same opinion. Yet when the people had found themselves on the point of starving, only two months before, and Gage offered provisions in exchange for fuel, they turned to the Massachusetts Congress instead, crying: 'Give us bread, and we will cheerfully sacrifice our lives, our all in the common cause.'[6] But a famishing village, however patriotic, could not bolster an expedition against Canada.

Astride the river, beyond Pownalborough, lay a wide tract rightfully called Gardinerston, after Dr. Sylvester Gardiner of Boston, the proprietor, but usually known in 1775 as Pittston, because the stiff old doctor would not crook his knees to the new doctrines, and the patriots would not let their town bear the name of a Tory. Here, on the eastern shore of the broad Kennebec, just below a little turn in the river, could be found a narrow strip of meadow,

MERRYMEETING BAY

[6] Bridge to Mass. Cong., July 11, 1775: 4 Force, II., 1648.

where tough oaks, well suited to furnish the ribs for boats, loved to grow. High above, at the verge of a terraced bluff, stood the house of Major Colburn, while at the edge of the water lay his shipyard.

It was now early in the afternoon of Thursday, September the twenty-first,—the weather fair, a good breeze blowing from somewhere near the north, and the tide ebbing. Everything looked a-bustle in the shipyard. Colburn himself was on hand, strong and hearty. On hand was Thomas Agry, too, a shipwright who had settled at the Point a year before. A squad of workmen were whacking away at their smartest on oars, poles, and paddles, and not far off on the shore lay the fruit of the labor already done,—two hundred flat-bottomed boats with high, flaring sides and a rather long, sharp nose at both stem and stern.

At this moment a boat was seen approaching from below, and everybody straightened up to watch it. Evidently the helmsman was making for the shipyard. From the fleet, some one suggested; tide and wind are against them, so they have taken to the oars.

In a little while the visitors were alongside, and an officer stepped quickly ashore, without waiting to be quite clear of the water. His uniform was that adopted in February by the second company of the Governor's Foot Guards of New Haven: a cocked hat with a plume; a scarlet coat with cuffs, collar, and lapels of buff, and plain silver-washed buttons; waistcoat, breeches, and stockings of white linen; black half-leggings; and a 'small, fashionable, and narrow-ruffled shirt.' Rather a short man, he seemed, but stocky and athletic, and very quick in his movements. Raven-black hair, a high, hot complexion, a long, keen nose, a domineering chin, persuasive, smiling lips, haughty brows, and the boldest eyes man ever saw, completed him. Major Colburn had

talked with the officer in Cambridge. 'Good day, Colonel Arnold!' he said, and saluted.'

Without delay, the bateaux underwent an inspection, and the leader's face darkened. Beyond a doubt, Colburn had been given a hard task: to go from Cambridge to Gardinerston, secure lumber and workmen, and make two hundred boats,—all within eighteen days. Probably the navigation of the upper Kennebec had seldom been attempted, perhaps never, except in lightly freighted canoes or pirogues, so that Colburn and Agry did not fully understand the requirements. But, whatever the explanation, here were the bateaux, and Arnold, familiar with watercraft of many sorts, commented sharply to himself: 'Completed, yes; but many of them smaller than the directions given, and badly, very badly built.'[8] They could not be rejected, however; and he contented himself as best he could, ordering twenty more to be constructed in the briefest possible time.

Information was another need that Colburn had undertaken to supply. By Washington's order, he had been directed, even before Schuyler's letter made the expedition a formal certainty, to send scouts along the proposed route 'in order to see what were the obstacles Col. Arnold would be likely to meet.' Dennis Getchell, recently Captain of the town of Vassalborough, with Samuel Berry of the same place, undertook the commission, and 'Sat out,' September the first, with several helpers, on their 'intented Journey to Quebeck.' Twelve days later their report was in writing and on its way to Colburn; and now Arnold received it. Promptness again.[9]

---

[7] § Uniform: Thompson, Hist. 2d Co. Gov.'s Foot Guards, under Feb. 2, 1775. The portrait of Arnold is from pictures and descriptions: see, e. g., I. N. Arnold, Arnold, p. 20; Henry, Journal, p. 12. The scene is inferential. The point just above the site of the shipyard is now called Green's Ledges Point. Colburn's house is still occupied by the family.

[8] See Arnold to Wash., Sept. 25, 1775: 4 Force, III., 960.

[9] § J. Reed's mem.: 4 Force, III., 962. G. and B. to Colburn, Sept. 13, 1775: Smith, Arnold's March, p. 80. Vassalborough town records.

But again disappointment. On the seventh of September they had 'arrived at an Indian Camp 30 miles distance . . . up Dead River good water'; and from Natanis, the proprietor, they 'got intelligence that he was employed by Governor Charlton [Carleton] to Watch the Motions of an Army or Spies that was daily expected from New England—that there were Spies on the Head of Chaudiere River, [and] that Some way down the

THE SITE OF COLBURN'S BOAT-YARD

River there was Stationed a Regular Officer & Six privates.' Natanis positively declared that, if they proceeded farther, 'he would give information of his Suspicion' of their designs, 'as otherwise he should Betray the Trust Reposed in him.' This information was in part confirmed by a squaw, and she not only added a 'great Number of Mohawks' on the upper Chaudière, but confessed that 'the Spy was in daily expectation of the arrival of Three Canoes of Indians.' Getchell's native guide refused to go farther; and, after pushing on one day more, the scouting party gave up. Disappointing?

It was more than that. The information that Arnold wanted did not come, and the news that he least desired overwhelmed him: Carleton knew of the expedition. But did he? The sanguine leader would not believe it; and, snapping his fingers at the whole story, he wrote Washington that Natanis was 'a noted villain,' and 'very little credit' should be given his tales.[10]

From another source, however, information came. At Pownalborough lived Samuel Goodwin, surveyor to the proprietors of the 'Kennebec Purchase,' and in his possession were documents of great value. About the first of September, Colburn had informed Goodwin that copies of these were desired, and now the finished papers awaited Arnold. Besides delineating 'the seacoast, from Cape Elizabeth to Penobscot,' the maps showed 'the River Kennebeck to the several heads thereof, and the several carrying places to Ammeguntick Pond and [the] Chaudiere River, . . . and the passes and carrying places to Quebeck'; and the packet included also 'a copy of a journal which represented all the quick water and carrying places to and from Quebeck.' Was this Montresor's? One cannot be sure; but certainly, from some source, Arnold obtained both the Journal and the map of this British engineer. As four of the St. Francis Indians were coming on by land to join the detachment, it now looked quite feasible, despite the failure of Getcheli's party, to thread intelligently the wilderness path.[11]

Colburn had evidently been very active, and might still be counted on for vigorous work; but his boat-yard could not be considered a base of operations. Nor could the busy mills a couple of miles above, the nucleus of Gardiner city. People came thirty miles to grind their corn

[10] § Smith, Arnold's March, p. 80. Arnold to Wash., Sept. 25, 1775: 4 Force, III., 960.

[11] Goodwin to Wash., Oct. 17, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1084. REMARK XXXVI.

there, and every week-day the twang of the saws pierced the roar of the falls from morning till night. Dr. Gardiner's houses—two stories high in front, but running down with a long cosy-looking roof to one story behind—opened their doors wide to the soldiers. His Great House, the finest inn of the district, had rid itself of his Tory son when the young fellow refused to abjure tea, and now welcomed Arnold's officers with a small bonfire on its hearth. All the village leaders, in straight-fronted coats, single-breasted waistcoats padded over the hips, ruffled shirts with long wristbands, wigs more or less ample, and three-cornered hats of napless beaver more or less tremendous, greeted the patriots warmly. The ladies, in high-heeled shoes, hoop petticoats, and closely stayed waists, led by Madam North, a Boston lady of the old school, dignified, charming, and witty, graced the hospitality; while the plain lassies, clad in brave calico worth six shillings a yard, bade honest Joe a cordial though blushing welcome. But the tall pines reared their splendid phalanx unbroken as yet on Church Hill; the forests of maple and beech marched their gorgeous autumnal banners nigh up to the doors of the mills, and the shad, salmon, sturgeon, and herring nearly burst the fisherman's net on the river just below. It was only a frontier settlement, after all.[12]

Many of the troops halted at this point or near it. Some of the vessels could go on—about nine miles—to Fort Western, but more of them found the water too shallow, as the season had been remarkably dry,[13] and surrendered their cargoes to the bateaux. In short, the detachment split up for a time; but Arnold reached Fort Western at six o'clock Saturday evening, the twenty-third of September, and substantially the whole of his

[12] See particularly Hanson, Gardiner, p. 87

[13] Report of Getchell and Berry: Note 9.

we have done the utmost in our
Power to Compleat the intended Tour & are
with Esteem your Mst Hble Servts.
Denis Fetichel
Samuel Berry

Rec.d Hunebick Sept.r 1775 of Mr Reuben
Colburn, Two hundred & Twenty Battoes for
the British Service

B.t Arnold Coll.

force arrived at the same destination before Sunday. More than a week had passed, however, in what had no doubt been looked forward to as a short and easy trip.

Fort Western has been termed Arnold's base; but that it neither was nor could be. The settlement at this point had been incorporated as a town in 1771; and the next year it made an appropriation for 'schooling and preaching.' Some of Arnold's men probably heard Parson Allen expound the Word. But the hamlet was not able to support even the meekest of dominies regularly for about a dozen years more, and that single fact demonstrated its feebleness. As for the Fort itself, its title had never been more than one of courtesy. It was merely a barrack or storehouse of squared pine timbers a foot thick, deftly mortised together as perhaps the cunning workmen joined King Hiram's fragrant cedar for the temple at Jerusalem, with two blockhouses and a double palisade. Even Governor Shirley, the founder, called it only 'a strong, defensible magazine'; and when, five years after its erection, Wolfe's victory banished the fear of redskins, the soldiers departed, the palisades followed, and the central building became the property of the commander, James Howard, Esquire. No large stocks of supplies existed, and Arnold made no endeavor to create an artificial dépôt here.[14]

But Fort Western was certainly a nodal point of the expedition. Some rustic festivities probably made a pale reflection of Newburyport. Indeed, tradition speaks of a barbecue, and the officers found handsome entertainment at the Great House about a mile above, where lived at this time the 'exceeding hospitable, opulent, polite family' of Esquire Howard himself, as Dr. Senter, the surgeon of the detachment, described it. Here, too,

---

[14] Arnold to Farnsworth, Sept. 29, 1775: Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., I., p. 359.

some of the bad blood of the troops worked itself off. Several of the foreigners had to be severely whipped, and a soldier, bent on shooting his captain, fired through a door at night and killed one of his comrades. But the main business was organizing for the wilderness march and launching the expedition. Arnold knew the preciousness of time, and evidently he wasted none in frivolities.

The very day after his late arrival, while Allen and Brown were concocting their unlucky plan to surprise Montreal, he ordered two advance parties up the Kennebec. One of them, under Lieutenant Church, was directed to note 'the exact courses and distances to Dead River,' and had a surveyor with it for the purpose. The other, led by the brave and active Lieutenant Steele, whose first name should have been Damascus, received a more arduous commission: it was to ascend the Kennebec and Dead River, cross the Height of Land, and penetrate into Canada as far as Lake Megantic, reconnoitring the route, marking it when necessary, and securing all the obtainable information from certain Indians, reported to be hunting in that quarter.

Fort Western, a little more than forty miles from the sea, was the head of navigation on the Kennebec, for here began a half-mile of rapids; and all the belongings of the army had to be transported a hundred and sixty rods by land. Yet so vigorously did Arnold push the work, that on Monday the advance began in earnest.

As the point of his arrow, tempered and sharpened against both forest and savage, he sent forward the rifle companies, under the command—or, rather, under the leadership—of Morgan, with orders 'to clear the roads over the carrying places.' At noon on Tuesday, the twenty-sixth, Captains Thayer and Topham of Rhode Island and Hubbard of Massachusetts Bay set out, with Christopher Greene as their lieutenant-colonel and

Timothy Bigelow as their major. Wednesday, Major Return J. Meigs embarked with Captains Dearborn, Ward, Hanchet, and Goodrich, Arnold's third division. Lieutenant-Colonel Roger Enos, with Captains Williams, McCobb, and Scott, composed the rear, and it was their turn to move on the twenty-eighth. But many loose ends had to be caught up ; oars, paddles, and supplies brought from Colburn's; a few invalids, criminals, and stragglers disposed of; and it was not until ten o'clock, Friday morning, that McCobb's and Scott's companies got entirely off, leaving Enos, the Commissary, and Williams's company still behind. The chaplain and the surgeon's party, Burr and his friend Ogden, Oswald, who had served under Arnold at the lakes, Henry, Porterfield, and the other 'volunteers'—men who paid their own expenses and could retire at any time [15]—all had places assigned them.

One by one the bateaux, freighted with provisions for six weeks and manned by about four men each, turned their sharp noses up-stream, and glided smartly away toward Fort Halifax, eighteen miles or so above, pursued with cheers, adieus, and soldiers' rough pleasantries. The rest of the troops marched off in the same direction by an overgrown military road on the left bank ; and on Friday Arnold, throwing himself into a pirogue about noon, struck out for the head of the column. ' We shall be able to perform the march,' he wrote Washington, ' in twenty days.' [16]

Fort Halifax, at the junction of the Sebasticook and the Kennebec, built (1754) less for the public defence, apparently, than to help the land company draw settlers, was intended to be worthy of its name, but shrank in the

[15] Linn and Egle, Penn., I., p. 3.

[16] To Wash., Sept. 25, 1775: 4 Force, III., 960.

building to a fraction of the dimensions proposed. That was enough, however, to lodge a hundred men on the sandy point and shelter a dozen, with a couple of 2-pounders and a swivel, at the high edge of the plateau just behind. For a while, Captain Lithgow's men hunted the deer in summer and slid the ladies on the ice in winter, and the boom of a gun, every morning and every evening, proclaimed to a vast solitude that King

THE NORTH HOUSE, GARDINERSTON

George still reigned and land was still for sale; but Montresor found the palisade already in a 'bad' condition, and Henry, one of Steele's party, described the whole place as 'in a ruinous state.' A scanty population had gathered near; but neither fort nor settlement could signify much to the expedition.

Something else at the place, however, signified a great deal. Just above the point began Ticonic Falls, another long rapid in the Kennebec, and now the soldiers learned

what a carrying-place was like. One after another all the bateaux drew up to the landing. If heavy, the freight was taken out. Then the crew sprang into the water, slipped a couple of hand-spikes under the bottom of the craft near the ends, raised it by main force, and staggered up the bank. With the aid of the shore party, bateaux and lading were carried beyond the rapids; and finally the boats, reloaded, began their journey again. The bateaux themselves, Dr. Senter guessed, weighed the trifle of 'not less than four hundred pounds' apiece. Guns, ammunition, provisions, tents, baggage, axes, and spades, utensils of every kind, supplies of all sorts, made up the total to above one hundred tons. It might have been still more, of course; but certainly this was a tidy parcel for weary backs, and the task of transporting it, even with the aid of a few horses and oxen, proved, as the surgeon estimated, a labor 'little to be envied by any short of galley slaves.'

Above Ticonic Falls, the shore party found a sort of road on the western bank of the Kennebec, and walked on in loose order comfortably enough, catching glimpses now and then between the trees of a dark-blue river dotted with moving specks, and crunching a sylvan music out of the crisp but still brilliant autumn leaves under their feet, as if marching to victory on a rainbow. Not so fared the bateaumen. Here came the Five Mile Falls, where the Kennebec descended thirty-four feet in a series of tumultuous rapids 'very dangerous & difficult to pass,' as the commander testified. Even before reaching Fort Halifax, Haskell discovered that the men had 'a scene of trouble to go through in this river'; but, in comparison with the fearful toil of breasting such a current, the strain below had only been enough to tickle their hemlock backs.

'Any man would think at its first appearance,' wrote Dearborn, 'that it was impossible to get Boats up it.' A

thousand obstructions beat the rushing stream to a fury. Jagged ledges sawed the bottoms of the bateaux. Fierce billows pounded them against the cliffs. Sunken logs, greasy with ooze; soft islets, paved with treacherous moss; hidden stones, polished and slippery, lay in wait for the boatmen as they waded the stream, now up to the waist, now up to the chin, beating on against current and waves, clutching at this and that along the shore, and still tugging as they could at the painters of the bateaux, or pushing at their sterns. Often they 'plunged over the head into deep basons.' Trees thrust out their crooked roots to strip them into the river, when they were hauling by ropes from the shore; cliffs barred their way; banks fell beneath them; and the piercing cry, 'Help, help!' now here, now there, mingled often with the roar of the white water. 'You would have taken the men for amphibious animals,' wrote their commander, 'as they were great part of the time under water'[17]; and through all this passed the expedition to Quebec,—every gun, every flint, every ounce of flour, every grain of powder.

FORT HALIFAX BLOCKHOUSE ABOUT 1865

'Now we are learning to be soldiers,' exclaimed Haskell;

[17] To Wash., Oct. 13, 1775: Me. Hist. Soc. Coll., I., p. 361. The shore parties may have carried their arms.

and these were indeed the A-B-C's of their battle with the wilderness. But it was a long way still to the Z !

Twenty miles or a little more beyond Fort Halifax, toiled the soldiers along the shining Kennebec, between its walls of beech, hemlock, butternut, white pine, and cedar ; and then came Skowhegan, the ' Place of Watch,' where the river suddenly changed its course a full quarter of a circle.

Just at the turn, two ledges on the opposite shores formed a gateway some twenty-five feet wide, guarded below by a whirlpool on each side. Through this passage every bateau had to force its perilous way ; and then, full on the bow, the river struck it, rushing, grey with foam, down a gorge like the bore of a cannon. For nearly half a mile, the boatmen—tugging, pulling, and poling as best they could—had to drive their unwilling craft against the stream. And then, 'after a Bundance of difficulties,' as an officer wrote in his Journal, they found themselves, not in smooth water, but hemmed in by vertical walls of rock, and facing a long cataract of white, broken in the middle by a dark, jagged, Plutonian island of stone.

To attempt the cataract was beyond the strength of Argonauts even, and the best they could do was to carry the bateaux up a slight break in the towering wall of the island. This is what the Indians did with their canoes, and they found it hard enough ; but a birch cockleshell differed immensely from a bateau of green pine. Now and then an unlucky step would trip a soldier, perhaps, and his fellows would lose their ticklish balance ; to save themselves from death, they would let the bateau go ; with a rush it would bang down the face of the cliff, smashing into splinters at the bottom ; and fortunate indeed were the crew behind, if they escaped unhurt.

But at last this, too, was accomplished, and the toilers fell panting on the greensward above, where the Indian

fishermen used to make their camp. Over them towered ancient pines; the crisp October air fanned their cheeks, and the deep voices of the cataracts drowned their care. 'Much delay and great fatigue,' commented Stocking; but youth, energy, and enthusiasm triumphed even joyously over these hardships. Aye, and they triumphed over more; for, when some of the men passed these falls and lay down to sleep in their dripping clothes, they found themselves, on awakening, cased in armor: their clothes had frozen. There was no repining, yet reflections would come; and one of the volunteers wrote: 'On the cold ground at night, began to think of our comfortable homes.'

'Great part of the way small falls and quick water,' was Arnold's description of the next five miles; to which a private soldier added, 'Sometimes plumped over head.' Next came Bombazee Rips [Rapids], where, according to tradition, the fatal bullet overtook a great orator of the Kenebaëgs, and he plunged from a high rock into the river. And then, only a little way beyond, almost exactly fifty miles from Fort Western, the boatmen found themselves face to face with the roar and foam of the great Norridgewock Falls.

Three pitches, nearly half a mile apart, made up this tremendous barrier. All were loud and furious, but perhaps the second looked the wildest. One might have clung to the jagged rocks of the shore, and watched with delight through the spray the plunge of a giant pine, uprooted and snapped in two by the lightning and the storm; listened to the dull boom that accented the roar of the falls when it struck, end-on, the rock-floor of the abyss; and then followed it circling and tossing for a while in the boiling caldron of white surge; but plainly no boat could climb such falls, and the bateaumen had to carry everything a mile or so round the barrier.

Arnold reached the falls on the second of October, and

found that the leading division had just got their baggage across the portage. The second division was then approaching, the third appeared two days later, and Enos came up when another two days had passed; but the Colonel was not able to move again until the ninth. Two ox-sleds were kept going constantly to help transport the baggage, and of course the men served as pack-horses; but the distance was long, the way bad, the hill steep, the task almost endless, and the best place to sleep, meanwhile, a great flat rock.

SKOWHEGAN FALLS IN 1902

Worse yet, the bateaux were already giving out. The soft pine of the bottoms had worn through; seams had been wrenched open; and so much water came in that one could hardly tell which was river and which was bateau. 'If in Their boats they had as good be out,' said Lieutenant Humphrey, a careful man. Almost bursting with rage, the troops found success and even life imperilled by these frail constructions, 'many of them little better,' they exclaimed, 'than common rafts.' Loud was the outcry—whether just or not—against the builders. 'Did they not know that their doings were crimes?' exclaimed Morison; 'that they were cheating their country, and exposing its defenders to additional sufferings?' But wrath and bitterness did not prevent work. In a short while Colburn and his 'artificers' appeared, the seams had a fresh calking, and the bottoms were repaired as well as possible.

But along with this misfortune came a second, grimmer still. The orders at Cambridge had been well framed: 'As it is imagined the officers and men sent from the regiments . . . will be such volunteers as are active woodsmen and well acquainted with bateaux, so it is recommended that none but such will offer themselves for this service'; yet for some reason this hint did not bear the fruit expected. 'Very few of the men,' observed the surgeon, 'had ever been acquainted with this kind of savage navigation,' though doubtless many had boated on quiet rivers. Strength and good intentions could not supply the place of skill, when quick water was in question; and, consequently, floods had entered the bateaux by the top as well as the bottom.

BOMBA ZEE RAPIDS

The salt had washed out of the dried fish loaded in bulk, and all of it had spoiled. The casks of dried peas and biscuit had burst and been lost. Even the salt pork, the staple of army provender, had suffered, and much of it needed to be repacked; while the salt beef, cured in hot weather, proved unfit for use. Up to this point, provisions had been obtained now and then from people along the way—poultry, smoked salmon, and moose-meat, for example; with occasionally, no doubt, a mouthful of fresh beef and vegetables, or a fat beaver tail—but for the future there could be no such delicacies. A few oxen might be driven along; the forward companies would be able to bring in a little game before the deer and moose

were frightened away; but evidently flour and pork were to be the two crutches of existence now, and who could say whether they would not break down?

Still another fact made Norridgewock Falls memorable in the annals of the march. About a mile below, Sebastien Râle, a French Jesuit from Canada, had lived in the midst of his Abenaki proselytes. At the head of an avenue of bark wigwams two hundred feet wide, his church—where forty young Indians with teeth whiter than ivory served in cassocks at the altar—had been thronged with tall, powerful braves, wrapped in soft skins or in loose robes of red or blue[18]; but his mixture of politics with religion had invited the penalty of war, and only vestiges of the town remained.

Now, progress was approaching from the south. Scattered along the river at intervals, a number of inhabited spots had been found above Fort Halifax, and at Skowhegan Falls a rude mill was going up. Two or three families had made themselves homes in the vicinity of the old Indian town of Norridgewock, and at one of the cabins Meigs found a baby, little Sallie Fletcher, cooing round-eyed at so many tall men going by, and so many long, shiny sticks on their shoulders. But this told the story, and here was the end of it,—a wee, soft bud on the top shoot of civilization. Beyond lay solitude, a smokeless void, the Wilderness. 'Who will ever delight to dwell there?' cried Morison; 'Nature has appointed it for the beasts of the forest, and not for man.'

Sobered by this adieu to mankind, the army pressed on more thoughtfully. Yet, after all, the true wilds had not been reached. Naturally this was an Eden. Opposite Râle's village, when the palefaces discovered that spot, the grass could be tied above the head of a tall man.

---

[18] Râle to his brother, Oct. 12, 1723: Jesuit Rel., LXVII., pp. 135, 137.

'That land never yet told a lie,' said a resident later. Even beyond the triple barrier of falls, the high, rough slopes, covered with sombre evergreens, were brightened here and there at the river's edge with groves of sugar-maples, clutching still some last remnants of their faded splendor; and Senter camped luxuriously on the joint-grass. But at the next obstacle, Carritunk Falls, the genuine wilderness began to be felt. This was the Ultima Thule of the salmon and of all else. Huge piles of fero-

THE MIDDLE PITCH OF NORRIDGEWOCK FALLS

cious black rock flanked the approach to the cataract. The brooding hemlock, the sighing pine, the mournful cypress, and even the spectral birch stealing into the midst of the evergreens here and there, offered no warmth of color. The country below had often spread into wide, fair plains; but above there were only highlands. Off toward the left appeared the mountains that must be traversed; and very dismal they seemed to the troops, cold-looking as they were, covered with 'doleful barren woods,' and already topped with snow. Nor was that the worst of it, perhaps. 'Here,' noted Lieutenant Humphrey in his Jour-

nal at this point, 'here I shall observe that we had no pilot.'

Yet the army pressed resolutely on. The Kennebec, stripped of large confluents, became a mountain stream, swift and shallow. On the higher ground above the river on the eastern shore, moose tracks, crossed every few rods, attested the savageness of the country. Old Bluff thrust a rough shoulder into the path. The weather turned cold. A chilly rain set in. The last pale rags of autumnal cheer were threshed from the birches. Closer and still closer grew the valley, until at last—about thirty-two miles[19] from Norridgewock Falls—a mountain stood up out of the river straight ahead 'in shape of a shugar Loaf,' as Arnold wrote, and the noisy clamor of a brook, emptying into the river from the west, made itself heard.

The troops halted. This was the Great Carrying-Place, and now the Kennebec was to be left behind. The one last link between them and civilization had to be broken.

Dead River, taking its rise near what is now the Canadian boundary, flowed in a southeasterly direction toward the valley of the Kennebec, but, just before arriving there, turned to the north and east in a great bow, and emptied a considerable distance above. Along the bow the river was not easily navigable, even for canoes; but nature had atoned in part for establishing this barrier by planting three ponds between the Kennebec and the turn of Dead River. Here the troops had before them eight miles of land-carriage divided into four portages, and about four miles of boating across the ponds. They would finally arrive at a small stream, called Bog Brook; and, after paddling down its winding channel about a mile, would enter Dead River.[20]

---

[19] In this and similar cases, distance by the river is meant.

[20] The Great Carrying-Place is well known and much frequented by sportsmen at the present day. Most of the names of mountains and streams are of course recent.

To a little party of hunters, freighted only with their birch canoe, a trip across the Great Carrying-Place offered roses enough to atone handsomely for its thorns. First, they wound in and out by a moderate ascent of three miles and a quarter through pleasant woods, with a sociable brook chattering agreeably for a time in the deep gorge on the right; and then, quite suddenly, they found themselves gazing at a broad expanse of dark water, shut in with a frosted rim of the deepest green, surrounded by low, densely wooded hills that swept far away in magnificent billows, and enlivened now and then, in the depths of its green shadows along the shore, by the sudden flash and splash of a salmon-trout.

CARRITUNK FALLS IN 1902

A comfortable trail over firm ground led them from this to the second pond, a muddy sheet in the form of an hour-glass, thickly decorated here and there with oily pads of the cow-lily, dear to the moose, and encompassed with a high wall of close junipers, gloomy but beautiful. Beyond that came a trail far from comfortable, much of the way, yet not at all desperate for light feet; and this brought the travellers, as a full compensation, to the third lake, the largest and loveliest of the three, a true gem of the forest.

Busy though Arnold was, he paused here to write: 'the prospect is very beautiful and noble.' All around the horizon undulated a line of wooded hills, achieving here and there the climax of a modest peak. On the southwest

rose the broad cone of Carrying-Place Mountain, swelling upward from the very edge of the lake. Remoter, but not distant, Burnt Jacket, Bald Mountain, and Mount Stewart continued the circuit; and at length, just in front, the cloven summit of Mount Bigelow stood up in soft blue, casting a high glance over the rim of hills, like Prince Charming first setting eyes on the sleeping beauty.

A rather sharp ascent conducted the hunters then to a long downward slope, a broad savannah, and the Brook; but at the summit they were likely to take their ease for a time, stretched on the pine needles at the foot of some forest patriarch. With a keen though careless ear, they might listen to the myriad subtle voices of the woods, broken at times with quick, sharp accents: now the distant yelp of a hurrying wolf sniffing warily the strange scent; now the warning scream of a wise old crow, alighting on a limb overhead but instantly thinking better of it; now the sudden astonished chatter of a crystal-eyed squirrel; and now the bounds of a tawny deer, beating the ground desperately for cover, after hovering a moment, with quivering, forward-pointed ears, at the edge of the copse. Without stirring from the soft bed, one of them could pluck up a fragrant ginseng root, and another garner a handful of scarlet bunchberries; but it was better to lie still and gaze through narrowed eyelids into the mystic roofing of this vast sylvan cathedral, half-drowned in something like the placid, indolent content of a salmon or a trout, hanging motionless in deep, clear, and living water.

But to Arnold's men, unhappily, the Great Carrying-Place presented a rougher side. The path was only an Indian trail, discernible even had it not been marked by Steele's party, but in no sense a road or even a path. Morgan's division found it impossible to execute their orders, for the rest of the army came close upon their heels; and the road-building—so far as it was done at all—had

to be done in the most hurried and primitive style. A furious rain on the eighth of October—a day or two after the van arrived—not only suspended all such work, but soaked the ground so badly that no dry place to lie down could be found, and many of the men sat up all night around their fires. Heavy frosts, hard squalls of snow, and more rain checkered the following week. A gale lashed the ponds into fury and forbade the passage of boats. The water of the second lake, dyed saffron-color by decaying vegetation, sickened the troops with complaints that were distressing, if not fatal. Exposure and excessive labor began to bear fruit in breakdowns, and a hospital had to be thrown together on the second portage.

To be sure, there were bright spots in the picture still. Cheer and good-humor kept the men up. 'The merry joke, the hearty laugh,' and even the jolly song went round. A mishap became the text for endless banter and rallies. The novelty and picturesqueness of the scenes were a constant exhilaration. The flash of gold lace and steel among the trees; the glimmering tents; the lively creaking of oars in the pins; the boatmen's halloos and the loud calls of the officers; the ringing strokes of many axes, and the crash of huge pines and hemlocks, coming down amidst the cheers of the men; the great fires; the clouds of smoke, now rising straight up like pillars of the

THE KENNEBEC WHERE ARNOLD LEFT IT

sky, and now swirling and rushing leeward in the squalls; the busy cook-tents, and the soldiers gathered near them at meal time, sitting on their heels, and appeasing their spruce appetites with bread and pork,—all these had a charm and stimulus for the spirits; and hardly less the camps at night, if one chanced to be awake: everything still except the crackling fires, the slow-sailing moon pouring the glamour of its beams upon the hush of the forest, and the pale, mysterious glow of the rotten beech-wood answering it from the gloomy dells.

But these things were asides; and the real drama consisted of the plainest and hardest and most exasperating work. Every superfluity had to be cast off. The pork was unpacked and slung on poles. Each barrel of flour travelled on two ropes fastened to long sticks, which four men carried. The boats themselves, turned bottom-side up, rode on the shoulders of an equal number, two supporting each edge. Seven or eight journeys had to be made, back and forth, to move everything across each portage. On the first carry, the men sank almost knee-deep a large part of the way. The trail across the third lay through a slimy bog 'choaked up with Roots,' as Arnold wrote. As for the last portage, Squier described the beginning of it as a 'very bad way,' and the final mile as 'a hundred times worse.'

Indeed, it was enough to break a poor fellow's heart, this last mile. Fair and firm the ground looked from a distance; fair and even, laid with a carpet of grey-green moss, with a grove in the middle and patches of half-withered bushes here and there; but at almost every step one sank to the knee, and had for footing the sharp, broken limbs of spruces and cedars that had fallen into the morass and sunk there. Over this penitential route—'hideous,' the surgeon called it—had to be carried the bateaux, the boat-furniture, the barrels of flour, the long poles of pork,

the guns, kegs of powder, tents, and utensils. Sliding about in the greasy mire or 'stumbling over old fallen logs,' one of the four men carrying a boat on their shoulders would perhaps go down. Down would go the boat; and every now and then one of the rickety things would smash. Sometimes a barrel of flour rolled from the tripping porters into a bog-hole, and the porters had to plunge in after it, emerging presently 'plastered with mud from neck to heel.' A thousand such miserable accidents pursued one another incessantly; and, when the day's work was over, the soldiers had to camp as they could, sometimes after nightfall, sometimes in a storm and without protection. 'Very rainy and we no shelter but the Heavens,' wrote Squier after one of these days of struggle. Yet they toiled on to the end of it without a murmur, congratulating themselves on escaping 'those terrible spectres, spleen and melancholy, the usual companions of idleness.'

The leaders proved themselves worthy of such troops. Though always officers, they were always men. They made no point of formalities, assumed no airs, ordered nobody about; but led, cheered, aided, and shared in every toil and every hardship.

It was in fact no ordinary group, those officers and volunteers. Christopher Greene, struggling here in the bog with a radiant face and shining eyes, might have had a favored place with his kinsman Nathanael. Ward, the son of a noble governor of Rhode Island, one of the earliest apostles of independence, could have claimed by right of birth and education a career of ease with honor. Bigelow, who drew from Washington the exclamation, 'This is discipline indeed!' when his company passed in review,[21] was an ideal patriot. Porterfield, though he fell in early life, was to gain high distinction; Ogden was

[21] Essex Instit. Hist. Coll., XXXIII., p. 249.

to become a colonel, Nichols and Simpson were to be generals; Oswald, fighting in the French Revolution, was to repay a portion of America's debt to Lafayette; Meigs to be decreed the thanks of Congress and a sword of honor; Thayer to become famous as the hero of Fort Mifflin; Burr to be chosen vice-president; Dearborn to stand at the head of the American army.

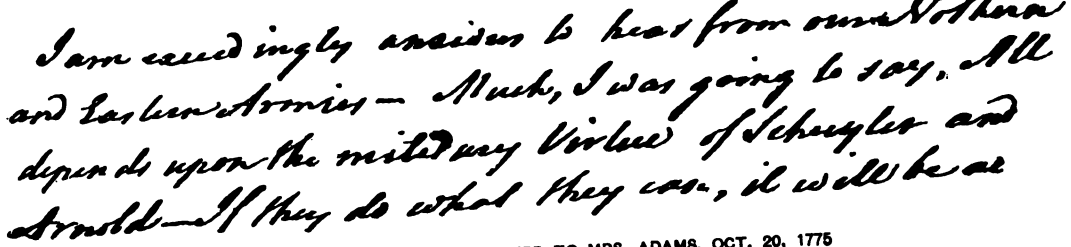
But now they toiled with the plainest of the soldiers; and, foremost of all, the pattern and guide of all, toiled Daniel Morgan, the champion of Saratoga, the Cowpens, and many another hard field. He no longer wore the frock of the rifle corps nor the cocked hat that adorned his big head at Parker's Flats, with its bit of paper and the words, 'Liberty or Death.' Stripped to the dress of the woods, the spare costume of the Indian, he braved the cold and the thickets with only a cloth round his loins, urging on the work with the arm of Achilles and the voice of Stentor. Bushes and briars crisscrossed many ragged lines of red over his thighs; but what were they after the British scourge, whose five hundred unmerited cuts less one had torn that silken back to shreds?[22]

Arnold himself arrived at the Great Carrying-Place on the eleventh of October, only four or five days later than his van, and left it on the sixteenth, only four days earlier than his rear; and he found enough to do meanwhile. Steele, leaving a part of his famishing company on Dead River to await relief, hurried back with his news; Church also reported; and then both were despatched on similar missions farther ahead. The surplus provisions, which the Commissary had been directed to lodge at Fort Halifax, were now ordered on to the Great Carrying-Place,—a command that was not and perhaps could not be obeyed.[23]

---

[22] Graham, Morgan, p. 29.

[23] Arnold to Farnsworth, Oct. 14, 1775: Me. Hist. Soc. Coll., I., p. 362. The account of Enos's retreat (Squier's Diary) shows that the order was not obeyed



I am exceedingly anxious to hear from our Northern and Eastern Armies — Much, I was going to say, All depends upon the misled way Virtues of Schuyler and Arnold — If they do what they can, it will be as I would

FROM SAMUEL ADAMS'S LETTER TO MRS. ADAMS, OCT. 20, 1775

A full account of the situation was forwarded to Washington: about 950 effectives now, provisions for some twenty-five days, the worst of the difficulties past.[24] Not every point of importance caught the leader's eyes; but many things did, and various prudent measures resulted.

Yet Arnold's labors were less than his anxieties. The responsibility of his position could not be mistaken. Upon the execution of his trust, wrote Washington, 'the safety and welfare of the whole continent' might depend. Samuel Adams confessed that he felt 'exceedingly anxious' to hear from the northern and eastern armies; and, with a hand less firm than usual, was writing at this very time, 'Should they succeed, (God grant they may!) the plan which our Enemies have laid for the Destruction of the New England Colonies, and in the event [that] of all the rest, will be defeated.' On the fourth of October, Joseph Reed had forwarded hopeful news: 'At present there is not a single regular at Quebeck, nor have they the least suspicion of any danger from any other quarter than General Schuyler.' Two days later, Montgomery confirmed this: 'I believe there is nothing to oppose him.' Indeed, only a week after the detachment set out, a rumor circulated at Cambridge that Canadians friendly to the Provincials had seized Quebec.[25]

How much was true in these reports? And what could be expected of the western army? Should that retreat after Arnold had passed the mountains, wheat between the millstones could not be ground finer than he would be. Arnold felt that he must send word of his march and secure fresh information from the north and the west.

Indians were the natural and perhaps the only available messengers. Could they be trusted? There was no doubt

---

[24] Oct. 13: Me. Hist. Soc. Coll., I., p. 361.

[25] § Wash. to Arnold, Sept. 14, 1775: Writings (Ford), III., p. 124. Adams, Oct. 20, 1775: S. Adams Papers. J. Reed: 4 Force, III., 947 (see Wash. to Cong., Oct. 5: ib., 956). Montg. to Sch., Oct. 6, 1775: ib., 1095. N. Y. Journal, Sept. 28.

a risk ; but Washington himself had urged that 'all possible intelligence' be gained on the march, and had recommended employing the St. Francis Indians for that purpose. The risk must be accepted; and Arnold now despatched a letter to his friend Mercier at Quebec, enclosing one for the western commander.[26]

Enos—was it possible that he wavered? He had served long, and proved himself a good though not a brilliant officer. For routine work he could certainly be relied upon. But this was not an ordinary affair. The rules of war had no place in it. Its leader counted fewer years than the commander of the rear-guard, and had not a single campaign to his credit. How did Enos relish those facts? Could the expedition survive a serious defection? What passed between the two men did not find its way to paper; but for some reason Arnold felt it necessary to lure Enos on to Dead River with a letter that he did not himself believe.[27]

Finally, even should the little army hold together and Quebec be willing to open her gates, would he be able to reach that splendid prize? What obstacles might not confront him later, when so far every difficulty had exceeded expectation?

Just as the pioneers began work on the morass at the end of the fourth portage, a little party of men staggered over to them from the other side,—bent, gaunt, unkempt, sallow, ghastly, scarce able to trail one foot after the other. These were the rest of Steele's reconnoitring company. The relief sent them had somehow failed to arrive; the army, delayed by obstacles and misfortunes, appeared to have retreated; and they, with what strength remained, undertook to find their comrades. At Fort

---

[26] § Wash. to Arnold (Instructions): Writings (Ford), III., p. 121. Arnold to Mercier and Sch., Oct. 13, 1775: Me. Hist. Soc. Coll., I., pp. 359, 360.

[27] To Enos, Oct. 15, 1775: Me. Hist. Soc. Coll., I., p. 362 (cf. Arnold to Wash., Oct. 13: ib., p. 361).

Western, they had been the picked men of an army of picked men. One of them was young Henry, powerful, tireless, unquenchably vital. The others were like him.

'Never declare war on a desert!' Napoleon recommended after his Egyptian campaign. Arnold had challenged the Wilderness, and that with about a hundred miles of water, instead of a prudent base, at his back. 'The greatest difficulty being, I hope already past,' he had written Washington[28]; yet at that very time he did not feel sure of advancing beyond Lake Megantic, and Steele's haggard comrades, with the answer to his challenge carved in their faces, had not yet staggered into camp. It was bold; it was brilliant; it was justifiable. But, so far as concerned results, it was bold, brilliant, justifiable gambling.

---

[28] To Wash., Oct. 13: Note 27.

XIX

STERN REALITIES

BUT Dead River seemed an end of all troubles. The falls and shallows that prevented passing up that branch from the Kennebec served as a kind of dam; and the stream, flowing for miles above through a level flood-plain, looked as quiet as a mill-pond.

Northward, the mountains drew far away, and southward also the sky bent low. To the southwest, indeed, only two or three miles distant, Mt. Bigelow reared an imposing and even tremendous front, dark with forests of evergreens and bristling here and there with ledges; but his massive bulk, though he robbed the intervale of half its afternoon and filled the river at every turn with a huge black silhouette, seemed rather a guardian than a foe, and the low valley, opening peacefully toward Canada, appeared to repose at his feet.[1]

Emerging, one by one, from the dreadful morass of the fourth portage, the boat crews let the bateaux glide quickly into the deep, meandering Brook which bounded it; and, after less than a mile of the easiest paddling, they found themselves in Dead River, here about sixty yards wide.

In the corner between the two streams, a large field of

[1] The author visited several times the district covered by this chapter. Dead River and the ponds were studied by canoe, and nearly all of the way by land also, and where difficulties arose were examined repeatedly. The best guides were employed to take measurements and obtain other information; and reliable 'old residents' gave valuable assistance. For further information as to the authorities (exclusively first-hand) for this Chapter, see REMARK XXXI.

wild grass, walled in with murmuring pines, offered soft beds, and very gratefully the army halted. Fires were soon lighted and the tents put up. A yoke of oxen that had been driven from the settlements provided every soldier with a savory meal or two. Many a line dropped its barbed invitation into the water, and trout 'in plenty, of a very large size, and excellent quality,' accepted it promptly. Doctor Senter, who still had a few potatoes, drew forth his 'small butter box,' and made 'a most luxurious supper.' Meigs and Hanchet found time and strength for an excursion to Mt. Bigelow, and even the weariest and gloomiest of the troops absorbed some radiance from the calmly beautiful scene. As soon as possible, however, the bateaux took in their lading and headed for the northwest.

Unfortunately the river proved somewhat deceptive. 'When they gave a name to it,' said Humphrey, 'They mist it very much for the current runs very Swift'; and some of the crews had to aid their paddles and oars by pulling at the low bushes on either bank. But at least it seemed a most gentle and leisurely stream, and certainly it bore little resemblance to the Kennebec. If the current moved faster than it appeared to move, at all events it flowed like oil. Mile after mile, the river wound languidly in and out, as if Mt. Bigelow were a lodestone to it; and the wayfarers, after bidding good-bye over and over

MOUNT BIGELOW FROM BOG BROOK

again to that lordly pile, again found its vast wall dead-ahead, buttressed with shadowy bastions and turreted with ledgy peaks.

The smooth water, purring and curling around the boats, looked black as ink a rod or two away; but yonder, where the slanting beams of the sun struck across, it glowed with a pale, golden-blue flush, brightened with quickly vanishing stars where countless invisible wings dipped into invisible dust, and radiant here and there with dimples and smiles above an unseen rock or a sunken log. The steep, almost vertical banks, exceeding the height of a tall man, were upholstered with alders and willows, dogwood and ferns; while the boughs of soft-maples, firs, pines, and elms, white birches and cedars embroidered the sky above. Where a turn of the river left some crumbs of beach, a merry sandpiper bobbed jauntily up and down his tiny realm; while opposite, in a little hollow, retired and marshy, a stalwart bullfrog snapped a drowsy pizzicato; and, a little farther on, in the massed evergreens, one lingering hermit thrush chanted his ringing notes. Now and then, a scolding crow flapped heavily from a pine, or a tardy bee flashed across the river above one's head like a humming bullet. At long intervals, a trout broke the perfection of the mirror; and here and there, through gaps in the bank and the forest, one caught far glimpses of the goodly blue mountains on the right.[2]

In this way, carrying around one short obstruction, Hurricane Falls, the army advanced rapidly. Placed end to end, the bateaux would have reached about a mile. In the rapids of the Kennebec, as Morison exclaimed, it had been 'a magnificent spectacle to behold a long line of

[2] Based upon the Journals and the present state of things, which—as the Journals appear to indicate—is much the same as in 1775, so far as the natural conditions are concerned.

boats trailed up an almost impassible river by their mooring ropes'; and now, if less exciting, it was far more agreeable to watch them filing past—amid the splash of oars and the cheery calls of the men—along this aqueous avenue paved with black velvet, while the shore parties made their way by land through grass and trees,—now vanishing and now, with a bright flash of steel, reappearing.

About thirteen miles from Bog Brook, on a 'Point of Land beautifully situated,' stood the cabin of Natanis,—'Sataness,' many called him, adding, in explanation, 'as big a rouge as ever Existed under heaven'; and, a league or something more beyond this point, Greene's division pitched its tents on the sixteenth of October. Arnold arrived there in the evening. Morgan and the riflemen, who had been occupied with road-making, lay a short distance behind. Dearborn camped at the falls below, with the rest of Meigs's division not far away; and Enos's troops, taking advantage of the road already built, were pressing after. It seemed as if the smooth highway to victory had been found, and soldier jollity shook its rough sides once more. Steele's party, to be sure, had fared ominously on this river. His canoes had been wrecked. Fatigue had dipped out the spring of the men's abounding vitality. With plenty of wild meat—all that one could ask of the forest—but without salt, fat, or bread, they had almost perished of starvation; and a grey old

LOWER DEAD RIVER AND MT. BIGELOW

wolf, watching them from his hummock, nearly had the picking of their bones.[3] But now, with boats enough, men enough, and supplies enough, one could feel secure.

Stern was the awakening. Squarely in front, unheralded, unsuspected, rose the hardest of hard realities,—a hand-to-hand struggle for existence. Greene's division now found itself out of bread and almost out of flour; and, when Arnold sent Bigelow back, with twelve bateaux and ninety-six men, to get a fresh stock from the surplus in Enos's keeping, this flotilla returned with only a barrel or two; no more could be obtained; no more, said Enos, could be spared.

Just how this came to pass one cannot fully understand; for, only the day before Greene put his men on half-rations (October 16), Arnold had stated that all the divisions preceding the fourth had supplies for three weeks and a half.[4] Had the damage done on the Kennebec been greater than he supposed? Very possibly. Had the troops eaten more than it was calculated they would? This also, very possibly. Men toiling out of doors as they toiled, had teeth all the way down their throats, and these fellows would not easily take 'No' for an answer. They proved, said Humphrey, a 'most ungovennable crew,' and of course that was especially the case 'as long as liquor lasted.' A fixed allowance—twelve ounces of bread and of pork each day—had to be ordered; but this restriction dated only from the fifteenth of October, and it was then too late for prudence. Half-way to Quebec, fairly caught in the wilderness, Greene's division could almost see the bottom of its flour barrel; and certainly, if Enos was able to give so little assistance, nothing could be expected from the corps ahead.

---

[3] Henry, Journal, pp. 38–46. Arnold Falls are some miles above where Greene encamped.

[4] Arnold to Enos, Oct. 15, 1775: Me. Hist. Soc. Coll., I., p. 363.

Clearly, it was a desperate case, and the issue before the division stood out unmistakably: to retreat at once or take the chances of starvation. Yet there was no hesitation. All 'not able to do Actual duty' were sent back; and the rest, with heavy but resolute hearts, pushed on. The French settlements, they repeated to one another, were not far distant, and supplies could certainly be found there. During their wait of five days, the first and third divisions had passed, and now the time must be made up, if possible. Hungry? Tighten the belt.

But something had occurred meanwhile. Thursday, the nineteenth, there were 'small rains,' as Arnold called them; the next day, the downpour increased; and Saturday the army had to reckon with a regular storm,—no, an altogether extraordinary storm, a furious, raging, slashing, intolerable tempest from the southwest. 'A windier nor a rainier day I never see,' wrote Squier, with grammar quite good enough to be understood. 'An almost hurricane,' the surgeon called it. Torrents of rain soaked the poor soldiers laboring to make headway by land or water, while broken or uprooted trees almost barred the river, and some of them—'tumbling upon all quarters'—came near sinking the boats. Evening brought an end of toil, but not a beginning of comfort. Little supper could be had without fire; no fires were possible save in tents; no tents could stand except in the shelter of trees, and the trees fell upon the tents instead of shielding them.

Dead River drained a multitude of ponds, natural reservoirs among the mountains. The ponds were now full; they emptied their waters down the valleys; the streams united. Out of the darkness burst the flood, suddenly, with a sweep and a roar. In the blackness of the blackest night, while the torrents of rain drove like flails and the trees were crashing and smashing and shivering, Arnold, already in the foothills, was awakened by the chilly touch of water:

the flood had invaded his camp. Happily he and his party succeeded in saving themselves; their baggage, instantly seized by the torrent, was rescued; and then, retreating to a small hill that stood 'very luckily' at hand, they passed the remainder of the night in misery.

The riflemen lay about a mile below, on a bank eight or nine feet high; but the flood rose higher than that, poured in upon them, roused them, and forced them back to higher ground. Farther away, where the valley opened, this

ARNOLD FALLS, DEAD RIVER[3]

rise of the river was less; but it overflowed everywhere. Nearly down to the beautiful Point, many miles from the foothills, four feet of water stood in the morning where a camp-fire had been lighted the evening before: 'the river raised we judged 12 feet,' noted a soldier there. Barrels of pork and gunpowder were swept away, and bateaux sunk.

Many of the troops had no shelter but hemlock boughs. Worn by a terrible day's work, they were sadly buffeted under this nominal shelter. 'Not a dry thread had any

of the army all night,' Dr. Senter said afterwards; and then, about midnight, the air grew sharp and froze them. With the cold came a searching wind. The pall overhead broke a little; a few stars appeared; and the poor shivering wretches, powerless except to suffer, looked up at their canopy of swift storm-clouds, remembered sadly the snug quarters in Cambridge, and then braced themselves to keep alive till morning.

A strange scene greeted them when the sun rose. For a long distance above Greene's encampment, Dead River had been everywhere interesting and often lovely when Steele's party made their trip. At one spot, the trees knit open fringes along the banks; at another, they gathered in a sociable group. On the right stood a clump of firs. On the left, a pair of great pines towered above some fluttering birches like the cathedral spires above Chartres, with a fine young elm keeping guard in front of them all, a soft maple, full of low, rich tones, bending from the point like a Sicilian girl at the fountain, and a tangle of dogwood tumbling in a little cataract of color down the bank; while, half hiding in the midst of it, the ribbon of dark water, forever veering to right or left as if ruled by some new fancy, wove all things into harmony with itself and with one another. Through reposeful beauty like that, how cheerful—even strengthening—the march would have been!

But now one saw, wrote Arnold, only 'a melancholy prospect.' The Dead had become alive and presented to every eye, as to Henry's, 'a most frightful aspect.' Instead of a river, one beheld an immense lake, and, sweeping through the midst of it, a rushing torrent. For a mile on both sides, it was thought, the lowlands had been flooded. Yet the boats dared not choose the quieter waters, for they could not be sure of a passage through. It was necessary to follow as best they might the true

course of the stream, and to stem the current proved almost impossible. In many places, oars and paddles counted for little, and the poles could not find bottom. Where the banks rose above the flood, a man would lie down on the bow of a bateau, and pull it along by the bushes, while others went ashore and hauled at the painter; but this was tedious and perilous work at the best, and here and there fallen trees almost barricaded the way.

Above, among the foothills, where the waters could not spread so much, the river was the more furious. Morgan's first lieutenant and 'his whole boat's crew were overturn'd, [and] lost every thing except their lives, with which they escaped very unexpectedly.'[5] Lieutenant Simpson, an expert at boating, undertook to help a party over the stream. After several unsuccessful attempts he crossed. Those in the bow seized the small birches on the shore, but could not hold them, and the bateau swung round. Again the bushes were grasped, 'but the strength of the water made the withes as so many straws.' Several of the men sprang out; that pushed the boat into the stream; it upset instantly, and its occupants were caught by the current. In vain a pole was held out to one of them: he gripped it 'as by the hand of death,' but the man on the shore could not hold on against the force of the current without risking his own life; and the unfortunates, beyond all human help, went rolling heels over head down the stream, now at the surface, now at the bottom, now banging one against another, and now crashing into some rock or some broken tree.[6]

No better fortune befell the land parties. It was impossible to keep along by the river. Detours and wide circuits multiplied all distances. Landmarks had been swallowed up. Dry gullies were now rushing streams. Every little

[5] Senter, Journal, Oct. 22.

[6] Henry, Journal, pp. 53–55.

tributary had become a river. Over and over again, swollen rivulets had to be followed until a narrow place was found, and a tree could be felled across for a bridge. Once, if not more than once, a party toiled for miles up a stream only to discover that it was not Dead River at all. At night, many of the men were unable to find the boats, and had to bivouac as they could, without supper and without breakfast. Captain Thayer and his party, losing the route entirely, were 'cast in to the greatest consternation, not being able to make any other way but by wading through the water'; and so they kept on through the night, almost sinking with hunger, fatigue, and cold.

All made the greatest exertions. Meals were cooked after dark and eaten in the boats, to save every moment of daylight for getting on; yet snails might have scorned the army's pace. Finally, late on Monday afternoon, October the twenty-third, seven bateaux upset in attempting to ascend some rapids, and the provisions they contained were totally lost. This was a climax of misfortunes too serious to be ignored. Evidently the plan of the march had broken down. To push on to Lake Megantic and decide there whether to advance or not was out of the question, for at that point the army would not have provisions enough to carry it back. The final decision must be made here; and the Colonel, now in company with the first and third divisions, summoned a council of war immediately.

NEAR SHADAGEE FALLS [1]

There was no flinching on the leader's part, for Benedict Arnold did not lack energy, courage, nor enterprise. 'Our bold though inexperienced general discovered such firmness and zeal as inspired us with resolution,' wrote Stocking; and merely to call the roll of the officers was to record so many ballots for daring the worst.

Most of the men also stood firm. They had enlisted for a glorious enterprise, and retreat was the last thing they desired. Fatigue and hardships had by this time broken many a strong fellow and weakened all, and an excuse for drifting to the rear lay close within everybody's reach. Yet instead of asking to go back, the men concealed their illness. 'When any of their comrades would remark to them,' so one of the riflemen recorded, 'that they would not be able to advance much farther, they would raise up their half bent bodies, and force an animated look into their ghastly countenances, observing at the same time that they would soon be well enough.'[1] But the menace of actual starvation was terrible. Toil, suffering, illness, half-rations,—all these could be charmed away with a laugh, a bit of song, a jest, and a big-hearted thought of honor and country; but no rations at all—who could win a victory over famine? It was time for the leaders to reflect.

The council met, and the next morning its decisions went into effect. Retreat? No. Twenty-six invalids only were sent back; Captain Hanchet, with a picked company of fifty, set out with all speed for the settlements in the Chaudière valley to obtain supplies; the two divisions followed on; and Arnold himself, after exhorting the men to persevere, dashed forward with a small party at the head of all. It was now to be a race,—a race against time, a race against hunger.

The second division was still but little in advance of the

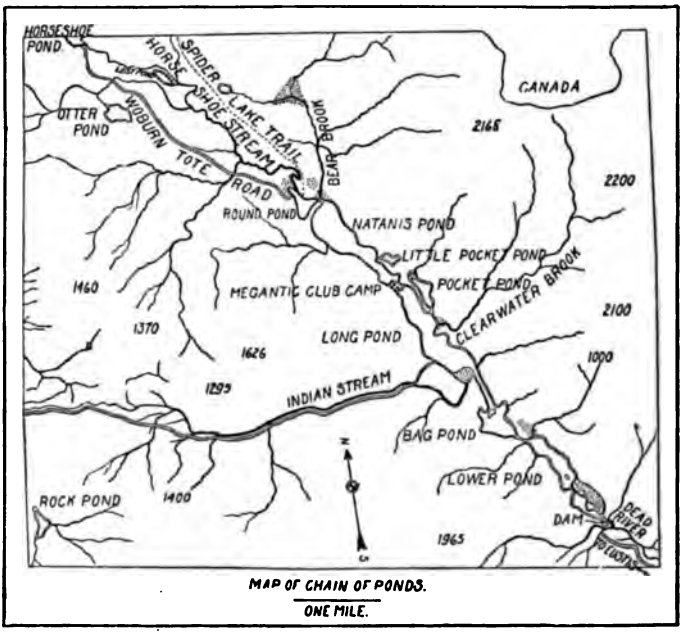
[1] Morison, Journal, Oct. 25.

fourth; and the next day after Arnold and Hanchet pushed forward, Enos requested Greene to halt for a conference of the chief officers (October 25). About noon the meeting took place. No pomp or ado gave it an air of importance. A little group of well bronzed men gathered informally. Some of them sat on the rocks and others found it easier to stand. Here and there a sword could be seen, and here and there a touch of gold lace on a dingy cocked hat or a frayed and soiled uniform. Some looked famished, and all were tired and thin. But the point at issue gave more than dignity to the meeting. It involved the question of advance or retreat; and all present had reason to believe that on their decision hung the success or failure of the campaign, probably the fate of Canada, very likely the future of the United Colonies, and perhaps the destiny of the New World.

Enos presided, and near him gathered his officers,— 'Melancholy Aspects,' growled the surgeon, 'who had been preaching to their men the Doctrine of impenitrability and non-perseverance.' Possibly no long sermons had been required. Reasons enough to be discouraged lay on the surface, and no doubt a part of the soldiers wished to go back. As in Morgan's corps, many were now exhausted with fatigue and privations: forty-eight invalids had been sent down the river by Greene this very day. The swift water became constantly harder and harder to combat, as the army advanced farther into the highlands. Many of the troops had no tents. Not a few lacked the needful clothing. Everybody was hungry.

'Fear was added to sorrow,' as Stocking confessed in his Journal. The distance to go grew long as rapidly as it was expected to grow short. So far everything had been worse than anybody anticipated, and all the unknown trials that lay ahead were magnified by the fancy in the same proportion. Only the night before, winter had

thrown several inches of snow on their path, as an omen of the cold shroud awaiting them. Beyond the freezing wilderness lurked the regulars and Mohawks reported by Getchell. And what was it all for? A chance to get killed. The end of the march was Quebec, impregnable.



As well bombard these black mountains with snowballs. Thus reasoned the 'Melancholy Aspects,' no doubt."

But oh, how Greene's dark eyes flamed at all this!" 'Duty, honor, forward!' they commanded; and his officers burned with the same fire.

---

[x] REMARK XXXVII.

[y] This and other references to Greene's personal appearance are based upon a portrait in the possession of Brown University.

Arnold's orders of the previous day, instead of authorizing a retreat, had urged Greene and Enos to press on, taking as many of their best men as could be furnished with rations for fifteen days; and at least a hundred could have been supplied for this time, after allowing the rest what seemed necessary for their return.[10] But evidently Enos and his captains had resolved to withdraw, and had asked for the conference merely to get a semblance of authorization. Confidence, hope, and spirit had failed them. Stepping up to Thayer, Williams bade him goodbye: 'I wish you success,' he said; 'but I've no expectation of seeing you or any of your party again.' [11] Both sides were facing the same facts; but the second division felt ready to do more than its orders, the fourth division eager to do less. One took counsel of fear, and the other of courage. That was the difference; and after Enos, for the sake of appearances, had voted to go on, he joined with his captains on the other side, and at two o'clock the fourth division received orders to face about.

At least, then, said Greene, a division of supplies. It was promised; but the promise failed. There were tears in Enos's eyes, a bystander thought; but no bread was in his hand. The men, he declared, were out of his power, and fully determined to keep the provisions. At last, however, Greene was given two barrels of flour; and, with this mere pittance of bread, his troops, full of 'determined resolution to go through or die,' girded up their loins. 'Received it, put it on board of our boats, quit the few tents we were in possession of, with all other camp equipage, took each man to his duds on his back, bid them adieu, and away,'—ran the surgeon's record.[12]

---

[10] In Arnold's March, pp. 385–392, the author has attempted to work out the problem of provisions and settle the question of responsibility.

[11] Thayer, Journal, Oct. 25.

[12] Senter, Journal, Oct. 25.

Even the contagion of selfishness and panic was powerless to touch these heroes.

Reduced now to about seven hundred men, the feeble army toiled on. Upper Dead River had little resemblance to the deep, smooth avenue below. Meadows had given place to hills, and hills began to make way for still bolder scenery. 'The heights of land upon each side of the river, which had hitherto been inconsiderable,' said one of the wayfarers, 'now became prodigiously mountanious, closing as it were down up[on] the river with an aspect of an immense height.' [13] More and more they seemed to bar the way just ahead, though the water always contrived some twist or tumble that let it through.

The flood had vanished almost as quickly as it came, for the drainage area was narrow and steep; and now the boatmen were troubled by the shallows. Swifter and swifter grew the current. Closer and closer followed rapids on rapids. Now the falls were like a staircase, with a curling wave for every step; now they made a sudden pitch several feet high; and, whatever they looked like, they always announced extra labor and more delay. Once, at least, they meant a further loss of bateaux and provisions; and when at last the boatmen lifted their heavy craft over a beaver dam into a welcome pond, the grasshopper would have seemed a burden to their aching shoulders. Only some forty-five miles by linear measure, this, from the upper edge of the Great Carrying-Place; but in time and effort, in fatigue, hardship, and anxiety what hundreds of leagues!

The troops on shore had thriven little better, all this while. They found the country a maze of hills and swamps, bog-holes and steeps, ravines, ledges, rocks, and ponds, 'a direful, howling wilderness not describable,'

[13] Senter, Journal, Oct. 24. Shadagee Falls are in this part of the river.

'a dreary aspect, a perpetual silence, an universal void,' as two of the army tried to picture, or at least suggest, it. At numberless places, a shower of crumbs, brushed long ago from the rocky lap of the mountains, filled the way with a mossy avalanche of blocks. Here and there a spur ran down to the very edge of the river, breaking off in a precipice almost impossible to get by. Serried ranks of fir, spruce, hackmatack, and hemlock often barred the way. Progress, always tedious, was seldom without peril, and the universal frown of nature was constantly depressing; but at last the foot-men also reached the beaver dam.

Happily, not one quiet piece of water merely, but a fine series of ponds gave the men a respite here. These, with the connecting streams, reached some twelve miles toward the northwest, and extended to the very foot of the ultimate ridge, the 'Height of Land,' which separated Canada from her neighbor on the south.

ONE OF THE CHAIN OF PONDS

The first and third of the series were the longest of all. Around them, as Arnold noted, stood 'a chain of prodigious high mountains,' which now snuffed out the pale wintry sun not long after midday; and their dark waters and sombre recesses, the sky-climbing tiers of primeval pines—dotted here and there with a few reckless birches—on their almost vertical shores, the dazzling snows above them—gilded for a moment by the last sunbeam—which gave a still darker hue to the evergreen foliage, and the slight

veil of mist, which draped the wooded islets and the heights with distance and mystery,—all these belittled yet ennobled the frail procession of bateaux steering slowly on through the midst of this grandeur. For the first time in many days, the men could now enjoy a long breath,—a refreshment even more needed for the coming trials than required by the past. And indeed toils and perils confronted them even here. The streams connecting the ponds were shallow, tortuous, and swift; the bateaux had to be carried many times; Arnold, overwhelmed by a driving snowstorm, found himself compelled to go ashore repeatedly to bail out his boats; and Ogden, lost in the night, discovered a refuge only by chance at the surgeon's camp-fire.[14]

Beyond these first lakes, the mountains opened for a space, and here the leader of the advance met a rude shock. Steele had certainly gone beyond this point in some direction and even crossed the height of land. One of his men, climbing the bare trunk of a pine for some forty feet and then pushing up through its branches, had followed for many miles with his eye the pale, glistening thread of a stream, and even descried Lake Megantic in the far distance.[15] But where was Steele's path? 'Our guides gone forward had made

HORSESHOE POND

[14] The region about Upper Dead River and the ponds is still a wilderness.
[15] Henry, Journal, p. 55.

no marks or we had missed them,' said Arnold. A mistake here might sentence the whole body to a lingering death; but the party had to encamp late at night, 'much fatigued and chilled with the cold,' yet still quite baffled in its search.

Happily, no mistake was made. When they had worked about four miles, the next morning, up a most crooked, shallow, rapid creek, often blocked with 'drift Loggs,' a few rods of portage led them to a small pond hidden in a wooded cup. Carrying the boats nearly a mile along a high ridge brought them next to a butterfly loch half a mile across, as they went. Then came a small, round lakelet, garnished with boulders and countless lily-pads bleached by the frost; and finally they arrived at the last of the series, Arnold Pond, a mammoth dragon-fly of glossy green pinned to the earth with long shadows just below the Height of Land. A bold, high mountain fronted them here on the north; a sea of Appalachian summits piled wave on wave of dark forest toward the south and east; the range of boundary peaks filled the west; and, if a horn were blown or a shot fired, the sound would ring and circle, echo and re-echo, die and revive around the green walls of the lake, until the ear felt really haunted by its fugitive sweetness.[16]

But the Provincial troops thought little now of woodland beauty and saw no charm in dark waters. Shadows enough lay in their thoughts.

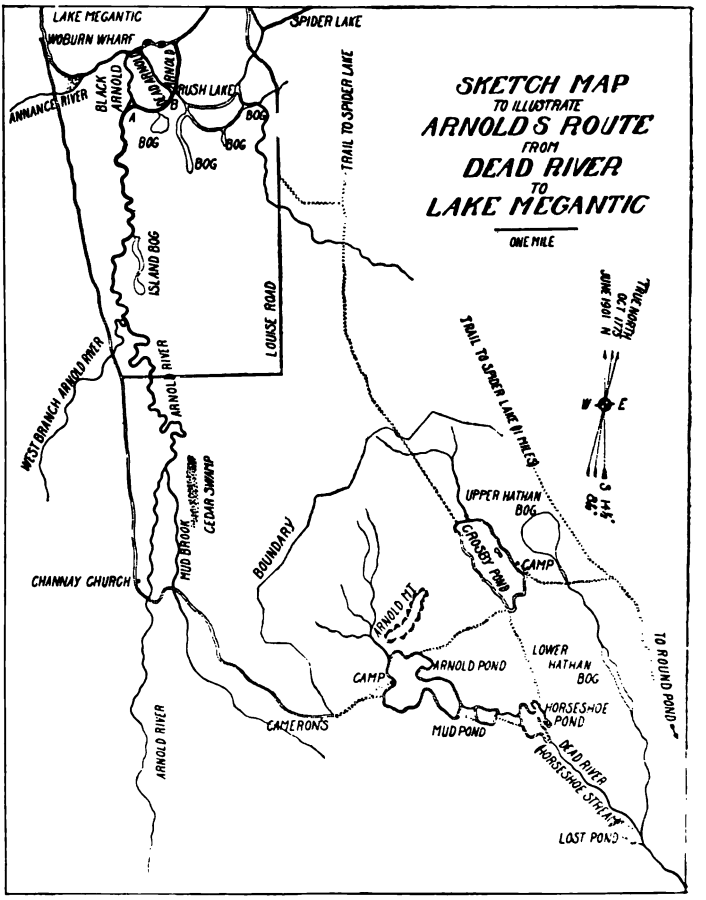
'The most ferocious and unnatural heart must shudder,' explained Captain Thayer in his Journal, to think of 'courageous men . . . taking up some raw hides that lay for several Days in the bottom of their boats intended for to make them shoes or moggosins of in case of necessity, which they did not then look into so much as they did their

[16] REMARK XXXVIII. The 'butterfly loch' is Horseshoe Pond.

own preservation, and chopping them to pieces, cinging first the hair afterwards boiling them and living on the juice or liquid that they soak'd from it for a considerable time.' 'Friday, 27th,' Dr. Senter jotted down, 'Our bill of fare for last night and this morning consisted of the jawbone of a swine destitute of any covering. This we boiled in a quantity of water, that with a little thickening made our su[m]ptuous eating.' To that 'dismal situation' some of the troops had already been reduced; and the settlements on the Chaudière, believed so near ten days before, were still far away.

ARNOLD POND

Yet no one thought of giving up. Indeed, they could not retreat now; and the army set forward as rapidly as possible on the twenty-third and longest portage, four miles and a quarter over the Height of Land. For once their misfortunes wore the look of blessings: they had little to carry. The provisions weighed only four or five pounds per man. A large part of the gunpowder proved to be damaged, and was thrown away. Tents were not worth carrying: better the face of Jove, however frowning, than such a burden. The bateaux had broken up, one by one, until but few remained. Morgan had preserved seven and decided to carry them across, for there was no other way to transport his military stores down the Chaudière; but resolution of such a temper now transcended the power of mere men. An attempt was made to trail the bateaux up a brook that entered Arnold


SKETCH MAP
TO ILLUSTRATE
ARNOLD'S ROUTE
FROM
DEAD RIVER
TO
LAKE MEGANTIC
ONE MILE
LAKE MEGANTIC
WOBURN WHARF
SPIDER LAKE
ANNANCE RIVER
BLACK ARNOLD
ARNOLD
BRUSH LAKE
BOG
BOG
BOG
BOG
TRAIL TO SPIDER LAKE
ISLAND BOG
LOUISE ROAD
WEST BRANCH ARNOLD RIVER
ARNOLD RIVER
MUD BROOK
CEDAR SWAMP
BOUNDARY
CHANNAY CHURCH
TRAIL TO SPIDER LAKE 8½ MILES
UPPER HATHAN BOG
GROSBY PWR
CAMP
ARNOLD TIE
CAMP
ARNOLD POND
LOWER HATHAN BOG
HORSESHOE POND
CAMERONS
MUD POND
DEAD RIVER
HORSESHOE STREAM
LOST POND
TO ROUND POND
ARNOLD RIVER
N 1061 MAG
OCT 1172
TRUE NORTH
W
E
S
44°

Pond; but the plan had to be given up, and each company, except Morgan's, took only a single boat across.

Even in this light order, the troops were hardly able to conquer the mountain. A trail existed, to be sure, and Steele's pioneers had bettered it; but such a path could not be called a highway, except in altitude. 'Rubbish' had been accumulating here ever since creation, as it seemed to Morison; and a handful of tired, starving men could not remove it all in a few days. Ten acres of trees, blown down across the route, had to be left there. A swamp half a mile wide could not be plucked up. Rocks, dead logs, gorges, and precipices had to be stumbled over. The snow, hiding pitfalls and stones, betrayed many a foot into a wrench and a bruise. The slightest accident was liable to mean death. 'A root, a twig, perhaps, caught the buckle of my shoe,' wrote Henry of passing this place; 'tripped, I came down head foremost, unconscious how far, but perhaps twenty or thirty feet.' Those who carried the boats—and no doubt all carried in turn—ran the greatest danger, for bateaux and carriers often fell together, pell-mell, down a pitch. The 'Terrible Carrying-place,'—that was the soldiers' name for it.

But, blessed be God! it was all over on Saturday, October the twenty-eighth. Arnold and Hanchet had now put a considerable space between themselves and the main body; but, in the afternoon of that day, the rest of the troops found themselves beside Seven Mile Stream,[17] two leagues due south, as the bee flew, from Lake Megantic; and again they took a long breath,—longer and sweeter than any above Fort Western.

The spot where they gathered was 'not a little delightsome,' wrote one of them. There, and there alone in the

[17] Now called Arnold River.

whole region, could be found smooth and open meadows. No bristling crags were about them, but wide fields, levelled with gently dropping silt from the spring floods; no hard rocks, but a soil that yielded softly to the foot like the deepest of tapestries. Nature had been 'lavish' of beauties here, said Montresor, and he pronounced river and intervale 'mutual ornaments.' [18] Ash-trees, oaks, and

THE HEIGHT OF LAND NEAR ARNOLD POND

groups of lordly elms took the place of dense, gloomy evergreens, and 'fine medow joint grass, to a very great growth,' welcomed aching bodies to repose. Hungry, tired, gaunt? Yes, all that; but still alive and still together, and the spring of life still flowing.

All was not sunshine, however. The retreat of the fourth division became known here to all the rest. The news, as Dearborn confided to his Journal, 'disheartened & discouraged our men very much, as they Carri'd Back more than their part or quota of Provision & Ammunition, & our Detachment, before being but Small & now loosing these three Companies, we were Small indeed to think of entering such a place as QUEBEC.' The seceders had found roads and bush huts ready-made for them, and in

[18] Montresor, Journal: Me. Hist. Soc. Coll., I., p. 356 (July 19).

other ways profited by the labor and experience of the main body. While they, for their part, had merely dreaded famine, all the rest had felt it, even the riflemen having been 'wholly destitute of any kind of meat before this for eight days,' as Ogden noted; and these facts added greatly to the 'manly resentment' of the on-goers at what they called the 'Cowardly, dastardly & unfriendly Spirit' of the fourth division. The misfortune could not be repaired, however; and, with a soldier's hearty curse on every defaulter, they sternly faced the front.

But that quarter, also, gave rise to many unpleasant thoughts. What lay between them and Quebec? Ten days back, they had been ordered to fill their powder-horns, and an attack began to be looked for. Indeed, some of those who arrived first at the meadows discovered, or thought they discovered, a thin pillar of smoke at the westward.[19] Had Arnold's letters gone safely through? Was Carleton, that wary old soldier, asleep? Would not the peasants resent this armed invasion? If they should, some dark passage in the valley below might easily prove the sepulchre of the expedition. And, even were no human foe lurking there, might it not prove a sepulchre still? Only too well the power of the Wilderness was now realized.

It was certainly a grave situation; but the army must advance, and that quickly. All the provisions were gathered into a common fund and then divided. This furnished each man with four or five pints of flour and a trifle of pork. The officers, as a rule, gave their share of meat to the men, but even so it amounted to only a few ounces apiece.[20] This meagre stock, with possibly a scrap

[19] Senter, Journal, Oct. 28.

[20] Ogden says eight ounces, whereas Senter says it would not have averaged an ounce per man. Others estimated it as two ounces.

of game and an occasional fish, was to carry the troops through the eighty miles or more of hard marching to the first inhabitants. But the ordeal could be met with patience, as everything else had been ; and they calmly prepared to move on.

About four o'clock, a great shout went up near the Stream, and presently it ran like fire through the whole encampment: a messenger and a letter had come from the Colonel.[21] News had arrived from below, and all was well. No hostile posts guarded the route. The peasants would receive the Provincials as friends. Few or no regulars occupied Quebec, and the city—wholly unapprised of its danger—could 'be easily taken.' The western army under Montgomery was advancing, and had already killed or wounded some five hundred of the regulars at or near St. Johns.[22] Arnold himself was pressing on, and would send back provisions to meet the troops.

Instantly an awful burden fell from the hearts of the poor ragged fellows under the elms. What the next few days had in store, it was beyond their power to imagine. They saw their hopes, not their fears, coming true. The splendid goal of their sufferings appeared already in sight. No doubt it would be a hard

ARNOLD RIVER AND THE MEADOWS

[21] Arnold to officers, Oct. 27, 1775: Me. Hist. Soc. Coll., I., p. 367.

[22] Besides the Journals, see Arnold to Wash., Oct. 27, 1775: Me. Hist. Soc. Coll., I., p. 366.

march; but, thank God! there could be no question about the route. Lake Megantic lay almost in sight, and from it the Chaudière flowed to Quebec. It was a direct, sure road; and all the way down hill. Twenty miles a day, and in four days the struggle would be over. True, they had little to eat, but relief would soon meet them; and, until then, what was left of muscle and flesh, nerve, marrow, and life, would continue to honor drafts.

A sunburst of joy broke forth in the quiet of those astonished meadows. The whole wide valley rang with cheers; and warm-hearted Major Meigs harangued the soldiers on the glory of their mission, till their zeal blazed again at furnace heat.[23]

[23] Stocking, Journal, Oct. 28.

XX

AT THE THRESHOLD OF DEATH

ARNOLD'S letter directed his army to avoid the river and march along the high ground on the eastern side of the valley; but one, indeed two, portions of the force did not follow this order. Morgan had the seven boats, and so he paddled down the deep, winding Stream easily and happily with his men, well enough repaid for its tedious meanderings by the long review of densely wooded mountains on either hand; while several companies, moving before the letter came, took the obvious route to Lake Megantic along the bank of the river, and soon exchanged the delightsome meadows for clumps and then dense thickets of alders, willows, and many nameless bushes, broken here and there with low knolls where pines and firs towered high, and with swamps or pools deeply edged with sere grass.[1]

Against this course the leader's warning had been emphatic; but, had he fully understood the lay of the land, it would have been more urgent still. In a word, these weary soldiers journeying down the river were bound for a miserable trap.

The southern end of the lake measured two miles or a little more in width, and the Stream, flowing almost due

---

[1] For information about the authorities (exclusively first-hand) for this chapter, refer to REMARK XXXI. See also Dearborn's letter to Allen: Bushnell, Crumbs, I.; and Ward's letter: Gammell, Ward, p. 339. The author studied the district on both sides of Arnold River by land and also by canoe.

north, entered it somewhat west of the middle. Still farther to the west, emptied the Annance River through a great swamp, utterly impassable. The other side was little better. Far to the east, Spider River took its rise near the Height of Land, flowed down to Spider Lake, then through a short outlet into Rush Lake, and finally, turning north, entered Lake Megantic half a mile or so from Seven Mile Stream. Just after leaving Rush Lake it received an offshoot from the Stream, that struck across like the bar of an H; and, from a point near this junction, the bar sent another channel, the Dead Arnold, to Lake Megantic. It was a maze of watercourses.[2]

NEAR THE MOUTH OF ARNOLD RIVER IN 1903

But here the difficulty only began. The end of the valley or beginning of the lake, where these four streams emptied their inky tides, was the picture of desolation. Nothing could have been more doleful or more desperate. Whether to call it land or call it water one could hardly say; and indeed it was neither, but an indescribable expanse of waveless black and rusty brown, varied with oozy ground and water-soaked refuse, the sink of storms and spring floods, the slimy chaos of delta-building. Swamp-grass flourished with a luxuriance that hinted of a loathsome fertility. Bubbles of tainted gas exploded in the hectic pools. Scores of dead trees, the débris of the highlands, lay rotting here and there, while

[2] REMARK XXXIX. See p. 572. A B is the cross-bar.

over them towered lifeless trunks gradually toppling into the same horrible grave but shrinking back with uncanny gestures of despair. It was death in life and life in death; the morgue of the wilderness; the lazaretto of blight and decay.'

Hanchet's men fell promptly into the trap; but Arnold helped them off in his boats, and then, supposing that his letter would save the rest, went on.

Of the main body, Goodrich came first. Ploughing down for several miles through the woods and thickets and through bogs and swamps coated with ice, his men waded the cross-bar, though the ground gave way at every step, and pressed on to the lake, intending to follow its eastern shore. But this proved impossible, for the Dead Arnold stopped them; and, when Dearborn arrived, in a canoe that he had discovered in the woods, he found Goodrich 'almost perished with the Cold, having Waded Several Miles Backwards & forwards, Sometimes to his Arm-pits in Water & Ice, endeavoring to find some place to Cross this River.'

Goodrich's bateau had pulled ahead with all the flour of the company, for no such difficulty had been expected; so Dearborn, taking in his fellow-officer, went in pursuit of it. But the bateau had gone too far to be overtaken; and, before the Captains could return, darkness came on, and they found it necessary to camp on the shore of the lake, 'very uneasy all Night' about their men.

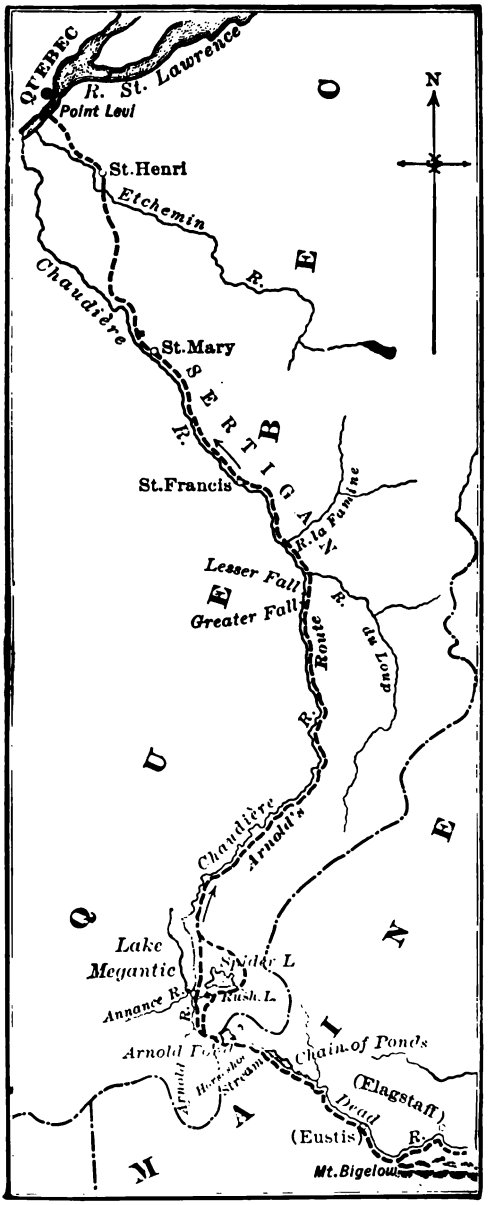
And there was reason enough for their uneasiness. The poor fellows, exhausted by the terrible march, had only a swamp for their bed and a freezing bog for their hearth. One man fainted from exhaustion and the cold. But as usual they made the best of their case.

[1] This description is based upon the Journals and the present condition of the place, carefully studied with reference to the changes likely to have occurred since 1775. (This remark applies to all the descriptions.) The deposits of a century and a quarter have probably raised the earth about as much as the dam in the Chaudière has raised the water. Except Seven Mile Stream, all the names are recent.

Wading about in the water, they got firewood, and somehow made it blaze. Then, eating 'a mouthful of pork,' they lay down to sleep,—Dearborn's men on a low hillock, with their heads so close to the water all round that a heavy rain would have drowned them out. The next forenoon, Smith and Ward came down with one bateau apiece, and at length, after all this exposure and extreme fatigue, the soldiers were ferried across the two rivers to solid ground. A day and a half of priceless time had been lost, and a great part of their scanty strength wasted, in that wretched mire-hole. A 'direct, sure road,' indeed!

The rest of the troops, retiring from the meadows to the high ground, set out the next morning on a course just east of north, and at first succeeded well; but after a while, misled possibly by a small stream that seemed to be flowing toward Lake Megantic, they bore a little to the left, and soon found themselves in the 'ocean of swamp' just south of Rush Lake,—'the most execrable bogmire, impenitrable *Pluxus* of shrubs, imaginable,' as Dr. Senter described it. A thick growth of low cedars, hackmatacks, and spruces, mixed with alders, choked the swamp; and the slippery roots, hidden under a green moss full of ice and water, threatened every moment a sprain or a dislocation. To be disabled there meant a slow, sure death, as all understood full well; but after a little time ankles and feet were so benumbed by the cold that, in spite of caution, it was impossible to avoid falling.

At length, working painfully toward the east, the party came to the outlet of Spider Lake. A single word was all they needed then. Had they but crossed this little stream and pushed boldly toward the northwest, they would have caught the broad, crinkly gleam of Lake Megantic after half an hour of comfortable walking. But the guide sent them by Arnold was not well posted, and


QUEBEC
R. St. Lawrence
Point Levi
St.Henri
Etchemin R.
Chaudière R.
St.Mary
St.Francis
R. la Famine
Lesser Falls
Greater Falls
Route
R. du Loup
Chaudière R.
Arnold's
Lake Megantic
Spider L.
Bush L.
Angange R.
Arnold R.
Chain of Ponds
Arnold's Horseback Stream
(Flagstaff)
Dead R.
(Eustis)
Mt. Bigelow
N
QUEBEC
MAINE

Greene, who led the march with a compass, had no clue except Montresor's map, here fatally defective. He dared not leave the water, for he naturally thought the water could be depended upon to bring them somewhere; and so they kept on 'over a continual succession of ridges and mountains, interspersed with morasses,' vainly following the wavy shore of Spider Lake in and out, in and out; for no spider has more legs than this lake has bays.

At night, officers and men alike felt thoroughly exhausted and absolutely lost. Where they were, where the rest were, where Lake Megantic or the Chaudière River could be found, nobody had the faintest idea, —no more, one of them expressed it, than if they had been roaming 'in the unknown interiors of Africa, or the deserts of Arabia.' Scraping the snow away, they built fires, shivering with cold from head to foot, and almost fainting before the tardy heat of the blaze began to warm them. Somebody was lucky enough to kill a partridge, and a little soup was made of it; but this was only a drop. Each man took a gill of flour, stirred it up with water, and served himself with unsalted gruel or shoemaker's paste, according to his preference; or perhaps he mixed it rather stiff, and warmed it on the coals or the ashes,—though not much, lest a little should burn.

After that, all lay down on the ground, with only the sky above their heads. Bears were plentiful, for their tracks were on the snow. Wolves, too, abounded, for their blood-curdling howls resounded from hill to hill. What was that,—wind? Or was it the distant war-whoop of savages, falling upon some other fraction of the army? Nobody could be sure; but every man of them knew that unless the next day should bring them out somewhere, they might as well give up.

On the morrow, Monday, they were afoot as soon as light appeared. 'Cooking being very much out of fashion,' as

From
Montrésor's
Map of 1761.

the surgeon remarked, they were quickly off, many nibbling their breakfast cakes as they marched. No military order had been required the day before, and they still went on in a rambling Indian file. Before long, Spider River stopped their advance. At first, they thought it possible to go round the lagoon-like stream, and steered more to the south for that purpose; but after a time it seemed a hopeless errand, and they looked for a ford. About three miles from the lake, probably, a crossing-place was lighted upon, and through the water—here some four feet deep—they had to wade, breaking the ice on each side of the river.

Then the dreary march began again, through a region that seemed to Captain Topham 'made only for an asylum for wild beasts.'

Here a far-reaching pile of blown-down hemlocks barred the way with a thousand branches as stiff and almost as sharp as spears: to go round meant a weary tramp, to go through meant a battle. Often young firs were planted across the way like a palisade, their lower branches dead and set. Often a dense growth of low bushes hid the ground, and any step might mean the fatal sprain. Here and there, a leg suddenly went down between the roots of a tree, and only good luck saved the man from a broken bone; or a rotten log that seemed firm snapped under his weight and hurled him twenty feet down into the chasm that it bridged, while his gun flew as it listed, burying itself in a bog or a snow bank. Now and then he came to a deep, oozy swamp where he could escape miring only, if at all, by rushing across it with all his might. Spruce twigs springing back into his eyes like steel wires; twisted roots catching his ankle under the leaves; moss-grown rocks bringing him to the ground,—these were lesser yet serious ills.

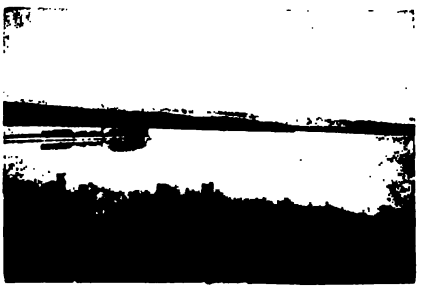
All round him spread the vastness of the forest, cutting

off his vision and shutting him in ; dumb to every question, fatal to every hope, elusive as mist, yielding only as sand yields to the bullet, passive but invincible, unknown and therefore boundless, quenching courage with that blind hopelessness and impotence that often turn brave men into whimpering children, when they realize they are lost in the bush ; and on through all this : over hill and mountain ; through chasm and swamp ; now up, now down ; dodging, leaping, stumbling, climbing, crawling ; slipping on wet sticks, catching vainly at bushes, tripping and pitching one against another ; torn, bruised, and breathless,—on went the straggling wanderers through the 'hideous swamps and mountanious precipices,' some in hope, some in despair, but all in deadly fear of falling by the way and perishing miserably and alone among the bears and wolves. The 'pilot' had long felt thoroughly frightened, and nobody—except perhaps one young Indian —pretended to have an idea.

At length, 'just as the sun was departing,' the end came. The leaders halted, and looked earnestly at the ground. Lo, there were tracks in the snow,—human tracks. A thrill went through every heart. They were the footsteps of the companies that had marched down by the Seven Mile Stream : men as hungry, as feeble as themselves, perhaps as far astray, but yet men and comrades ; and yonder, in its rim of mild slopes crowned with the dull brightness of a wintry sunset, lay the placid waters of Lake Megantic, darkened here and there with the ripples of a fretful cat's-paw. 'Three huzzas' burst from the troops ; and then, thinking of the terrible journey they had made, they shuddered.

Meantime, Arnold and Hanchet had reached the Chaudière River and pushed on for the settlements. Hanchet marched by the shore ; but Arnold, with a birch canoe, four bateaux, Oswald, Steele, Church, and thirteen men, undertook to descend the river.

A bold choice was that, and the voyage extraordinary. Tedium, at least, could not be charged against it, for something happened at almost every moment. Here and there a brace of deer, with palpitating ears and staring eyes, faced the strange flotilla tremblingly till it was almost upon them, and then hurried with great leaps and frightened snortings into the depths of the forest. At every turn, wild duck whirred noisily into the air and put off downstream, each, as it receded, shrinking gradually into a pair of flickering white spots on the sky. The massive forests of evergreens on each side crowded close to the shore and leaned far out above the stream, pinching hard the narrow line of blue overhead; and at many points fallen trees, bristling with the stubs of branches, lay in wait for the boats just above or just below the surface of the water. 'Chaudière,' as the travellers now understood, meant 'caldron'; and the stream, a short one with the fifth part of a mile to drop, hurried like hours of bliss.



WHERE THE CHAUDIÈRE LEAVES LAKE MEGANTIC

Worse yet, the rocks — in Melvin's phrase — 'stood up all over the river' in places neither few nor far between, and the falls were hardly to be numbered. Arnold could not quite exclaim, like the Psalmist: 'Deep calleth unto deep,' for the Chaudière was generally shallow; but scarcely had the little fleet escaped from the foam and babel of one series of rapids, when the hoarse murmur of

another saluted them from below. Fast and faster, the murmur swelled to a roar; many a white tongue could be seen frantically lapping the air; and in a few moments the boats, gliding every instant more swiftly, rushed on into the voracious tumult of boiling, spurting waters, to be tossed, whirled, buffeted, flooded, and cut.

By the law of nature, death should have been the fate of Arnold's party, for what could they expect with their unwieldy bateaux and untrained oars, where the quickest of canoes and the most cunning of paddles could barely have got them through in safety? And death was what they dared when they lashed their baggage to the boats, and pushed off into the caldron.

Good fortune alone saved them: they were lucky enough—to be wrecked. About fifteen miles from Lake Megantic, 'we had the misfortune to overset,' wrote Arnold, '& stave 3 Boats—lost all the Baggage, Arms, & Provision of four men, & stove two of the Boats against the rocks. But happily no lives were lost, altho' 6 men were a long time swimming in the water, & were with difficulty saved. This misfortune, tho' unfortunate at first view, we must think a very happy circumstance to the whole, & kind interposition of Providence, for no sooner were the men dry & we embarked to proceed, but one of the men who was forward cried out a fall ahead which we had never been apprised of, & had we been carried over, must inevitably have been dashed to pieces & all lost.' [1]

Would it have cheered Arnold to know that his friend Mercier of Quebec, as he was going to the Upper Town that day, had been seized by the Town Sergeant, con-

[1] The Journals did not exaggerate the dangers of the Chaudière. The author ran all the rapids from Lake Megantic to St. Francis except the impassable falls at Grand Sault, but found it necessary to get a canoe-man from Maine, as none of the many guides about Lake Megantic would run the risk; and, from their accounts, it would appear that no one had succeeded in doing the same.

ducted to the main guard, and shut up; and all this because a certain letter had reached the Lieutenant-Governor instead of Mercier? Had he known that—but he did not know it; and, keeping on more cautiously than at first, though he smashed the canoe in spite of all his care, he reached the first settlement as the dusk of his third day on the river deepened into starlight (Monday, October 30). 'Making all allowances,' the Commander-in-chief thought of him that night as lying with his brave followers before Quebec, if not already within the walls; and it was little consolation for Arnold to reflect that, with fewer mischances, he might have been there.[5]

In total ignorance of the Colonel's mishaps, his faithful soldiers looked still to the Chaudière as the path of hope; yes, of certainty. Even hostile nature could not stop the river nor make it climb the mountains; and they could not lose their way again, for the river went where they wished to go.

ON THE UPPER CHAUDIÈRE

Goodrich's men, famishing, hurried on from the swamp to overtake their bateau. They did not reach it; but, 'coming to a small creek, they found an advertisement set up, informing them that their bateau was stove and the flour lost, and the men with difficulty having saved their lives. This was melancholy news to them, having eaten scarcely any thing for several days, and having waded through

[5] Wash. to Hancock, Oct. 12, 1775: 4 Force, III., 1037.

ice and water, and were a great way from any inhabitants, and knew not how far it was. They agreed to part, and the heartiest to push forward as fast as they could': in these words Melvin recorded their misfortune. Some of them killed a Newfoundland dog of Dearborn's, ate his flesh, and then pounded up his bones for a soup. What else they had the next few days, Heaven only recorded. Another party also killed a dog, and perhaps a scrap of it fell to them.

Captain Smith was wrecked, and lost everything but life. Morgan's boats—those precious boats that had worn the men's shoulders not merely to the blood, but to the bone—were all smashed, the supplies and ammunition lost, the soldiers, though not all of them, barely saved; and Morgan and his company, gathering wet and exhausted around a fire on the shore, found themselves with scarcely a mouthful of food, and had not even a dog to kill.

By the same fire lay McClellan, the beloved lieutenant of Hendricks's company, mortally ill of pneumonia. Very gently he had been carried over the portages, one after another, even the Terrible Carrying-place, and he was to have been taken down the Chaudière; but here the bateau had been stove, and its passenger just rescued from the rapids. Dr. Senter did what was possible; but his 'medicine box' had sunk in the torrent. Surrounded with scraps of wreckage and haggard, tattered, shivering castaways, and already too feeble to speak, McClellan lay evidently at death's door.

What could have been more pitiful than such a scene? Nay, what could have been more glorious? for, though orders had been given every one to think only of himself, men came and shared with a dying comrade the food they needed to keep themselves alive, and gave him the minutes that meant life or death to them, bending to

catch the hoarsely whispered 'Farewell!' and shedding tears over another's misfortune when hanging on the very brink of ruin themselves. 'Here we parted with him in great tenderness,' wrote a plain soldier of the rank and file, with the unconscious eloquence of the heart.

The march along the shore, though less perilous than boating, was perhaps fatiguing enough and slow enough to make up. Some sort of a trail probably existed; but it signified so little that Henry declared they had no path at all. The cedar, spruce, and hemlock, mixed with brambles and small fir shrubbery, stood 'intolerable plenty, almost impenitrably so in many places,' noted the surgeon. For a while, the men would have to scramble up a steep ascent, 'climeing on all fours'; and next they tumbled into the mire of a dusky glen, full of the dank odors of corruption, where the liverwort opened its eyes in July supposing it was May.

Here and there, a hole in soft, unfrozen earth showed where a startled buck had gathered his feet, and thrown himself among the bushes like the shot hurled by an athlete; and yonder a group of skeletons told how a wolf had broken through the snow, a winter or two before, into a deer-yard, and slaughtered as many as he could reach for the mere delight of killing. On and on serpentined the trail, worn gradually into a path, sidling past huge boulders, threading gorges where a chilly wind sobbed in and out, scrambling over headlands where needles of frost probed for the very marrow,—onward and onward writhing, and still onward, bleak, soul-wearying, melancholy, and almost hopeless.

November the first dawned upon a famishing army. Some still had food, many had already been destitute for a day or more, and not a few, determined to have a full meal for once, had eaten almost immediately the share

given out in the meadows, trusting that relief was already near at hand. 'November 1st, Wednesday,' scribbled Haskell in his diary, 'Set out weak and faint, having nothing at all to eat: the ground covered with snow.'

A kind of wrathful despair began to seize the troops. Were they to be defeated, after all? Impossible! Like the Old Guard at Waterloo, they felt a sort of rage gathering inside them—a still, dumb, savage fury, the root-instinct of man's will to live and to conquer. Humanity stripped bare is terrible; yes, but it is also magnificent. Some men eating dog-meat offered Thayer and Topham a portion, but they declined it, 'thinking that they were more in want of it than what we were at that time.'

November the second found the troops one day nearer starvation, 'having been upon a very short allowance for sixteen days,' remarked Haskell. 'It is an astonishing thing,' noted Humphrey, 'to see almost every man without any sustenance but cold water.' 'I have now been 48 hours without victuals,' wrote Captain Topham.

Melvin shot a squirrel and a little bird, and possibly some others were equally fortunate; but no one mentioned it. All the candles had been used up long ago to enrich the gruel, and now the scraps of shaving-soap, lip-salve, and pomatum were devoured. A dried squirrel-skin, discovered in a pocket, made a meal. Cartridge-pouches, belts, and even shoes were chewed. 'Old moose-hide breeches were boiled and then broiled on the coals and eaten,' attested Captain Dearborn.[6] A barber's powder-bag furnished a little soup. Even such cookery as this became difficult, for the hatchets had been dropped, and no camp utensils were now carried except 'a small, light tin kettle among a number.' Some of the soldiers knew of edible roots that could be found in the sandy beaches

[6] Letter to Allen: Note 1.

593 THE SWIFT CHAUDIÈRE

of the river; behind each of the knowing ones followed a party, and as he sprang to dig at a root with his fingers, they sprang too, and whoever secured the prize devoured it instantly. More than one man looked at his firelock, thought longingly of the death it offered, and said to himself, Shall I?

When the soldiers rose, November the third, they staggered about like 'drunken men'; but after a little, aiding themselves with their guns, they got their footing and set out again. Hour after hour they marched, and still they found only the same interminable ups and downs, ins and outs. Though in reality but a few hundred feet high, the bluffs looked like Alps,—'huge mountains'; and, in a ragged single file,—now drawn out for many miles,—they struggled up the sharp slopes, to tumble, one upon another, down the farther side, while the pale sun rose, looked at them like the priest and the Levite, and went his way.

Nothing could be discovered to cheer the spirits in the killing monotony of the surroundings. Occasionally the river could be seen, here blotched and yonder quite frosted over with foam; but, a little farther on, the bluffs appeared to throttle, choke, silence, and kill it. 'Every object tended to dismay the heart,' said Morison. Even sleep had now lost its power to knit up the ravelled sleeve. Heads grew light. It began to seem unreal, uncanny. Men gazed weirdly one at another. Were they really more than human, then, that they could march, march, day after day, and eat nothing, like the angels? No, they were not angels; a small stick across the path was enough to bring the stoutest of them to the ground.

And now came the most dreadful thing of all. Men fell and could not rise. Lying or sitting on the ground, with all their remnant of life in their 'wishfull' eyes, they mutely sought aid of each passer-by in turn. Fellow-

'Provisions! Provisions in sight!' Men stopped and looked at one another, dazed. Was there a noise? What could it be?

'Provisions in sight!' They stared ahead, and saw coming around the next bend of the shore—so it seemed—a vision of horned cattle and horses, driven and ridden by creatures like themselves. The vision approached. It was not a vision. It was real.

Dearborn wept; Thayer wept; Topham wept; many more wept. Many thanked God. Some, now the strain was over, swooned and fell.

But there were comrades to think of, and soon the same shout was heard again, passing on toward the rear: 'Provisions! Provisions in sight!' On every hilltop and bluff, where the troops were toiling along, the cry was taken up: 'Provisions! Provisions in sight!' The stronger stood and shouted; the weaker looked on and listened, their eyes raised to heaven, tears coursing their cheeks, their hearts overflowing with brotherly love; and the tale of cheer, of rescue, of life—thrilling with all their thankfulness, their tears, and their love—sped on, joyous as the beacon-light of a victory, up and down the hillsides, in and out of the river-bends, through the woods, over the gorges, across the morasses, mile after mile, hour after hour, nerving the feeble, rousing the prostrate, guiding the lost, and lighting up that vast, awful solitude and silence with gladness and with glory. The battle with the wilderness had ended; and the end was a triumph!

It was indeed an awful gulf that had yawned before the Provincials, and only the narrowest of planks bridged it. Famine had not been the only foe to dread. The Mohawks that Natanis boasted of existed only on his tongue, perhaps; but savages there were at the upper settlements on the Chaudière, and a British guard there had been. The regulars, even though few, could have induced or

compelled a certain number of the Canadians and Indians to take up arms against the invaders; ambushes could have been set, and the destruction or capture of Arnold's detachment in its perishing condition would have been certain. As Lieutenant Lindsay of the British army declared, the Canadians might easily have conquered 'with no other arms than pitchforks.'[7] In fact, they could have destroyed the Americans by simply retiring down the river with their provisions and cattle. But every British soldier was needed to oppose Montgomery. About the time Arnold left Cambridge, the post on the Chaudière marched away, and so not even a nucleus of opposition remained.[8]

The inducements came now from the other side, and they were not feeble. On reaching the first settlement, about four miles below the mouth of the Du Loup River, Arnold instantly set afloat Washington's printed manifesto

FROM CAPTAIN TOPHAM'S JOURNAL

addressed to the Canadians.[9] In brotherly phrases, the Commander-in-chief cast the spell of Liberty, and gave his personal pledge for the security of life and property. The pious *habitants* were assured that their neighbors on the south had 'appealed to that Being, in whose hands are all human events,' and that the arm of tyranny had already been 'arrested in its ravages.' The British gov-

[7] Canad. Rev., II., No. 4, Feb., 1826.

[8] For this post see Chap. XVII., Note 9; Ainslie, Journal (Introd.); Journal of the Most Remark. Occurr.; Quebec Gazette, Sept. 14, 1775.

[9] Writings (Ford), III., p. 126.

ernment had found itself mistaken in supposing 'that gratifying the vanity of a little circle of nobility would blind the people of Canada,' and that only 'a poverty of soul and baseness of spirit' existed among them.

'Come then, my brethren,' invited Washington, 'unite with us in an indissoluble union, let us run together to the same goal. We have taken up arms in defence of our liberty, our property, our wives, and our children.' Arnold's dash, self-confidence, and plausibility supported the address admirably; and the sunny gold in his hand, offered liberally for supplies, beamed melting influences. Besides, the Chaudière valley, secluded though it was, had been penetrated by the ideas that had gradually leavened the rest of French Canada. Its people were ripe for the invasion. 'You have come from heaven to give us liberty!' they cried to the American leader; and the parish bell rang joyously.[10]

With all promptness, Arnold proceeded to organize a relief-party, and Hanchet's company soon arrived to help. The first settlement contained only three or four little houses besides the wigwams of the Indians, yet a party of Canadians under Lieutenant Church, with a small drove of cattle and a couple of horses laden with bags of oatmeal, set out the next day (October 31) by land, while mutton for the sick and a few other good things went soon after in canoes. But the progress of both parties was unavoidably slow, and, though the van of the army came in sight of provisions on the second of November, it was not until the next day—the day Montgomery entered St. Johns—that a large number of the soldiers met relief.

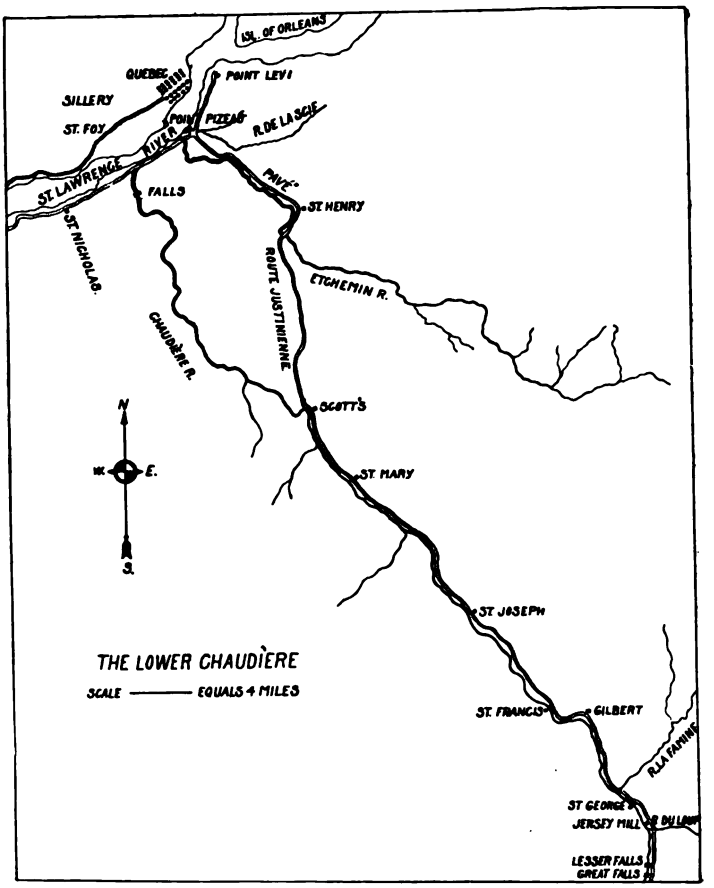
Time was not wasted. When a party of the spectres presented itself, as many as possible were gathered, and an ox or a cow fell a victim at once. Sometimes the men

[10] Ogden, Journal, Nov. 2.

could wait for no process of cooking. Raw flesh tasted good; and unbolted oatmeal, 'wet with cold water,' was pronounced 'sumptuous.' 'We sat down, eat our rations, blessed our stars, and thought it luxury,' wrote the surgeon; and well he might. 'It was like being brought from a dungeon to behold the clear light of the sun,' exclaimed Stocking.

As soon as possible, the rescuers pushed forward again on their errand of mercy, shouting as they went. When evening arrived, they still kept at work; and man after man, found insensible in the snow, was revived, fed, and brought into camp on the horses, 'the most forlorn objects that ever my eyes beheld,' said Morison. Happily, it was not as if they had been reduced to their state of weakness by disease. Though near perishing, they soon began to revive; and, while many were ill and feeble, only a few actually died.

When the long procession of ghosts—ghosts with firelocks on their shoulders—began to stream from the woods, alarm as well as astonishment was felt in the valley. But Washington's appeal reassured the simple, honest peasants. 'Let no man desert his habitation,' pleaded the manifesto; 'let no one flee as before an enemy. The cause of America and of liberty is the cause of every virtuous American citizen; whatever may be his religion or his descent.' Confidence quickly returned. Astonishment changed into admiration, when the heroic march of the Provincials was understood; and alarm became sympathy, when they were seen to be famishing. Meat in plenty; boiled potatoes, hot from the kettle; eggs, milk, and cheese; firkin butter and warm bread,—all these and more soon waited at every turn. The prices appeared rather high, but so they had on the Kennebec; and it was thought that even in New England the wayfarers would not have been treated with more kindness.


ISL. OF ORLEANS
QUEBEC
POINT LEVI
SILLERY
ST. FOY
POINT PIZEAG
R. DE LA SCIE
ST. LAWRENCE RIVER
FALLS
PRIVÉ
ST HENRY
ST NICHOLAS
ROUTE JUSTINIENNE
ETCHEMIN R.
CHAUDIÈRE R.
OGOTT'S
N
W
E.
S.
ST MARY
ST JOSEPH
THE LOWER CHAUDIÈRE
SCALE ——— EQUALS 4 MILES
ST FRANCIS
GILBERT
R. LA FAINE
ST GEORGE
JERSEY MILL
LESSER FALLS
GREAT FALLS

The Provincials also had a surprise to overcome. Little used, most of them, to foreign types, they waded the icy Du Loup, saluted the first house with a cheer, and suddenly found themselves among a strange people. Like so many angels the rescuing party had seemed; but, on cooler observation, the Canadians proved to be short and rather swarthy, with hard features—the reflection of a hard life—masking their kindly hearts. The quick motions of their bodies, their long queues, and the pipes that had sprouted almost with their milk teeth, seemed very alien. Breeches of leather or coarse cloth; thick brown woollen stockings, tied below the knee with a red woollen band; shirts of dotted homespun; jackets of white frieze with a fringe at the edge and red and blue ribbons, attached with rosettes of the same colors, on the front; thick red bonnets lined with white; overcoats with woollen Capuchin hoods; heavy woollen sashes of divers colors, with tassels at the ends, binding all fast above the hips,"[1]—such toggery and the incessant foreign gibberish seemed hardly Christian; and, indeed, were not these people 'papists' and Frenchmen, after all, and who knew what they were jabbering one to another?

But—very fortunately, since Arnold's downright Protestants were to spend some time among these Canadians—they saw the aliens first as ministering Samaritans. People so good to them could not be very bad. Prejudices took flight. Protestant and Catholic, Anglo-Saxon and Gaul, struck hands in friendship. Jolly enough it was to see an old woman leave her loom when a party of the visitors called, and sing and dance '*Yankee Doddle*' with all her might, while a couple of smart girls in homespun, less shy than they seemed, looked all approbation; and the strangers for their part, obeying their own hearts as

[1] § Anburey, Travels, I., p. 70. Stone (ed.), letters, *passim*. Marr, Remarks: Can. Arch., M, 384, p. 85.

well as General Washington's tremendously emphatic orders,[12] bequeathed to later generations the pleasantest memories of the shady valley.

Soon, however, another factor of the situation had to be dealt with. At least seventy or eighty Indians, well decked out with 'broaches, bracelets & other trinkets,' were in evidence at the first settlement; and a little later (November 4) they met Arnold 'in great pomp,' demanding through one of their chiefs, with much oratory and many gestures, the reason for this armed invasion. In reply, Arnold harangued these 'Friends and brethren' on the troubles with England, and the disposition of the British troops to oppress the people of Canada, 'make them pay a great price for their rum &c.; [and] press them to take up arms against the Bostonians, their brethren, who had done them no hurt.' 'By the desire of the French and Indians, our brothers,' he continued, 'we have come to their assistance, with an intent to drive out the king's soldiers; when drove off we will return to our own country, and leave this to the peacable enjoyment of its proper inhabitants. Now if the Indians, our brethren, will join us, we will be very much obliged to them.' Liberal terms were offered, and some forty or fifty savages—including the dreaded Natanis himself, who had watched the army unseen all the way from the Great Carrying-Place—enlisted forthwith, launched their canoes, and proceeded as Sons of Liberty.[13]

Washington had ordered Arnold 'by no means to prosecute the attempt' in case the people of Canada would not 'coöperate, or at least willingly acquiesce.'[12] This condition having been satisfied, the advance could now continue, and the leader sent urgent orders to every captain to 'get his company on as fast as possible.' The first set-

[12] Writings (Ford), III., p. 121.
[13] See particularly Senter. REMARK XL.

tlement was reckoned to be only seventy or seventy-five miles from Quebec.[14] Victualling stations awaited the soldiers at various points; and the taverns and eating-houses, which could now be found here and there, made it easier to supply their wants. Rapidly gathering energy they pressed on, by no means in comfort but not in danger.

Praise to God, a savage wilderness entombed them no longer. On each side of the chastened Chaudière ran a fair line of thatched and whitewashed cottages, where the peasants lived contentedly on their bread, garlic, and salt. Shrines, crosses, and the still commoner images of the Virgin dotted the wayside. Back from river and houses and road, spread trim, gently rising fields; and the dreadful mountains drew farther and farther away. 'Verry beautiful!' exclaimed Ogden, and many echoed his words.

THE CHAUDIÈRE NEAR ST. MARY

Just beyond the village of St. Mary, on the lower Chaudière, stood the manor house of Messire Taschereau, and this young noble had done all he could to prepare so agreeable a welcome for the Americans. Not that he intended to do it,—far indeed from that. None of his caste showed more loyalty toward the government and the past. But his lordliness, and in particular his rough zeal to make his tenants arm against the Provincials, had set their hearts toward all that he opposed. At present his gentility was in Quebec, but his

[14] REMARK XLI.

mansion could not remove. November the fifth, Arnold fixed the headquarters there; and, as Washington had forbidden the plundering of even those 'known to be enemies,'[14] no doubt the officers paid somebody for their Sunday dinner of 'Good R. Turkey, Spanish wine, &c.'[15]

By Monday afternoon, a considerable force had gathered near St. Mary, and the advance began again. About four miles below the village, road and river turned each a right angle, and turned them in opposite ways. Just here the highway crossed a point of elevated ground. Far behind, the soldiers could survey a long expanse of intervale and upland leading to the terrible mountains, while at their feet the smooth river, gliding radiantly through its meadows, smiled up to them a reflected sun. The scene ahead wore a grimmer look: many dark billows of evergreen still separated them from their goal, and the *Route Justinienne*, their only road, was twelve miles or so of snow, mud, and water half-leg deep. But obstacles like these were mere trifles now, and they ploughed straight through like ships, until at about midnight they reached the white cottages of St. Henri, sleeping tranquilly around its modest spire.

The next day, Arnold's van marched cautiously on by a corduroy road in a snow-storm, and, an hour or two after midnight in the morning of November the eighth, his advance guard stood on the high bluff of Point Levi. Below them—a sea of quivering sheen—rolled the vast St. Lawrence, its crisp waves murmuring on a pebbly beach; and yonder, spectrally illumined by the queen of dreams and mysteries, pacing the zenith in her lustrous robes, towered that enormous bulk of stone, Quebec.

Long and silently they gazed, half-spellbound by the

---

[15] The dinner may have been provided by the curé, who—according to the Journals and also tradition—thought it wise to do all he could for the comfort of the Americans (see LeMoine, Album, p. 162).

glamour of the scene; and then, as they measured the great rock with their eyes, they said to themselves that after all, though so much had been endured and so much achieved, their work, their sufferings, and their triumph, instead of ending, had perhaps only begun.[16]

[16] § Moon: Smith, Arnold's March, p. 460. The rest is inferential.

REMARKS

I. (see page 65)

Under date of Dec. 24, 1767, Carleton prepared an abridgment of the French civil laws in use in Canada, which he desired to have adopted (Can. Arch., Q, 5, 1, pp. 316–323), so that evidently his opinion guided the administration. It should be noted that his instructions required that no ordinance respecting private property should be passed without a clause suspending the execution of it until the Royal will had been made known (Can. Arch., M, 230, p. 1, 24 [§ 10]).

II. (see page 99)

The Congress has been ridiculed for talking of Montesquieu to people who 'probably never saw a printed book' (Am. Hist. Assoc. Papers, V., Part III., p. 93). But (1) the Canadians saw printed books at the church, the priest's, the doctor's, and the notary's; (2) their race pride probably made them acquainted in a vague way with a national glory like Montesquieu; and (3) the vagueness of their acquaintance both with him and with books was as likely as not to make such an appeal the more impressive.

III. (see page 122)

Fully to explain and justify all the statements of the text would require a somewhat extended monograph, for the evidence is at times conflicting and partisanship has further confused it. All the essential points and most of the details rest on contemporary documents, but Beach's trip, the trick that secured the barge, the details relating to Noah Phelps, Callender, and Beaman, a few minor details, and some of the speeches rest upon testimony given later. This testimony appears, however, to be trustworthy, and without it we cannot explain the events. As in some other instances, the author has restored to the direct form conversation recorded in the indirect form of discourse. This is believed to bring the reader into a closer contact with the facts. The statements relating to the route from point to point and the local history are certain or practically safe.

IV. (see page 129)

Gershom Hewitt, Sr., of Canaan, Conn., when advanced in years, seems to have claimed to have done substantially what is here attributed to Noah Phelps. But the contemporary accounts

and even Mr. Hewitt's own statement (as reported) seem to be decisive against this claim, which was doubtless due to a misunderstanding or an impaired memory.

V. (see page 129)

See the settlements of Mass. with Capts. J. Stevens, S. Wright, J. P. Sloan, Jonathan Brown, and N. Lee: 4 Force, III., 304, 305, 355, and 1511. Eleazer Oswald also was one of Arnold's captains at this time (ib., 355; B. Arnold, Certificate: Cont. Cong. Papers, No. 41, X., p. 210). Abraham Brown marched from Stockbridge and West Stockbridge on May 10 'at the request of Col. B. Arnold' (4 Force, IV., 1382), and this seems rather too early to be a result of the Rupert letter. See also the case of Capt. Stewart: 4 Force, V., 1254. Easton reported meeting several hundred men on their way from the western parts of Mass. to capture Ti. (4 Force, II., 624, 625). Who set them in motion, if not Arnold's captains? Schuyler's ledger mentions S. Herrick as 'Captain of the Massachusetts Bay Forces,' and likewise James Noble, Elijah Babcock, Jacob Brown, Thomas Lusk, Lemuel Stewart, and Eli Root. A roll of Herrick's company in Arnold's regt. may be found among the Mass. MSS. in the Lib. of Cong., and it is noteworthy that the service is represented as beginning on May 3.

VI. (see page 134)

It is impossible to satisfy oneself as to the number of men engaged in the affair. Chittenden (Capt. of Ti., p. 37) said there were three hundred men on the Vt. side (before any crossed), all raised on the Grants. But certainly Conn. men were there; and, as Easton crossed the lake, his command was no doubt still with him. Bascom (Vermonter, Mar., 1903, p. 271), who has given particular attention to the matter, considers 270 as representing the general opinion of the authorities, and this was Goodhue's opinion. But, when we go back to the original sources, it does not seem easy to get these figures, and it is not possible to prove anywhere near 300 names. Easton's figures seem to have been 240. Arnold wrote the Cont. Cong., May 29, that he found Allen on the 9th with 'about one hundred men' (4 Force, II., 734). Veritas says that Allen and Warner collected about 150 (4 Force, II., 1085). E. Allen wrote the Albany Com., May 11, that there were about 130 G. M. Boys and about 47 men of Easton's (4 Force, II., 606); but, writing Mass. the same day (ib., 556), claimed to have had only about 100 G. M. B. Arnold wrote the Mass. authorities, May 11, that he found 150 men collected near Ticonderoga (4 Force, II., 557). Mott, whose account is the best so far as it goes, states that at Castleton there were about 170, including 30 detailed for Skenesborough, but Allen expected to meet more at Shoreham, and Beach had not yet made his round. According to the Worcester Spy, May 17, 1775, there were about 150 men under Allen and Easton, and Delaplace's memorial gives the same estimate (Conn. Arch., Rev. War, I., Doc. 405). On p. 698 of the printed Journal

of the Mass. Prov. Cong. is a certificate signed by Easton, Ball, Mott, and N. Phelps which seems to state that Ti. was taken by the Conn. men, 80 Mass. men, and 140 N. H. Grants men: total about 236, and this is the basis of the text. The statement was crudely drawn, however; and might be construed so as to add to the 236 what men were raised after Castleton was reached. Schuyler wrote Congress on July 26, 1775: 'I find it will be extremely difficult to ascertain their number with any degree of precision' (4 Force, II., 1729); so our own lack of success is not surprising.

The fact that Arnold crossed the lake among the first seems to prove that a share in the leadership had been conceded to him. It would have been very easy to stop him on the eastern shore.

VII. (see page 150)

This account of the proceedings at Skenesborough is mainly inferential, for we have no account of them; but it seems justified by these facts: (1) Herrick was ordered to go to Shoreham, May 9-10, with Skene's boats. He captured Skene on that day, but did not capture Skene's people (see Skene's Memorial) and did not go to Shoreham. (2) The number of tenants and work-people at Skenesborough was considerable, and they had cannon while Herrick had none. (3) Arnold states that he ordered some of his recruits to go by way of Skenesborough. (4) They did so. (5) They and the schooner reached Ti. together. This receives confirmation from the Memorial of Eleazer Oswald and Jonathan Brown, which states that they captured Skene's schooner (Cont. Cong. Papers, No. 41, X., p. 221).

VIII. (see page 152)

See 'Veritas' in Holt's paper: 4 Force, II., 1085. This is supported by Delaplace's statement (contradicting Easton's report) that he did not see Easton at the time of the capture (4 Force, II., 1087); by Montgomery's remark that Easton's character had 'suffered in the publick opinion by some unfortunate transaction last summer' (4 Force, III., 1684); and by Arnold's letter to the Com. Safety, May 19 (4 Force, II., 645). See also Sparks's Arnold, p. 70; and Arnold, Regt. Mem. Book. There is a slight difficulty about the kicking. 'Veritas' apparently reports it (but not until June 25) as in connection with the capture of Ti., while Arnold's Regt. Mem. Book mentions under the date of June 11 what seems to have been the same affair. July 14, 1779, the Board of War voted to dismiss Easton from the service because he had never taken steps to have the charges against him investigated (Bd. of War Papers, II., p. 519).

IX. (see page 153)

While it would be an error to judge the Green Mountain Boys too rigidly in this matter, there seems to have been some basis for Arnold's complaint. It is supported by antecedent probability; by Delaplace in two documents (1, Emmet Coll., No. 4414; 2,

Letter to Hancock: 4 Force, V., 1175); by B. Deane's letter to S. Deane (Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., II., p. 246); by Schuyler (4 Force, II., 1702); and to some extent by the action of Congress in ordering Dr. Fay to be examined later on a charge of 'plundering' (Journ., July 30, 1776).

X. (see page 154)

See the documents explaining the origin of the expedition: Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., I., particularly pp. 165, 181, 185; Parsons's letter to Trumbull and Mott's letter to the Mass. Cong., in the Journ. of the Mass. Cong.; letter of the Conn. Com. of Corres. to the Mass. Cong., 4 Force, II., 618 ('set on foot by some private gentlemen'); etc. Gov. Trumbull wrote the Mass. Cong., May 25, 1775, that the expedition was 'without publick authority, (to our knowledge,)': 4 Force, II., 706. Allen stated to the Albany Committee, May 11, 1775, that he seized Ti. 'pursuant to my directions from sundry leading gentlemen of Mass. Bay and Conn.': 4 Force, II., 606.

XI. (see page 190)

Dec. 1, 1776, John Brown charged Arnold with 'a treasonable attempt' to join the British in consequence of the action of the Mass. Committee (Smith, Pittsfield, I., p. 272). The author made a careful study of the matter for insertion here; but, as it is only incidental and the book is large, has decided to omit it. It may be enough to say that (1) when Brown made this charge he was as bitter an enemy of Arnold's as he could possibly be; (2) other charges made by him at the same time were groundless, as will appear later in this work; (3) there is no evidence except Brown's assertion to support this charge; and (4) several facts and considerations appear to disprove it completely.

XII. (see page 270)

The MS. Army Lists preserved in the Pub. Rec. Off., London, mention two men named Richard Montgomery who might easily be confounded. The one that concerns us was an ensign in the 17th Foot (Wyngard's), Sept. 21, 1756; lieutenant, July 10, 1758; captain, May 6, 1762; retired, April 6, 1772.

XIII. (see page 271)

For the organization and personnel of the Conn. troops see Johnston, Record. An article explaining the organization of the N. Y. troops may be found in the Mag. of Amer. Hist., Dec., 1881; the details relating to the movements of the N. Y. corps may be traced out in the correspondence (Force, Archives, 4th series, Vols. II. and III.), the proceedings of the N. Y. Cong. and Com. Safety (also in Force), etc.

Despite the high ground and the fresh breezes of Ticonderoga, the fogs, the lake water, and the mosquitos caused many cases of illness. It is hard to believe that they were serious, however, in

view (e.g.) of this letter from a Conn. officer, dated Aug. 23: 'Our regiment is in a good state of health; we have not lost a man by death since we left Connecticut. Col. Hinman's has never lost one since they inlisted' (Boston Gazette, Sept. 18, 1775).

XIV. (see page 284)

Cazeau appears to have aided and betrayed both sides. See Cont. Cong. Papers, No. 19, I., pp. 551, 553.

XV. (see page 293)

July 24, 1775, Dartmouth wrote Johnson to 'exert every effort' to induce the Six Nations 'to take up the Hatchet against His Majesty's Rebellious Subjects in America' (Pub. Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 279, p. 247). Of course this particular letter had not reached Johnson, but it suggests the nature of the instructions given him.

Only 600 of the Indians collected by Johnson in Canada at his council were fighting men (Claus).

XVI. (see page 313)

Perhaps Nut Island was really too insalubrious for the purpose; but, as Schuyler's later movements show that he did not think so at this time, the *ad hominem* argument of the text appears sound. Indeed, people lived on the island, and apparently the hygienic conditions were as good there as where the Americans camped at St. Johns. It is true that in 1776 the Americans found the island strategically untenable, but Carleton had at that time a large army and plenty of artillery.

XVII. (see page 315)

Besides Hinman's regiment (1000 men), Easton's fragment and the Albany fragment (see return, July 15, p. 255), Waterbury's Conn. regiment of one thousand (a part of Wooster's command) arrived at Albany on July 28, and thence had moved slowly to the front. Four companies of the First New York appeared at Albany about Aug. 10. Five companies of the Second New York were at Ti. on Aug. 25; and other troops, quite enough for garrisons, were on the point of arriving, so that Schuyler had men enough as well as boats and provisions enough for an earlier move than was made. See Ritzema's Journal; Waterbury's Orderly Book; Barlow's Orderly Book and Journal; Trumbull's Journal; letter from an officer, Aug. 25: Boston Gazette, Sept. 25, 1775.

XVIII. (see page 317)

Did Montgomery order the advance without authority from Schuyler to do so? It is certain that he did, for he wrote Schuyler on Aug. 30: 'the moving without your orders I don't like, but

on the other hand the prevention of the enemy is of the utmost consequence—if I must err I wish to be on the right side' (Schuyler Papers; also in Lossing, Schuyler, I., p. 393).

XIX. (see page 329)

This gentleman was probably Moses Hazen, who—as the owner of much property near St. Johns—did not wish to see an invading army there, and (perhaps for this reason) notified Carleton (p. 211) of the approach of the Americans. He certainly had an interview with Schuyler on Sept. 6, and threw cold water on the enterprise (his letter to Hancock, Feb. 18, 1776: 4 Force, IV., 1186; and Montgomery to Mrs. Montgomery, Sept. 5, 1775: L. L. H[unt], Biog. Notes, p. 11).

XX. (see page 335)

As will be shown on p. 362, a movement toward advance was actually made on the 15th; but it was only tentative and in fact accomplished nothing of moment. Schuyler, who probably set out early on the 16th, can have had no particular influence—if he had any at all—in the matter.

XXI. (see page 362)

The Canadians were in fact looking for the arrival of the Americans. When it was heard they had arrived at Ile aux Noix, a meeting was held at Pte. Olivier de Chambly, and it was decided to join them. This the British force prevented. Two men were deputed to inform Montgomery of the decision, but they lost heart and went the other way. One Alain then undertook the mission, and he returned with Brown (Certif. of J. B. Alain, Apr. 6, 1779; Board of War Papers, II., p. 273).

XXII. (see page 367)

As exact returns were not made, it is impossible to give close figures for the army: see Schuyler to Washington, Sept. 20. Sept. 10, the army included, all told, 1394 effectives and about 600 sick. Before leaving Ile aux Noix, Montgomery received nearly 350 more. Nearly 600 more probably arrived by the 25th. 260 more (3d N. Y.) were waiting for boats at Ticonderoga on the 20th (Schuyler, Sept. 20). Trumbull speaks of the number who went to St. Johns on the 17th as about 1400 effectives; Ritzema, as 1500. Trumbull (Journal, Sept. 19) gives these figures: in the north camp, at Chambly and at Laprairie, 600; on the water-craft, 330; in the south camp, 400. The latter number apparently does not include 200 charged with guarding the boats and landing. Oct. 6, H. B. Livingston reported 1000 in the main camp, 900 on the north side, and 200 Canadians on the other side of the river (Mag. Am. Hist., 1889, p. 256). On the same day, S. Mott wrote: 'We have never yet been 2000 strong, exclusive of our friends of Canada' (4 Force, III., 972); while James van Rensselaer (who, as aide-de-

camp, probably had an inside view) wrote: 'We are in Dayly expectation of 400 men from Ticonderoga, shall then have 2000' (Bonney, Gleanings, I., p. 45).

XXIII. (see page 390)

Montgomery does not seem to have been opposed to a properly managed attack on Montreal. Note the P.S. of the letter given on p. 409, and his letter to Schuyler, Sept. 28 (Sparks, Corres., I., p. 467). He complained of Allen only for attempting it 'single-handed.' The spot where the encounter took place cannot be identified. It is doubtless covered now by the northern suburb.

How did it happen, the reader may inquire, that, according to the text, Allen attacked Montreal single-handed after considering the idea of doing so and deciding against it. In reply it may be said (1) that many people change their minds now and then, for reasons we cannot explain; and (2) that something may have been dropped in the interview with Brown which still further excited Allen's ambition or confidence.

XXIV. (see page 401)

Bismarck, who understood the French, said: 'If one only listened to the French peasant, there would never be any war; . . . conqueror or conquered, the one thing he sees clearly is that victory or defeat will bring the battle to a close and he will then be able to return home' (M. de Blowitz, Memoirs, p. 143).

XXV. (see page 424)

According to Sanguinet, La Corne opened his negotiations before Allen's fiasco, and changed his tune in consequence of that affair. But then why did he remain in so compromising a position until Oct. 6? S. Mott wrote Trumbull on Oct. 6 that La Corne 'has now' made overtures (4 Force, III., 972); and Montgomery represented his advances as an evidence that Allen's fiasco had perhaps done no serious mischief (Oct. 5, 1775: Livingston Papers, 1775–1777, p. 51).

XXVI. (see page 426)

Ritzema (Journal, Feb. 16, 1776) says that the capture of Chambly was planned by Dugan, whereas Livingston's letter, quoted in the text, points to him as the author of the plan. Probably the two hatched it jointly, and perhaps nobody could have told which deserved the chief credit.

XXVII. (see page 429)

In his letter of Oct. 25, Carleton explained to Dartmouth that his apparently harsh treatment of Allen was due to the lack of a suitable prison and guards.

For further evidence that the Canadians did not, as their historians have maintained, stand loyally by the government, see Cramahé to Dartmouth, Sept. 21, 1775 (Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 397); Carleton to Dartmouth, Sept. 21, 1775 (ib., p. 421); Id. to Id., Nov. 5, 1775 (ib., p. 445); Montgolfier, Oct. 2, 1775 (Can. Arch.); Letter from Laprairie, Nov. 3, 1775 (4 Force, III., 1342); Maclean, Nov. 20, 1775 (War Off., Orig. Corres., Vol. 12); Extracts from Ind. Trans. (Pub Rec. Off., Am. and W. I., Vol. 280, p. 9); Carleton, Nov. 20, 1775 (Pub. Rec. Off., Colon. Corres., Quebec, 11, p. 519); Prescott (Revol. Journ., Oct. 10, 1775); Hutcheson, Oct. 6, 1775 (Can. Arch., B, 20, p. 39); Howe to Dartmouth, Dec. 3, 1775 (4 Force, IV., 170).

XXVIII. (see page 459)

A letter, apparently written by Lamb (4 Force, III., 1343) on Nov. 3, says: 'I have had five killed . . . six wounded, one died by sickness; which is as great a loss as has been sustained by the whole Army, except in the first skirmish with the Indians, etc.;' but in the text, in order to be safe, the author has used the largest figures given by a responsible authority. Sanguinet's account of the losses of the British is: 14 killed and mortally wounded, 17 or 18 seriously wounded, 60 slightly hurt (Verreau, Invasion, p. 78). Maclean reported 12 of his corps as killed. According to Montgomery's report, the prisoners taken at St. Johns numbered 519 (Schuyler Papers, No. 1519). Some of the garrison appear to have deserted.

XXIX. (see page 465)

Ritzema's Journal states that Major Dimond occupied the conspicuous position assigned to Lamb in the text. But one cannot see why it should have been given to an officer who had not distinguished himself rather than to one who had; and the letter in 4 Force, III., 1343, is so evidently from Lamb, that the text appears justified. Probably there is no real clash; for, as Dimond was the brigade-major (Instr. to Livingston, Paine, and Langdon: Sparks MSS., No. 52, II., p. 125), he may have been the titular while Lamb was the actual leader of the detachment.

XXX. (see page 488)

It is very difficult to reconcile the accounts of this affair. Carleton's, the only contemporary one from a person present, is very brief. He thought the Americans had cannon on the shore about a league above Sorel [Brown's small battery?], but probably the balls that he thought came from the shore really came from a row-galley just at the edge of the water (perhaps screening itself behind a bend). There was no doubt a real battery at Sorel, but this fact does not contradict what Carroll said about Brown's

'grand battery' [i.e., something represented as much superior to what actually existed]. It is impossible to reject Carroll's story, however improbable it may seem. Ira Allen was present; but he wrote from memory long after and his account is inaccurate in several details.

XXXI. (see page 497)

As the author saw that it would not be possible to discuss with sufficient fullness in the present work all the questions concerning the march of the Americans through the wilderness, he published a special volume on that subject entitled *Arnold's March from Cambridge to Quebec*. For this reason, except in special cases, it seems unnecessary to give references here. In fact, it would, in many cases, be meaningless or even worse to do so, for the various accounts require, for safe use, the extended comparison and criticism given them in *Arnold's March*. To be sure, the present narrative, while omitting many of the details and the discussions of that volume, adds many things, but these are mainly superstructural, not fundamental, and for that reason do not seem to demand the citation of authorities except in special cases. A few minor points, shown in *Arnold's March* to be very probable, are presented in the present book without qualification, in order not to weary the reader.

The principal sources of information (almost exclusively, except as to some minor details, the Journals of officers and soldiers, Arnold's letters, and the author's investigations on the ground) may be found in the List of Sources under the following names: Arnold, Bailey, Colburn, Dearborn, Fobes, Getchell, Haskell, Heath, Henry, Humphrey, Meigs, Melvin, Montresor, Morison, Ogden, Oswald, Senter, Squier, Stocking, Thayer, Tolman, Topham. For a further account and critical study of the sources, and in particular the reasons for the appearance of Tolman, instead of Ware and Wild, see Chapter II. of *Arnold's March*.

In that book the author did not refer to the journals by citing the page number. The events of ten or twenty days are often given on a single page (e.g., by Haskell), and the reader, knowing when an event occurred, can find it in any Journal most conveniently by looking for the date.*

* *Arnold's March*, as the title page stated, was 'a critical study'; and, as a book on the same subject containing a great number of errors had recently appeared, and had been accepted, in default of anything else, as the standard, it was impossible to avoid a discussion of many of these points – a most unwelcome task. Quite naturally, certain persons were not pleased, and considerable personal abuse (including the ugly anonymous letter) fell upon the present writer. Of this no complaint is made. An honest author should be willing to accept the duty and also the penalties of telling the truth. Two points, however, may have appeared to some worthy of attention. Wide currency has been given to the statement that the present author purposely ignored a predecessor; but, on the contrary, the predecessor and his book were referred to on more than one hundred pages of *Arnold's March*. It has also been charged that the present author failed to acknowledge his indebtedness to one who had 'opened the way' for him; but (as anybody can see from

XXXII. (see page 499)

The origin of the Kennebec expedition has been attributed with equal positiveness and equal lack of argument (1) to Washington, (2) to Arnold, and (3) to a committee of Congress. The third theory, besides having no evidence in its favor, seems excluded by Washington's words: 'I am now to inform the Honourable Congress that . . . I have detached Col. Arnold,' etc. (4 Force, III., 760). The record of R. Smith, a member of Congress (Private Journal), on Sept. 20 that a Kennebec expedition was 'on Foot,' seems to confirm this conclusion. Arnold's agency will presently be found supported strongly by a letter from Gen. Gates. It is noteworthy, too, that in writing Washington while on the march, he excuses himself for delays as if he felt responsible for the enterprise. Washington's part, aside from the probabilities offered in the text, seems pointed at by the way he spoke of the expedition to Congress and to Schuyler as something he had thought out himself, for he had no more wish than need to take any other man's credit. It may be added that Langdon passed through Watertown, Aug. 10, on his way home from Philadelphia, and Hancock, S. Adams and J. Adams did the same on the 11th (Boston Gazette, Aug. 14, 1775); and Washington may have talked of the plan with any or all of them.

XXXIII. (see page 501)

One reviewer complained that *Arnold's March* did not indicate clearly enough where the originals of this and a series of other previously unpublished documents printed in Chapter IV. and the notes upon it could be found. Reply: (1) any one who followed the indication given would have found that the documents could only be in one of two places, both in the same building; and (2) the author did not think it safe to state exactly where the documents were, for they did not appear to have found a permanent place. When he called to see them, they were lying, tied up in a packet by themselves, in a drawer of a cabinet behind the desk of Mr. French, the courteous File Clerk of the House of Representatives, Washington. In view of (1), this explanation did not at the time seem to the author necessary.

XXXIV. (see page 509)

It is impossible to clear up fully the method of organizing the detachment. No complete returns of it exist, and the utmost pains have not been able to make up the list of names. There

his notice of the book in question in the *American Historical Review*, VII., p. 394) that book did not open the way. It is stated in the preface of *Arnold's March* that his investigations were begun and long continued in ignorance of the fact that another was at work in the same field; and he did not need to make, and would not have considered it safe to make, a single statement on the authority of the book in question: hence he was not indebted.

was considerable mixing of men from different Colonies (see British return of prisoners taken at Quebec, Dec. 31, 1775: Can. Arch., Q, 12, p. 159). Dearborn had men from Mass. as well as N. H. Ward of R. I. had men from Mass. and N. H. Hanchet of Conn. had a considerable number from Mass. Many, probably most, perhaps nearly all, possibly (in a sense) quite all volunteered for the expedition; for, even if a company was ordered to go, it may first have offered in one form or another to do so. Again, a captain may have offered his company after talking with enough of the men to feel sure that he would be followed. But, as the text suggests below, it seems as if two companies of the riflemen at least were not volunteers. For N. H. men, see N. H. State Papers, XIV.; for Mass. men, see the Archives now in course of publication; for R. I. men, see Gardner, R. I. Line; for Conn. men, see Johnston, Record; for a fuller discussion of the make-up of the detachment, sketches of the officers, etc., see *Arnold's March*, Chap. III.

XXXV. (see page 516)

Humphrey (and after him Thayer) states that one reason for waiting in Cambridge was 'to fill each Company Up to 84 effective men.' But (1) it seems very improbable that the orders of Sept. 5 would be changed; (2) Humphrey's statement is inconsistent with Washington's report to Congress that he detached '1000 men'; (see *Arnold's March*, pp. 57, 279); and one at least of the companies was not so filled (McCobb's and probably Ward's: *Arnold's March*, p. 279).

XXXVI. (see page 527)

Aug. 16, a committee of both houses of the Mass. Cong., appointed to confer with the St. Francis chief, recommended that the four who came with him should remain at the camp in Cambridge, while the chief should go home by way of Ticonderoga (Mass. Arch., Vol. 144; 4 Force, III., 339). Sept. 25, Arnold wrote Washington, 'The Indians with Higgins set out by land, and are not yet arrived.' Of course the St. Francis Indians were detained for a purpose, and as the best use for them was to accompany Arnold, one concludes that they were the ones who went with Higgins.

Whose Journal was it that Goodwin gave Arnold? It described both routes from Canada to Maine (i.e., by both forks of the Chaudière and both forks of the Kennebec), and so does the Journal of Montresor (Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., I., p. 341). Possibly Goodwin had and gave Montresor's maps and Journal; but it seems more probable that these (being official documents) had come into the possession of the Mass. government or some other public authority, and reached Arnold by that way.

XXXVII. (see page 565)

Fobes says, 'His [Arnold's] order to have the provisions equally divided, gave so great offense to Colonel Enos and four [three] captains with their companies that, without permission, they returned to Cambridge'; and probably it was the call to give up a part of the supplies which they believed necessary for themselves which brought the third Division to a decisive step, though no doubt this merely capped the climax of their discontent.

XXXVIII. (see page 570)

The present names, beginning with the first pond, are: Lower, Bag, Long, and Natanis Ponds; Horse Shoe Stream; Lost Pond; (then the portage of about a mile); Horse Shoe, Mud, and Arnold (or Moosehorn) Ponds. All the names are well known in the region except Lost Pond. This was given by the author, because the loch was unknown to the guides. Arnold's Journal seemed to require it; and, after a good deal of trouble, the author found it, well hidden by hills and woods.

XXXIX. (see page 579)

At present the main current and the name of Arnold River pass across the bar and down the outlet of Rush River, while the direct continuation of the river is called the Black or Little Arnold, and the middle stream bears the name Dead Arnold; but careful study seems to prove that in 1775 the Black Arnold was the main river (*Arnold's March*, pp. 206–210).

Davis (Memoirs of A. Burr, p. 67) says that Arnold sent Burr forward, disguised as a Catholic priest, from Chaudière Pond [Lake Megantic] with a verbal message to Gen. Montgomery,—a mission successfully accomplished. But, under date of Nov. 30, Arnold wrote Burr a formal letter of introduction to Montgomery (Me. Hist. Soc. Coll., I., p. 386), which makes it perfectly clear that Burr had not gone as Davis states. Other good arguments could be offered, were not this conclusive.

XL. (see page 603)

A messenger (called Robbisho by Senter), who had been sent to Quebec by Arnold, was captured. Along with news of this, came a report that 'the English were determined to burn and destroy all the inhabitants in the vicinity of Quebec, unless they came in and took up arms in defence of the garrison' (Senter, Journal, Nov. 5); also, that twenty *habitants* were already under sentence of death. 'This put the people in a great panic' (ib.), but does not seem to have had any other effect.

XLI. (see page 604).

See letter in Henry, Journal, p. 187. The author has not been able to satisfy himself perfectly as to the distance. For example, the teamsters call it forty miles from St. Francis to Quebec, and it is stated that the telephone company made it thirty-nine by measure; but according to the government map, done on a large scale, this distance is about forty-seven miles in an air line. The route of the Americans was a little longer than a teamster would take now. Their estimate would seem to have been somewhat large.

LIST OF SOURCES

For the MSS. (numbering about 1425) see the Preface and footnotes. For special reasons a few MSS. (indicated by asterisks) are mentioned in this list. To facilitate reference, some printed documents that form parts of volumes are listed separately below. In many cases the titles of publications are somewhat abbreviated, but not in a way to cause confusion, it is believed.

ABBOTT and ELWELL. Hist. of Maine. 1892.

ADAM, WM. * Diary. (In possession of Miss Adam, Canaan, Conn.).

ADAMS, C. K. (ed.) Universal Cyclopædia. 12 v. 1900.

ADAMS, JOHN. Familiar Letters. 1876. Works (C. F. Adams, ed.) 10 v. 1850.

ADAMS, SAMUEL. * Papers (in Bancroft Collection, N. Y. Pub. Lib., Lenox Branch).

ADOLPHUS, J. Hist. of England. 7 v. 1841.

AINSLIE, THOMAS. * Journal (Lib. of Harvard Univ.) * Orderly Book (Lib. of Cong.).

ALLEN, ETHAN. * Letters (in various places: see footnotes). Narrative. 1845. Vindication. 1779.

ALLEN, IRA. Hist. of Vermont (in Coll. Vt. Hist. Soc., I.).

ALLEN, THOMAS. Hist. Sketch of Berkshire County. 1808.

ALLEN, WILLIAM. Hist. of Norridgewock (Me.). 1849. Amer. Biography. 3d ed. 1857.

ALMON, J. Remembrancer, 1775 and 1776.

American Antiquarian Soc. * Original MSS. Worcester, Mass.

American Bibliopolist.

American Cathol. Histor. Researches.

American Hist. Assoc. Reports and Papers.

American Hist. Record. Vols. I.–III. (after Jan. 1, 1875, known as Potter's Monthly).

American Historical Review.

AMORY, T. C. John Sullivan. 1868.

ANBUREY, THOMAS. Travels through . . . America. 2 v. 1789.

ANDERSON, W. J. Siege and Blockade of Quebec . . . in 1775-6. 1872.

ANDREWS, W. L. Portraiture of the Amer. Revol. War.

Annuaire de l' Institut Canad. 1876.

Annual Register. Vols. for 1775 and 1776.

Anonymous. Appeal to the Public. London. 1774.

Anonymous. Collection of Acts . . . relative to Canada. 1800.
Anonymous. Death of Gen. Montgomery: a Tragedy. 1777.
Anonymous. First Church of Pittsfield. 1889.
Anonymous. Hist. de l'Hôpital Général.
Anonymous. Hist. des Ursulines de Québec. 4 v. 1863–1866.
Anonymous. Hist. of Berkshire County. 2 v. 1885.
Anonymous. Le Colonel Dambourgès. 1866.
Anonymous. Mgr. de St. Vallier et l'Hôpital Général. 1882.
Anonymous. National Portrait Gallery. 4 v. 1854.
Anonymous. Official Docs. relative to the Operations of the British Army, 1759 and 1760. 1813.
Anonymous. Proceedings of the Convention of N. H. Settlers. 1775.
Anonymous. Quebec and New York. 3 v. 1843.
Anonymous. * Revolutionary Journal (Lib. of Congress).
Anonymous. Scrap-book of North Canaan, Conn.
Anonymous. Souvenir de Maisonneuve. 1896.
Anonymous. Ursulines de Québec. 4 v. 1863–66.
Anonymous. Ursulines de Trois Rivières. 2 v. 1888.
ANVILLE, SIEUR D'. Amérique Septent. 1746. Canada, Louisiane, etc. 1775.
Appleton's Journal.
ARMSTRONG, JOHN. Life of Montgomery. 1834. Life of Wayne. 1835.
ARNOLD, BENEDICT. Journal (Smith, Arnold's March, Appendix). Letters (particularly those in Me. Hist. Soc. Coll., I., and MSS.). * Orderly Book (called B. Arnold's: Pension Office, Washington, D. C.). Regim. Memor. Book (Penna. Journal, VIII., p. 363).
ARNOLD, I. N. Life of B. Arnold. 1880.
ARNOLD, S. G. Hist. of Rhode Island. 2 v. 1894.
AUSTIN, J. T. Elbridge Gerry. 2 v. 1828.
BACQUEVILLE DE LA POTHERIE, M. DE. Hist. de l'Amér. Septent. 1753.
BAILEY, JACOB. * Invasion of Canada (in possession of Mr. C. E. Allen).
BAKER. Map of the British and French Dominions in No. Amer. 1755.
BALCH, THOMAS. The French in America (trans. by T. W. B.). 2 v. 1891.
BALCH, THOMAS (ed.). Papers relating chiefly to the Md. Line.
BANCROFT, GEORGE. Hist. of the United States. 15th ed. 10 v. 1855–74.
BANCROFT Collection. * Original MSS. and copies (N. Y. Pub. Lib., Lenox Branch).
BARLOW, A. * Orderly Book and Journal (N. Y. Hist. Soc.).
BARTLETT and WELFORD. Atlas of Battles of the American Revolution. 1845.
BARTLETT, J. R. Records of the Colony of R. Id. 1862.
BARTLETT, JOSIAH. * Papers (Lib. of Dartmouth College).

BARTLETT, JOSIAH, et al. · Letters. 1888.
BASCOM, R. O. Capt. I. Norton's Orderly Book. 1898.
BATCHELLOR, A. S. The Ranger Service in the Upper Valley of the Conn. 1903.
BAXTER, J. P. New France in New England. 1894.
BAYLEY, FRYE. * Narrative (in possession of Justin H. Smith).
BEAUCHAMP, W. M. Hist. of the N. Y. Iroquois. 1905.
BEDEL Papers. * N. H. Hist. Soc. (see also N. H. State Papers, XVII.).
BELKNAP, JEREMY. Hist. of New Hampshire. 3 v. 1813.
BELKNAP Papers. See Mass. Historical Soc. Proc., X., p. 323.
BELLIN, S. Petit Atlas Maritime. 1764.
BENDER, P. Old and New Canada. 1882.
BENTON, R. C. The Vermont Settlers, etc. 1894.
Berkshire Hist. and Sci. Soc. Collections. 1894.
BERTHELOT, AMABLE. * Narrative (Can. Arch.).
BIBAUD. * Hist. du Canada sous la Domination Anglaise. 1843.
BISHOP, HEBER. Guide Book. 1887. Map of the Lake Megantic Region.
BISSET, R. Reign of George III. Vol. I. 1816.
BITTINGER, J. Q. Hist. of Haverhill, N. H. 1888.
BLOODGOOD, S. DEW. Sexagenary. 1866.
BLOWITZ, M. DE. Memoirs. 1903.
Board of War. *Papers (Lib. of Congress).
BOLTON, C. K. The Private Soldier under Washington. 1902.
BONNEY, C. V. R. Historical Gleanings. 2d ed. 2 v. 1875.
Boston. Town Records.
Boston Evening Post.
Boston Gazette and Country Journal.
Boston Public Library. * Original Documents.
Boston Transcript.
BOSWORTH, N. Hochelaga Depicta. 1846.
BOTTA, CHARLES. War of Independence, etc. (trans. by G. A. Otis). 3 v. 1820–21.
BOUCHETTE, JOSEPH. Descript. Topog. de la Prov. du Bas-Canada. 1815.
BOUDINOT, E. Journal. 1894.
BOURINOT, J. G. The Story of Canada. 1896. Canada under British Rule. 1901.
BOYLE, E. Distinguished Marylanders. 1877.
BRACKENRIDGE, H. H. Death of Montgomery. 1777.
BRASSIER, WILLIAM. Survey of Lake Champlain, etc. 1762.
BRENT, J. C. John Carroll. 1843.
British Government. * Records of the Admiralty, Colonial Office, Commrs. of Trade, War Office. *Précis of Operations on the Canada Frontier (Pub. Rec. Off. Am. and W. Ind., Vol. 290, p. 1).
British Museum. * Original Documents.
BROOKS, CHARLES. Hist. of Medford. 1855.
BROUGHAM, HENRY. Hist. Sketches of Statesmen, etc. Sec. Ser. 1839.

BROWN, A. E. Faneuil Hall and F. H. Market. 1900. John Hancock. 1898.
BRYAN, C. W. Book of Berkshire. [1886.]
BRYMNER, DOUGLAS. Reports on the Canadian Archives. 1881-1890.
Bulletin des Recherches Historiques. 1893-1902.
BURGOYNE, JOHN. State of the Exped. from Canada. 1780.
BURNHAM, SAM. Rev. Thomas Allen. 1869.
BURTON, J. Diary (N. H. State Papers, XIV.).
BUSHNELL, C. I. Crumbs for Antiquarians. Vol. I. 1864.
BUTTERFIELD, C. W. (ed.) Correspondence of Washington and Irvine. 1882.
CALDWELL, H. *Letter to Gen. Murray (Quebec Lit. and Hist. Soc.).
CALVET, P. DU. Appel à la Justice de l 'Etat. 1784.
Cambridge of 1776. 1876.
CAMPBELL, B. U. Archbishop Carroll (U. S. Catholic Mag., III., p. 244).
CAMPBELL, C. Hist. of . . . Virginia. 1860.
CAMPBELL, R. A. Our Flag. 1890.
Canadiana.
Canadian Antiquarian. Vols. I.-X.
Canadian Institute. Transactions.
Canadian Monthly.
Canadian Review.
CANNON, R. Hist. Record of the 7th Fusiliers. Hist. Record of the 8th Foot.
CARLETON, GUY. *Papers (Royal Institution).
CARRINGTON, H. B. Battles of the Amer. Revolution. 1876.
CARROLL, CHARLES, of Carrollton. Journal (Md. Hist. Soc., 1876).
CARTIER, JACQUES. Bref Récit, etc. (ed. by D' Avezac). 1863.
CARVER, CAPT. See Sayer and Bennett.
CASGRAIN, H. R. Hist. de l' Hôtel Dieu de Québec. 1878. Montcalm et Lévis. 1891.
CASGRAIN, P. B. La Maison Montcalm. 1902. Vie de J. F. Perrault. 1898.
Catholic World.
CAVENDISH, H. (J. Wright, ed.) Debates of the House of Commons, etc. 1789.
CAVERLY, A. M. Hist. of Pittsford, Vt. 1872.
CAZEAU, FRANÇOIS. Précis de la Réclamation de Paris. 1788.
Centenaire: See Institut Canadien.
*'Chalmers' Journal of the Siege of Quebec (Sparks MSS., No. 42).
CHAMPLAIN, S. DE. Œuvres. 2d ed. 6 v. 1870.
CHARAVAY, ETIENNE. Le Général La Fayette. 1898.
CHARLEVOIX, P. DE. Journal d' un Voyage, etc. 1744.
CHASE, FRED. (J. K. Lord, ed.) Hist. of Dartmouth Coll. and the Town of Hanover. Vol. I. 1891.
Chicago Journal of Political Economy.

CHIPMAN, D. Memoir of Col. Seth Warner. 1848.
CHITTENDEN, L. E. Capture of Ticonderoga. 1872.
CHOTTEAU, LÉON. Les Français en Amérique. 1876.
CHRISTIE, ROBERT. Hist. Late Prov. of Lower Can. 5 v. 1848–1854.
CLARK, A. H. David Waterbury's Regiment. 1897.
CLINTON, GEORGE. Public Papers. 6 v. 1899–1902.
CLOWES, W. L. Hist. Royal Navy. 4 v. 1897–98.
CODMAN, J. Arnold's Expedition to Quebec. 1901.
COFFIN, CHARLES. Lives and Services of John Thomas, . . . Henry Dearborn. 1844.
COFFIN, C. C. Hist. of Boscawen and Webster [N. H.]. 1878.
COFFIN, JOSHUA. Hist. of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury. 1845.
COFFIN, VICTOR. Quebec Act, etc. 1896.
COLBURN, JEREMIAH. American Independence, etc. 1876.
COLBURN, REUBEN. *Documents (Smith, Arnold's March, Chap. IV., notes).
COLLINS, E. D. Hist. of Vermont. 1903.
Colonial Magazine.
Colonial Soc. of Mass. Transactions, 1895–1897.
Connecticut Archives (Revolutionary War).
Connecticut Courant.
Connecticut Gazette and Universal Intelligencer.
Connecticut Hist. Soc. Collections.
Continental Congress Journals (the edition of W. C. Ford, so far as issued). Secret Journals. *Papers: Library of Congress.
COOK, J. F. Ticonderoga. 1858.
COOK, NOAH. Diary (Trumbull, Hist. Northampton, II., pp. 381–384).
COREY, D. P. Hist. of Malden. 1899.
COWAN and SON. Guide to Quebec. 1844.
COWELL, B. Spirit of '76 in Rhode Island. 1850.
CROSSLEY, P. A. Lovell's Gazetteer of Brit. No. Amer. 1874.
CULLUM, G. W. Biog. Sketch of Rich. Montgomery. 1876.
CURRIER, JOHN J. Ould Newbury. 1896.
CUSHING, CHARLES. *Journal (Lib. of Congress).
CUTTER, W. Life of I. Putnam. 1857.
DAINVILLE, D. Beautés de l' Hist. du Canada. 1821.
Dartmouth College Library. *Original Documents.
Dartmouth Magazine.
DAVIS, M. L. Memoirs of Aaron Burr. 2 v. 1838.
DAWSON, H. B. Battles of the U. S. 2. v. 1858.
DAWSON, S. E. North America. 1897.
DEARBORN, HENRY. *Journal (Boston Pub. Lib.) (Also in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., April, 1886).
DELAPLACE, WM. *Memorial. (Conn. Arch., Rev. War, Vol. I., Doc. 405.)
DELISLE (or DE L'ISLE) GUILLAUME. Carte d' Amérique. 1722. Carte des Nouvelles Découvertes, etc. 1750. Carte du Canada. [1732.]

DEMERS, BENJAMIN. La Paroisse de St. François. 1891.
DENNIE. Portfolio.
DE PUY, H. W. Ethan Allen, etc. 1853. (The Mountain Hero. 1855.)
DEWEY, CHESTER (and others). Hist. of the County of Berkshire. 1829.
DIGBY. Journal (See Baxter, J. P.).
Dominion of Canada. Electoral Atlas. 1895. *Indian Papers (through 1776). *Archives. See Geolog. Survey.
DONIOL, HENRI. Hist. de la Particip. de la France à l'Etablissement des Etats Unis d' Amér. 5 v. and supplem. 1886–92. Lafayette dans la Révolution. 1904.
DOUGHTY, A. G. Fortress of Quebec. 1904. Siege of Quebec. 6 v. 1901.
DOUGHTY and DIONNE. Quebec under Two Flags. 1903.
DRAKE, F. S. American Biography. 1872.
DRAKE, S. A. Hist. Mansions and Highways. 1900.
DREER Collection. *Original MSS. (Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania).
DUANE, W. Canada and the Continent. Cong. 1850.
DUBERGER, J. B. Model of Quebec. (About 1800.)
DUDLEY, DOROTHY. Diary (in Cambridge of 1776).
DUNLAP, W. Hist. of the New Netherlands. 2 v. 1839, 1840.
DURAND, JOHN. New Materials for the Hist. of the Amer. Revol. 1889.
DUSSIEUX, L. Canada sous la Domination Française. 1883.
DWIGHT, TIMOTHY. Travels in New England and New York. 4 v. 1821–22.
EDDIS, WILLIAM. Letters from America. 1792.
EGLE, W. H. (ed.) Journal of the March of a Party of Provincials, etc. (Penn. Archives, 2d Series, XV., p. 21).
EGLESTON, THOMAS. Life of John Paterson. 1898.
ELLIOTT, C. W. New England History. 2 v. 1857.
ELMER, E. Journal (see N. J. Hist. Soc. Proc., II.).
EMMET Collection. Original MSS. (N. Y. Pub. Lib., Lenox Branch).
ERES, C. D. R. d'. Memoirs. 1800.
Essex Institute. Hist. Collections.
Essex Journal and N. H. Packet.
ETHIER, MARCEL. Narration Authentique de l'Echange des Prison. faits aux Cèdres. 1873.
EVERETT, EDWARD. John Stark. 1834.
FADEN, WM. (Successor to Jefferys). Plan of the City and Environs of Quebec, etc. Sept., 1776. Map of the Inhabited Parts of Canada, etc. (Sauthier). 1777. North American Atlas. 1777. British Colonies in No. America. 1777. Etc., etc.
FARROW, E. S. Military Encyclop. 3 v. 1885.
FELT, JOSEPH B. Annals of Salem. 2 v. 1849.
FERNOW, B. New York in the Revolution. Vol. I. 1887.
FIELD, D. D. Centennial Address. 1853. Hist. of Pittsfield, Mass. 1844.
[FINLAY, HUGH]. Journal (Quebec. Lit. and Hist. Soc., 4th Ser.)

FISHER, S. G. True Hist. of Am. Revol. 1902.
FISKE, JOHN. The Amer. Revolution. 2 v. 1897. The Critical Period. 1899.
FLANDERS, HENRY. Chief Justices. 2 v. 1881.
FLICK, A. C. Loyalism in New York. 1901.
FOBES, SIMON. Narrative of the Kennebec Expedition (see Hist. Coll. of Mahoning Valley).
FORCE, PETER. American Archives. *Transcripts of Gates Correspondence (Lib. of Congress).
FORD Collection. *Original MSS. (N. Y. Pub. Lib., Lenox Branch).
FOSTER, JOHN. A Private Soldier in the Revolution. 1902.
FOUCHER, A. *Journal du Siège de St. Jean (Can. Arch.).
FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN. Works (ed. by Bigelow.) 10 v. 1887-88.
FRANQUET. Voyages et Mémoires sur le Canada. 1889.
Freeman's Journal.
FROTHINGHAM, RICHARD. Joseph Warren. 1865. Rise of the Republic. 1872. Siege of Boston. 1851, 1896.
GAGNON, E. Le Fort et Château St. Louis. 1895.
GAGNON, P. Bibliographie Canadienne. 1895.
GAMMELL, WM. Life of Sam. Ward. 1846.
GARDNER, A. B. Rhode Island Line. 1878.
GARNEAU, F. X. Hist. du Canada. 3 v. 1882.
GASPÉ, P. DE. The Canadians of Old (tr. by Roberts). 1890. Mémoires. 1885.
GATES, HORATIO. *Correspondence (Force Transcripts: Lib. of Congress).
GAY, S. H. Bryant's Popular Hist. of the U. S. 4 v. 1876-81.
Gentleman's Magazine.
Geological Survey of Canada. Map of the Eastern Townships.
GILMORE, G. C. N. H. Men at Bunker Hill. 1899.
GOODHUE, JOS. F. Hist. of Shoreham, Vt. 1861.
GOODWIN, DAN., Jr. The Dearborns. 1884.
GOODWIN, MAJ. *Map of the Dead River Region (Skowhegan Hist. Soc.).
GORDON, WM. Hist. of the . . . United States of America. 3d Amer. ed. 3 v. 1801.
GOVERNOR'S Council, Canada. *Minutes, 1773 (Can. Arch.).
GRAHAM, J. D. Map of Boundary Line between the U. S. and the Adjacent British Provinces, etc. 1843.
GRAHAM, J. Life of Daniel Morgan. 1856.
GRANT, G. M. Picturesque Canada. 2 v. 1882.
GREENE, G. W. Life of N. Greene. 1848. Historical View. 1865.
GREENLEAF, JONATHAN. Memoir of Rev. John Parsons. 1841.
'GREYLOCK, G.' Taghconic. 1852.
GROVES, PERCY. Hist. 42d Highlanders. 1893.
HABERMANN. View of Lower Quebec.
HADDEN, J. M. Journal and Orderly Books (ed. by H. Rogers). 1884.

HAINES, E. M. The American Indian. 1888.
HALDIMAND, FRED. * Memorandum Book and * Papers (Can. Arch. and British Museum).
HALE, E. E. and E. E., Jr. Franklin in France. 2 v. 1888.
HALL, H. Hist. of Vermont. 1868. The Capture of Ticonderoga. 1869.
HALSEY, F. W. The Old New York Frontier. 1901.
HALSTED, JOHN [?]. *Account Book (Can. Arch).
HAMLEY, E. B. Operations of War. 2d ed. 1869.
HAND, EDWARD. * Papers (N. Y. Pub. Lib., Lenox Branch: Emmet Coll.).
HANSARD, T. C. Parl. Hist. Vols. XVII., XVIII. 1813.
HANSON, J. W. Hist. of Danvers. 1848. Hist. of Gardiner, Pittston, etc. 1852. Hist. of Norridgewock and Canaan. 1849.
Harper's Magazine.
HARRIS, ALEXANDER. Biog. Hist. of Lancaster Co. 1872.
HART, G. E. The Fall of New France. 1888. The Quebec Act. 1891.
Harvard University Library. *Original Documents.
HASKELL, CALEB. * Diary (in possession of Rev. Edwin Charles Haskell).
HAWKINS, ERNEST. Annals of the Diocese of Quebec. 1849.
HAZARD, S. Register of Penna.
HEADLEY, J. T. Washington and His Generals. 2 v. 1847.
HEATH [HETH], LIEUTENANT. Journal (see Marshall, Washington).
HEATH, WM. * Papers. Mass. Hist. Soc.
HEITMAN, F. B. Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army, etc. 1893.
HEMENWAY, A. M. Vt. Historical Gazetteer. 5 v. 1867–91.
HENRY, J. J. Account of Arnold's Campaign against Quebec. 1877. * Papers (Penna. Hist. Soc.).
HENSHAW, WM. * Orderly Book (C. C. Smith, ed.). 1877.
HILDRETH, RICHARD. Hist. of the United States. 6 v. 1851–56.
HILLIARD D' AUBERTEUIL. Essais. 1781. Hist. de l' Admin. de Lord North. 2 v. 1784.
HILLIARD, H. W. Speeches and Addresses. 1855.
HINMAN, R. R. Conn. in the Revol. 1842.
HINSDALE, B. A. The Old Northwest. 1888.
Historic Collections of the Mahoning Valley. Vol. I. 1876.
Historical Magazine.
HOLLAND, J. G. Hist. of Western Mass. 2 v. 1855.
HOLLAND, P. The Romaine Historie written by T. Livius of Padua. 1600.
HOLLAND, S. Plan of the Siege of Quebec.
HOLLEY, O. L. Life of B. Franklin. 1856.
HOLLISTER, G. H. Hist. of Conn. 1857.
HOLMES, ABIEL. American Annals. 2 v. 1805.
Hôpital Général de Québec. * Annales.
HOPKINS, H. W. Atlas of . . . Montreal. 1879.

HOPKINS, J. C. (ed.) Canada: An Encyclop. of the Country. Vol. I. 1898.
HOSMER, J. K. Samuel Adams. 1898.
Hôtel Dieu, Québec. *Annales.
HOUSTON, WM. Docs. Illust. of the Canadian Constit. 1891.
HOWARD, G. E. Preliminaries of the Revolution. 1905.
HUMPHREY, WM. *Journal of the Canada Campaign (R. Id. Hist. Soc.).
H[UNT], L. L. Biog. Notes Concerning Gen. R. Montgomery. 1876.
HUOT, LUCIEN. Siège du Fort St. Jean. 1889.
HUTCHINSON, THOMAS. Hist. of the Prov. of Mass. Bay. 3 v. 1828.
Institut Canadien. Centenaire de l'Assaut.
Irish American Hist. Soc. Journal. Vols. I.–III.
IRVINE, WM. Journal (Hist. Mag., Apr., 1862).
IRVING, WASHINGTON. Life of Washington. 5 v. 1855-59.
ISHAM, E. S. Ethan Allen. 1899.
JAY, JOHN. Corresp. and Pub. Papers (ed. by H. P. Johnston). 2 v. 1890.
JAY, WILLIAM. John Jay. 2 v. 1833.
JEFFERSON, THOMAS. Works (ed. by H. A. Washington). 9 v. 1854. Writings (ed. by P. L. Ford). 10 v. 1892-99.
JEFFERYS, THOMAS. New Map of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, etc. 1755. Natural and Civil Hist. of the French Dominions in No. and So. Amer. 1761. Explanation for the New Map of Nova Scotia, etc. 1755. (See also Faden.)
JENNINGS, ISAAC. Memorials of a Century. 1869.
Jesuit Relations (Thwaites, ed.). Vol. 67. 1890.
JEWETT and CO. Hist. of Essex Co., Mass. 1878.
JODOIN et VINCENT. Hist. de Longueuil. 1889.
JOHNSON, OBADIAH. *Orderly Book (Lib. of Congress).
JOHNSTON, H. P. Corresp. and Pub. Papers of John Jay. 2 v. 1890. Observations on Jones's History of the Amer. Revol. 1880. Record of Conn. Men in the . . . Revolution. 1889.
JONES, C. H. The Campaign for the Conquest of Canada in 1776, etc. 1882.
JONES, THOMAS. New York during the Revol. War. 2 v. 1879.
Journal of the Most Remarkable Occurrences in Quebec since Arnold Appear'd before the Town (see REMARK XLV).
KALM, P. Travels, etc. (Tr. by Forster.) 3 v. 1771.
KAPP, FRIEDRICH. Leben des Amer. Generals Johann Kalb. 1862.
KING, C. R. Life and Corresp. of Rufus King. 6 v. 1894-1900.
KINGSBURY and DEVO. Hist. of Kennebec Co. [Me.]. 1892.
KINGSFORD, W. Canadian Archæology. 1886. Hist. of Canada. 10 v. 1887-98.
KITCHIN, THOMAS. British Dominions in America (maps). New Map of the Province of Quebec.

KNAPP, S. L. Life of Aaron Burr. 1835.
KNOX, HENRY. * Papers (N. E. Hist. Gen. Soc.)
L'Abeille du Petit Séminaire.
LACEY, JOHN. Memoirs (Penna. Mag., XXV., p. 191).
LAFAYETTE, MARQUIS DE. Mémoires, Corresp. et Manuscrits. 5 v. 1837-38.
LAMB, M. J. Homes of America. 1879. Hist. of the City of New York. 2 v. 1877, 1880.
LATERRIÈRE, P. DE S. Mémoires. Edition Intime. 1873.
LAVERDIÈRE, C. H. Hist. du Canada. 1874.
LEAKE, I. Q. Life of John Lamb. 1857.
LECKY, W. E. H. Amer. Revolution (ed. by Woodburn). 1898. Eighteenth Century. 8 v. 1878-90.
LEE, R. H. Richard Henry Lee. 1825.
LEIZELT. View of Upper Quebec. 1765.
LEMOINE, JAMES M. Album Canadien. 1870. Album du Touriste. 2d ed. 1872. Annals of the Port of Quebec. 1901. Fortif. et Rues de Québec. 1875. Quebec Past and Present. 1876. Picturesque Quebec. 1882. Explorations in Eastern Latitudes. 1889. The Sword of Richard Montgomery. 2d ed. 1891. Maple Leaves. 1894.
LENDRUM, JOHN. Concise and Impartial Hist. of the Amer. Revol. 2 v. 1795.
LESPERANCE, J. Bostonnais.
LESTER, ROBERT. * Orderly Book (Can. Arch.).
LÉVIS, CHEVALIER DE. Journal (Casgrain, ed.). 1889.
LEWIS, G. C. Administration of Great Britain. 1864.
Library of Congress. * Board of War Papers. * Cont. Cong. Papers. * Force Transcripts. * Franklin Papers. * Revolutionary MSS. * Washington Papers, etc. (see footnotes).
LINDSAY, W. Invasion of Canada (Canad. Review, 1826).
LINN and EGLE. Penn. in the War of the Revolution. 1880.
Literary and Histor. Soc. of Quebec. Transactions and Publications.
LIVINGSTON, HENRY. Journal (Penn. Mag., April, 1898, p. 9).
LIVINGSTON, PHILIP. The Other Side of the Question. 1774.
LIVINGSTON Papers. * Originals and Copies (Bancroft Coll.).
LOCKE, J. G. Book of the Lockes. 1853.
LODGE, H. C. The Story of the Revolution. 2 v. 1898. George Washington. 2 v. 1898.
London Magazine.
LONGACRE and HERRING. National Portrait Gallery. 1837.
LONGCHAMPS, DE. Hist. Impartiale des Evénemens Militaires etc. 2 v. 1785.
LOSSING, B. J. Life of Schuyler. 2d ed. 2 v. 1872. Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution. 2 v. 1851.
LOVELL. Gazetteer of Brit. No. Amer. 1895.
LOWELL, E. J. The Hessians, etc. 1884.
LUARD, J. Hist. of the Dress of the Brit. Soldier. 1852.
LUNT, PAUL. Diary (ed. by S. A. Greene). 1872.

LYTTLETON, THOMAS. Letter to Wm. Pitt, Earl of Chatham. 1774. (Same without Lyttleton's name, London, 1774.
McCLINTOCK, J. M. Hist. of New Hampshire. 1889.
McCONKEY, REBECCA. The Hero of Cowpens. 1885.
McMULLEN, J. M. Hist. of Canada. 2 v. 1891.
MCDONALD, R. J. Dress of Royal Regt. of Artillery. 1899.
MACPHERSON, MRS. D. Reminiscences of Old Quebec. 1890.
Magazine of Amer. Hist.
Magazine of Hist. with Notes and Queries.
Magazine of New Eng. Hist.
MAHAN, A. T. The Naval Campaign of 1776 on Lake Champlain (Scribner's Mag., Feb., 1898).
MAHON, LORD. Hist. of England. 3d ed. 1853.
Maine Hist. Soc. Collections. Proceedings. * Original documents.
MARCEL, GABRIEL. Réproductions de Cartes, etc. 1893.
MARR, CAPTAIN. * Plan of Quebec (belonging to the Earl of Dartmouth).
MARRIOTT, JAMES. Plan of a Code of Laws for the Province of Quebec. 1774.
MARSHALL, JOHN. Life of George Washington. 5 v. 1805–07.
Maryland. * Archives.
Maryland Hist. Soc. Centennial Memorial. 1876. * Red Book. * Miscellaneous Papers.
MASERES, FRANCIS. Collection of Several Commissions, etc. 1770. Canadian Freeholder. 3 v. 1776-79. Account of the Proceedings . . . to Obtain an House of Assembly. 1775. Additional Papers, etc. 1776. Occasional Essays. 1809.
Massachusetts. *Archives. Journ. of Prov. Cong. and Com. of Safety. 1838. Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War.
Massachusetts Hist. Soc. Collections. Proceedings.
Massachusetts Spy.
MEIGS, RETURN J. Journal (see Bushnell, C. I.).
MELVIN, A. A. The Journal of James Melvin. 1902.
MELVIN, JAMES. Journal. (Several editions.)
MERRILL, J. V. D. S. and C. R. Historic Bennington. 1898.
Middlesex Journal (England).
MILLER, JOHN. New York Considered and Improved. 1695. (Victor H. Paltsits, ed. 1903.)
MITCHELL, JOHN. Map [Atlas] of the British and French Dominions in No. Amer. 1755.
* MONTGOMERY'S ORDERLY BOOK (so called: Lib. of Congress).
MONTRESOR, JOHN. Journal (Me. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. I.). * Map (Lib. Cong.)
MOODIE, SUSANNA [STRICKLAND]. Roughing it in the Bush. 1852.
MOORE, F. Diary of the Revolution. 2 v. 1863.
MORGAN, APPLETON. Morgan Genealogy (proof sheets).
MORGAN, H. J. Sketches of Celeb. Canadians. 1865.
MORISON, GEORGE. Journal of . . . the Expedition to Quebec. 1803.

MORRIS, G. F. Address before N. H. Hist. Soc. 1903.
MORSE, J. T. Benjamin Franklin. 1889. John Adams. 1898.
MUNSELL, J. Annals of Albany. 1853. Collections on the Hist. of Albany. 4 v. 1865–71.
MURDOCH, BEAMISH. Hist. of Nova Scotia. 3 v. 1866.
MURRAY, JAMES. Impartial Hist. of the Present War in America. 1781.
MYERS Collection. *Original documents (N. Y. Pub. Lib., Lenox Branch).
Naval and Milit. Gazette.
New Dominion Monthly.
New England Chronicle or Essex Gazette.
New England Hist. and Geneal. Register.
New England Hist. Geneal. Soc. *Original documents. Boston.
New England Magazine.
New Hampshire. Provincial Papers. State Papers.
New Hampshire Antiq. Soc. Collections.
N. H. Hist. Soc. Collections. Proceedings. *Original documents.
New Jersey Hist. Soc. Proceedings. *Original documents.
New York. Calendar of Hist. Docs. 2 v. Docs. Relat. to the Colon. Hist.
New York Gazetteer.
New York Geneal. and Geog. Record.
New York Hist. Soc. Collections. *Original documents. Proceedings.
New York Journal and General Advertiser.
NICHOLS, FRANCIS. *Assault on Quebec (Penna. Hist. Soc.). *Diary (Penna. Hist. Soc., partially printed in Penna. Mag., XX., p. 504).
NICHOLS, ISAAC. *Orderly Book (Am. Antiq. Soc.).
NILES, ADJ. *Orderly Book (Pension Office, Washington, D. C.).
NILES, H. Principles and Acts of the Revol. in Amer. 1822.
Weekly Register.
NOLIN, J. B. Carte du Canada, etc. 1756.
NORTH, J. W. Hist. of Augusta [Me.]. 1870.
North Amer. Notes and Queries.
North Amer. Pilot.
O'CALLAGHAN, E. B. Docum. Hist. of N. Y. Vol. IV. 1851. Orderly Book of Lt.-Gen. J. Burgoyne. 1860.
OGDEN, MATTHIAS. *Journal (in possession of Wash. Assoc.).
OLIPHANT, EDWARD. Hist. of North America. 2d ed. 1801.
OSGOOD and BATCHELDER. Hist. Sketch of Salem. 1879.
OSWALD, ELEAZER. *Journal. A copy in Cont. Cong. Papers, 162, I., p. 28 (printed in 4 Force III., 1058, but not quite correctly).
PALMER, P. S. Hist. of Lake Champlain. 1866.
PALTSITS, V. H. Scheme for the Conquest of Canada in 1746. 1905. See also MILLER.
PARKE, A., et al. Authentic Narrative of Facts Relating to the Exchange of Prisoners taken at the Cedars. 1776.
PARKER, G. and BRYAN, C. G. Old Quebec. 1903.

PARKMAN, FRANCIS. Works: particularly Jesuits of N. Amer., 1896; Montcalm and Wolfe, 2 v., 1884; Old Régime in Canada, rev. ed., 1901; Pioneers of France in the New World, 1865; Half Century of Conflict, 2 v., 1892.
PARSONS, JONATHAN. Sixty Sermons, etc. 2 v. 1779.
PARTON. Benjamin Franklin. 2 v. 1864. Aaron Burr. Enl. ed. 2 v. 1882.
PELL, JOSHUA. Diary (Mag. Amer. Hist., II., p. 43).
Pennsylvania. Archives (S. Hazard, ed.) 1852-95. Colonial Archives. 1852-53.
Penna. and N. J. Weekly Advertiser.
Pennsylvania Evening Post.
Pennsylvania Gazette.
Pennsylvania Hist. Soc. Bulletin I. Memoirs, Vol. II., Part II. 1830. *Original documents.
Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser.
Pennsylvania Ledger.
Pennsylvania Mag. of Hist. and Biog.
Pennsylvania Packet.
Pension Office. *Original documents. Washington, D. C.
PHILLIPS, P. LEE. Maps of America. 1901.
PHINN. Plan of the Siege of Quebec [1759].
Pointe aux Trembles. *Archives Paroissales.
Political Magazine. 1782.
POPE, F. L. Western Boundary of Mass. 1886.
PORLIER, P. A. Mémoire (Bull. des Rech. Hist., 1900).
PORTER, ELISHA. Diary (Mag. Am. Hist., Sept., 1893, p. 187).
PORTERFIELD, CHARLES. Diary (Mag. Am. Hist., April, 1889, and Va. Mag. Hist. and Biog., Oct., 1901).
Portland Press (Aug. 7, 1901).
POTTER'S American Monthly.
POTTER, C. E. Milit. Hist. of New Hampshire.
POWERS, GRANT. Coös County and Vicinity. 1880.
POWNALL, THOMAS. Map (see Sayer and Bennett). Middle British Colonies in No. Amer. (map). 1776. Topog. Descript. of No. Amer. 1776.
PREBLE, G. H. Hist. of the Flag of the U. S., etc. 1882.
PREBLE, J. *Report and map of a surveying trip in Maine and Canada. 1765. (In possession of Mr. Thomas F. Murphy.)
*Précis of Operations on Canadian Frontier (Public Record Office, Am. and W. Ind., Vol. 290, p. 1).
Privy Council. *Registers (British Museum).
Providence Gazette and Country Journal.
'Provincials' Journal. 1776. (Reprinted in Penna. Arch., 2d ser., Vol. XV., p. 21.)
PROWSE, D. W. History of Newfoundland. 1895.
Public Record Office. See British Government.
Quebec Gazette.
Quebec Lit. and Hist. Soc. *Original documents. Publications.
Railroad Gazette.

RAMSAY, DAVID. Hist. of the Amer. Revolution. 2 v. 1791. Hist. of So. Carolina. 2 v. 1809.
RANDALL, H. G. Jefferson. 3 v. 1858.
READ, W. T. Life and Corresp. of Geo. Read. 1870.
REED, P. MCCOBB. Hist. of Bath, Me. 1894.
REED, W. B. Letters of Washington to Joseph Reed. 1852. Life and Corresp. of Jos. Reed. 2 v. 1847.
'Remarkable Occurrences' Journal (see REMARK XLV.).
Revue Canadienne.
Rhode Island. * Military Papers.
Rhode Island Colonial Records. Providence. 1862.
Rhode Island Hist. Soc. * Original documents. Publications.
RIDGELY, DAVID (ed). Annals of Annapolis. 1841.
RIEDESEL, MME. DE. Letters and Journal (trans. by Stone). 1867.
RISLEY, J. S. The Law of War. 1897.
RITZEMA, R. * Journal (N. Y. Hist. Soc.).
RIVES, W. C. James Madison. 2 v. 1859.
ROBBINS, AMMI R. Journal. 1850.
ROBERTS, J. A. New York in the Revolution. 2d ed. 1898.
ROBERTS, O. A. Hist. of the Anc. and Hon. Art. Co. 4 v. 1895-1901.
ROBINS, E. Benjamin Franklin. 1898.
ROBINSON, A. W. Guide Book to the Dead River Region. 1886.
ROBINSON, C. N. The British Fleet. 1894.
ROCHAMBEAU. Mémoires. 2 v. 1809.
ROGERS, H. (ed.). Hadden's Journal and Orderly Books. 1884.
ROGERS, R. Account of No. America. 1765.
ROOF, G. L. Col. John Brown. 1884.
ROOSEVELT, THEODORE. Gouverneur Morris. 1888.
ROSE, J. H. A Century of Continental History. 3d ed. 1895.
ROUGE, LE. Partie Orientale du Canada (from Jefferys). 1755.
ROUTHIER, A. B. Québec et Lévis. 1900.
ROWE and FAIRFIELD. North Adams and Vicinity. 1898.
ROWLAND, K. M. Charles Carroll of Carrollton. 2 v. 1898.
ROY, J. E. Hist. de la Seigneurie de Lauzon. 3 v. 1897-1900.
ROY, P. G. La Famille Taschereau. 1901. St. François de Sales de la Pointe aux Trembles. 1897.
Royal Hist. MSS. Commission. Reports.
Royal Institution. * Original documents.
Royal Magazine. 1760.
Royal Society of Canada. Proceedings and Transactions.
RUDD, M. D. Sketch of Salisbury, Conn. 1899.
RUSSELL, WM. History of America. 2 v. 1778. View of Quebec from the Bason.
RYERSON, EGERTON. The Loyalists of America and their Times. 2d ed. 2 v. 1880.
SABIN, J. Dictionary of Books Relating to America. 20 vols. 1868-92.
SABINE, L. The Loyalists. 2 v. 1864.
SAFFELL, W. T. R. Records of the Revol. War. 1894.

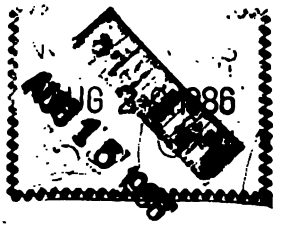
SAFFORD, DAVID. Journal (Conn. Gazette, Oct. 27, 1775).
ST. CLAIR, ARTHUR. Narrative, etc. 1812.
ST. MAURICE, F. DE. Notes . . . Rich. Montgomery. 1893.
SANDERSON, JOHN. Signers to the Declaration of Independence. 2d ed. 5 v. 1828.
SANDHAM, ALFRED. Ville-Marie. 1870.
SANSOM, JOSEPH. Sketches of Lower Canada. 1817.
SARGENT, W. John André. 1871.
SAUTHIER. See Faden.
SAYER and BENNETT. American Atlas (Holland, Pownall). 1776. American Military Pocket Atlas. 1776. General Map of the Northern British Colonies . . . Corrected from Gov. Pownall's Late Map. 1776. New Map of the Province of Quebec (Carver and others). 1776.
SCHARF and WESTCOTT. Hist. of Phila. 3 v. 1884.
SCHUYLER, G. L. Correspondence and Remarks, etc. 1867.
SCHUYLER, G. W. Colonial New York. 2 v. 1885.
SCHUYLER, PHILIP. * Ledger (Pension Office, Washington, D. C.). * Orderly Book (so-called: Lib. of Congress). * Papers (N. Y. Pub. Lib., Lenox Branch).
Scribner's Magazine.
SCULL, G. D. The Evelyns in America. 1881.
SEALE, R. W. New and Accurate Map of No. Amer., etc. 1771.
SEDGWICK, C. F. Hist. of Sharon, Conn. 1898.
SEDGWICK, THEODORE. Life of Wm. Livingstone. 1833.
SENEX, JOHN. North America, Corrected, etc. 1710.
SENTER, ISAAC. * Account (R. Id. Hist. Soc.). * Journal (in possession of Mr. Charles Allen Munn).
SHALLUS, J. * Journal (Sparks MSS., Lib. of Harvard Univ.).
SHEA, J. G. Hist. of New France. 6 v.
Sheepscot Echo.
SHELDON, GEORGE. Hist. of Deerfield. 2 v. 1895, 1896.
SHORTT, W. T. P. (ed.). Journal of the Siege of Quebec. 1824.
SILLIMAN, BENJAMIN. A Short Tour. 2d ed. 1824.
SKENE, A. P. * Memorial (Conn. Arch., Rev. War, Vol. I., Doc. 402).
Skowhegan Hist. Soc. * Original documents. Skowhegan, Me.
SLOANE, W. M. French War and the Revolution. 1893.
SMALL, H. W. Hist. of Swan's Island. 1898.
SMITH, E. M. Hist. of Rhinebeck. 1881.
SMITH, E. VALE. Hist. of Newburyport. 1854.
SMITH, G. B. Hist. of Canada. 1898.
SMITH, J. E. A. Hist. of Pittsfield [Mass.]. 2 v. 1869.
SMITH, J. J. Civil and Military List of R. Id. 1900.
SMITH, JOSEPH. * Journal (Pension Office, Washington, D. C.).
SMITH, JUSTIN H. Arnold's March from Cambridge to Quebec. 1903.
SMITH, RICHARD. * Private Journ. of Contin. Cong. (in Bancroft Coll.).
SMITH, WM. Works. 2 v. 1803.
SMITH, W. H. Hist. of Canada. 2 v. 1815.

SMITH, WM. HENRY. St. Clair Papers. 2 v. 1882.
SMITH and SON. Map of Montreal and the Eastern Townships. 1897.
SMITH and WATSON. Amer. Hist. and Lit. Curios. 4th ed. 1850.
SMYTH, HERVEY. View [Plan] of the City of Quebec. [1759].
SMYTH, J. C. Précis of the Wars in Canada. 1862.
South Carolina Hist. and Geneal. Mag.
Southern Hist. Society. *Papers. Publications.
Southern Literary Messenger.
SPARKS, JARED. Correspondence of the Amer. Revolution. 4 v. 1853. Benedict Arnold. 1835. Ethan Allen. 1834. Life and Works of B. Franklin. 10 v. 1840. Gouverneur Morris. 3 v. 1832. George Washington. 1839.
SPARKS Manuscripts. *Originals and copies. Lib. of Harvard University.
SQUIER, EPHRAIM. *Diary (Pension Office, Washington, D.C.).
STARK, CALEB. Mem., etc., of Gen. John Stark. 1860.
STEPHENS, LESLIE (ed.). Dict. of Nat. Biog. 65 vols.
STEVENS, B. F. Facsimiles.
STEVENS, PHINEAS. Journal (N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. V.).
STILES, H. R. Ancient Windsor [Conn.]. 2 v. 1891.
STILLÉ, C. J. John Dickinson. 1891.
STOCKING, ABNER. Interesting Journal, etc. 1810.
STONE, E. M. The Invasion of Canada in 1775. 1867.
STONE, W. L. Hist. of Washington County, N. Y. 1901. Letters of Brunswick and Hessian Officers. 1891. Life of Joseph Brant. 2 v. 1838.
STRYKER, W. S. Gen. Maxwell's Brigade. 1885. Official Register of . . . N. J. in the Revol. War. 1872.
STUART, I. W. Life of Jon. Trumbull. 1859.
STUART, J. H. and Co. State Atlas of Maine.
SULLIVAN, JOHN. *Papers (Bancroft Coll.; also N. H. Hist. Soc.). *Orderly Book (so-called: Lib. of Congress).
SULTE, BENJAMIN. Hist. des Canad. Français. 8 v. 1882, 1884.
Sunderland, Vt. *Town Records.
SWIFT, SAM. Hist. Addison County, Vt. 1859.
TARBOX, I. N. Life of I. Putnam. 1876.
TEMPLE and SHELDON. Hist. of Northfield, Mass. 1875.
TERRILL, F. W. Chronology of Montreal. 1893.
TÊTU, HENRI. Evêques de Québec. 1889.
TÊTU et GAGNON. Mandements, etc., des Evêques. 2 v. 1888.
THACHER, JAMES. Military Journal. 1823.
THAYER, SIMEON. Journal (R. Id. Hist. Soc. Coll., VI. *Journal and *Letters, R. Id. Hist. Soc.).
THOMAS, JOHN. *Papers (in possession of the family).
THOMPSON, JAMES. Journals. (The most important portion has been lost, but is known from LeMoine's extracts.)
THOMPSON, J. P. Hist. 2d Co. Governor's Footguards [of Conn.]. 1895.

THOMPSON, Z. Geog. and Geol. of Vt. 1848. Hist. of Vt. 1842, 1853, 1858. Lake George and Lake Champlain. 1845.
THREE RIVERS. *Archives.
TODD, C. B. Life of Colonel A. Burr. 1879.
TODD, W. C. Biog. and Other Articles. 1901.
TOLMAN, EBENEZER. Journal (published as Ware's: N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., 1852; see Smith, Arnold's March, p. 46).
TOPHAM, JOHN. *Journal (Newport, R. Id., Mercury, May 15, 1897; and MS. in possession of Mr. James G. Topham).
TOWER, CHARL. Lafayette in the Amer. Revol. 2 v. 1895.
TREVELYAN, G. O. The Amer. Revolution. Part I. 2d ed. 1899.
TRUMBULL, B. Journal (Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. VII.)
TRUMBULL, JOHN. Autobiography. 1841.
TRUMBULL, JONATHAN. *Papers (Conn. Hist. Soc.; and Mass. Hist. Soc.).
TRUMBULL, J. H. The Expedition against Ticonderoga. 1869.
TRUMBULL, J. R. Hist. of Northampton. 2 v. 1898, 1902.
TUCKERMAN, B. Philip Schuyler. 1903.
TUDOR, J. Diary, 1732-1793. 1896.
TYLER, M. C. Literary History of the U. S. 2 v. 1897.
United Service Magazine. 1897.
United States. *Archives of Congress. Coast and Geodetic Survey Maps. *Dept. of State documents. See also Library of Congress and Pension Office.
U. S. Catholic Magazine.
Universal Advertiser.
Universal Magazine.
University of Toronto. Studies.
VAN TYNE, C. H. The Amer. Revolution. 1905. The Loyalists in the Amer. Revolution. 1902.
VARNEY, G. J. Gazetteer of the State of Maine. 1881.
Vassalborough, Me. *Records.
VAUGONDY. Amérique Septentrionale. 1750.
Vermont Hist. Soc. Collections. Proceedings.
Vermonter, The.
VERREAU, H. A. J. B. (ed.). Invasion du Canada. 1873.
VIALAR, ANTHONY. *Orderly Book (Canad. Archives).
VIGER, ED. Règne Militaire en Canada. 1870.
Virginia Gazette.
Virginia Hist. Soc. Collections. *Original documents.
VOSE, J. *Journal (N. Eng. Hist. Geneal. Soc.)
WAIT, H. L. *Memorial of Joseph Wait.
WALKER and MILES. New Standard Atlas of Canada. 1875.
WALKER, GEO. H. and Co. Map of Upper Dead River, etc. Map of the Coast of Maine.
WALKER, J. B. R. Memorial of the Walkers. 1861.
WALKER, MRS. THOMAS. Journal (see N. H. Antiq. Soc. Coll., No. 2).
WALTON, E. P. Records of the Council of Safety, etc. 1873.
WARD, JOHN. Life of Gov. Sam. Ward. 1877. Memoir of Lt.-Col. Sam. Ward. 1875. The Continental Congress. 1878.

WARE, JOSEPH. Journal (N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg., April, 1852).
WARNER, C. F. Picturesque Berkshire. 1893.
WARREN, MERCY. Hist. of the . . . Amer. Revolution. 3 v. 1805.
WASHINGTON, GEORGE. Accounts (facsimile). *Papers (Lib. of Congress). Writings (Sparks, ed.) 12 v. 1837. Writings (W. C. Ford, ed.) 14 v. 1889-[1893].
Wash. Assoc. of New Jersey. *Original MSS. Morristown, N. J.
WATERBURY, DAVID. *Orderly Book (so called: Pension Office, Washington, D.C.)
WAYNE, ANTHONY. *Papers (Penna. Hist. Soc.)
WELLS, BAYZE. Journal and Orderly Book (see Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. VII.)
WELLS, F. P. History of Newbury, Vt. 1902.
WELLS, W. V. Samuel Adams. 3 v. 1865.
WESTON, EBEN. *Early Settlers of Canaan (Me.). (Skowhegan Hist. Soc.)
WHARTON, FRANCIS. Revolutionary Corres. of the U. S. 6 v. 1889.
WHEELOCK, ELEAZAR and JOHN. *Papers (Lib. of Dartmouth College).
WHITMORE, W. H. American Genealogist. 3d. ed. 1875.
WHITNEY, S. H. The Kennebec Valley. 1887.
WHITON, J. M. Hist. of New Hampshire. 1834.
WILDE, EBENEZER. Journal (see Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., April, 1886).
WILKINSON, J. Memoirs. 3 v. 1816.
WILLIAMS, SAMUEL. Hist. of Vermont. 2 v. 1809.
WILLIAMSON, W. D. Hist. of Maine. 2 v. 1832.
WILLIS, W. Journals of Rev. Th. Smith and Rev. Sam. Deane. 1849.
WILSON, J. G. (ed.) Memorial Hist. of New York. 4 v. 1892-93.
WILSON and FISKE. Appleton's Amer. Biog. 6 v. 1888.
WINSOR, J. (ed.) Memorial Hist. of Boston. 4 v. 1883-86. Narrative and Critical Hist. of America. 8 v. 1886-89.
WITHINGTON, L. (ed.) Caleb Haskell's Diary. 1881.
WITHROW, W. H. Popular History of Canada. 1886.
WOEDTKE, BARON DE. *Orderly Book (so called: Lib. of Congress).
WOODBRIDGE, RUGGLES. *Orderly Book (Sparks MSS., No. 60.)
WRONG, G. M. Review of Histor. Public. 1897.
WRONG and LANGTON. Review of Histor. Public. 1898-1905.
WÜRTELE, F. C. (ed.) Blockade of Quebec in 1775-1776. 1905.

THE BORR...
AN OVERDUE FEE IF THIS BOOK IS NOT RETURNED TO THE LIBRARY ON OR BEFORE THE LAST DATE STAMPED BELOW. NON-RECEIPT OF OVERDUE NOTICES DOES NOT EXEMPT THE BORROWER FROM OVERDUE FEES.



Our struggle for the fourteenth col
Widener Library 006634196
3 2044 086 256 294